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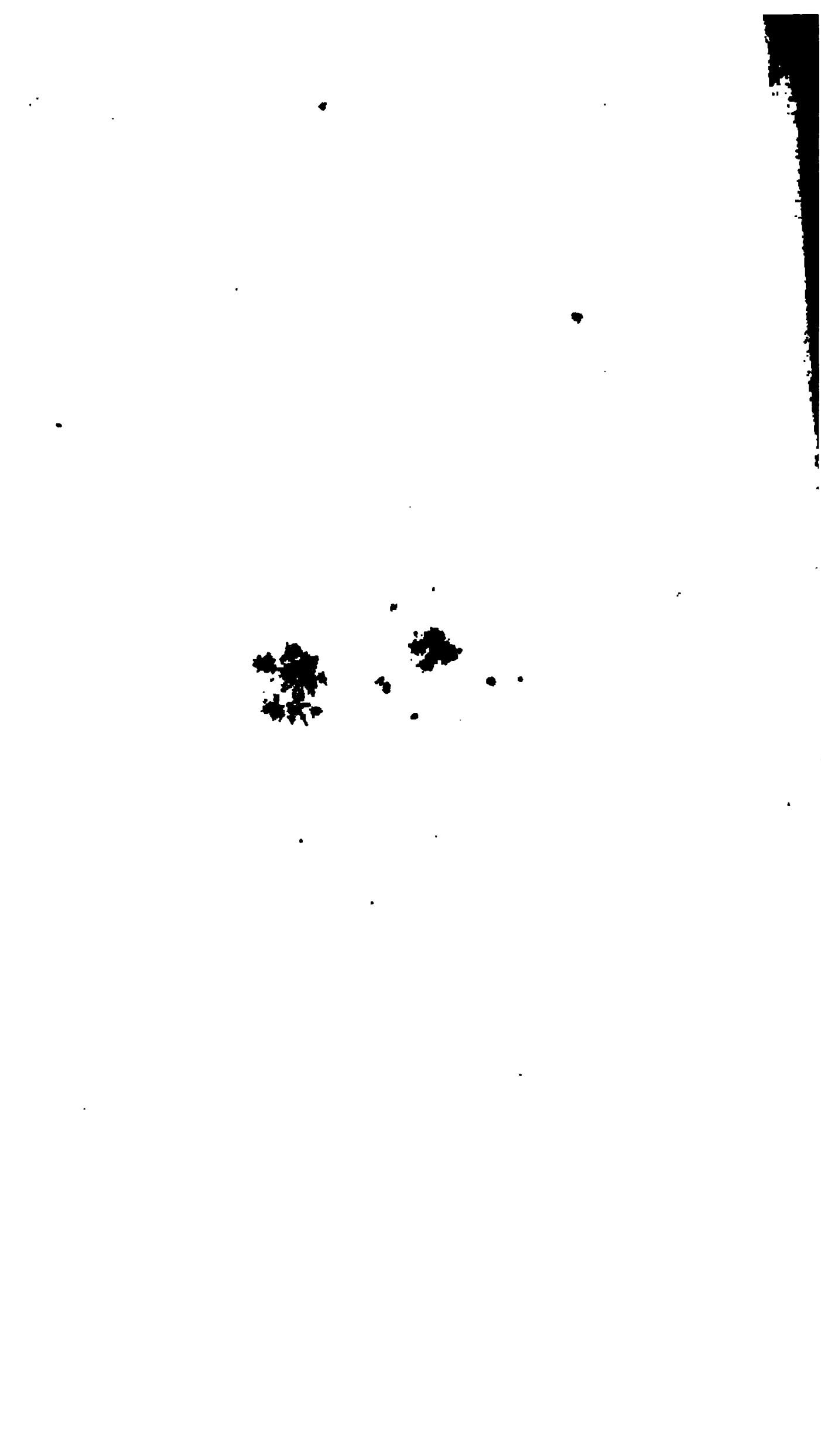
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# SELECT ORATIONS

OF

## CICERO:

WITH AN

### ENGLISH COMMENTARY,

AND

HISTORICAL, GEOGRAPHICAL, AND LEGAL INDEXES.

BY

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THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

THOROUGHLY REVISED, CORRECTED, AND IMPROVED,

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## EDITOR'S PREFACE.

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THE present edition of Dr. Anthon's Cicero has undergone a careful revision; I have lessened very considerably the amount of actual translation, and have excluded all references to books which were not generally accessible; or those, the chief point of which was already included in the notes. I have filled up the space thus gained by adding those observations, &c., the absence of which I considered a deficiency in the book. The amount of these additions may be at once ascertained, as all are included within brackets, thus [ ]. Yet in very many instances I have altered the Doctor's language when it appeared to be too high-flown or turgid; to mark all such alterations would have been endless trouble, and would serve no useful purpose. I have persuaded the publisher to add to this Edition two Orations; that in Defence of Milo, and the Second Philippic; for the selected and original notes on these Orations I am solely responsible. I ought to add that, throughout, I have corrected the text to accordance with that of Orelli, except where I thought him to be in error. For all deviations from the common reading the reasons will be found in the foot-notes.

G. B. WHEELER, A.B.

28, *Trin. Coll. Dublin, 1853.*



## DR. ANTHON'S PREFACE.

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IN forming the text of the present work, the editor has taken Ernesti's for his basis, but without any slavish adherence to the opinions and decisions of that distinguished commentator. Wherever a reading presented itself, calculated in the editor's opinion to throw more light on the meaning of Cicero than the received lection could impart, he has not hesitated to adopt it; and he flatters himself, that the result of his labours, in this department, will prove acceptable to all who are qualified to pass an opinion upon his efforts.

The commentary, it will be perceived, is far from being a scanty one. If there be any author that stands in need of full and copious illustration, it undoubtedly is Cicero, in the orations which have come down to us. The train of thought must be continually laid open to the young scholar, to enable him to appreciate, in their full force and beauty, these brilliant memorials of other days; and the allusions, in which the orator is so fond of indulging, must be carefully and fully explained. Unless this be done, the speeches of Cicero become a dead letter, and time is only wasted in their perusal.

The editor is induced to make these remarks, from the conviction, that the system of commenting, which he has pursued throughout the present work, will, as in the case of his previous efforts, be condemned by some on the ground of its affording too much aid to the learner. The truth is, however, the editor had no alternative left him. If there be any one cause, which has tended more powerfully than the rest to bring classical studies into disrepute among us, it is the utter incompetency of many of those who profess to be classical instructors. It is very natural that such preceptors should be strongly averse to bestowing too much assistance on their pupils; and perhaps it is lucky for the latter that such a state of things should exist; but certainly, for our common country, it is high time that some change should be effected, and that if the learner cannot obtain from oral instruction the information which ought to be afforded him, he may procure it at least from the notes of his text-book. We may be very sure of one thing, that the style of classical instruction which prevails at the present day in so many of our colleges and seminaries of learning, of translating merely the language of an ancient author, without any attempts whatever at illustration or analysis, will never produce any fruits either of sound learning or intellectual improvement.

## PROLEGOMENA.

### I. ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE SECOND, THIRD, AND FOURTH ORATIONS AGAINST CATILINE.

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THE genuineness of the fourth oration against Catiline has been disputed since the time of Hooke; it remained for the scepticism of late years to doubt the authenticity of the second and third. Wolf, Clude, and Ahrens have severally stated their belief that those orations are fictitious, and composed by some rhetorician in the time of Augustus, or shortly after Cicero's death. To their opinion Orelli has lately given his assent; we hope to show on very insufficient grounds.

1. We have the express authority of Cicero himself for their authenticity. He writes as follows: (*ad Attic. ii. 1, 5,*) "*Orationes autem et quas postulas et plures etiam mittam, quoniam quidem ea, quae nos scribimus adolescentularum studiis exercitati, te etiam delectant. Fuit enim mihi commodum, quod in eis orationibus, quae Philippicæ nominantur, enituerat civis ille tuus Demosthenes et quod se ab hoc refractariolo judiciali dicendi genere abjunxerat, ut σεμνότερος τις καὶ πολιτικώτερος videretur, curare, ut meæ quoque essent orationes, quae CONSULARES nominarentur. Quarum una est in Senatu Kal. Jan.; altera ad populum de lege agraria; tertia de Othone, quarta pro Rabirio; quinta de proscriptorum filiis; sexta, cum provinciam in contione deposui; septima qua Catilinam emisi; octava quam habui ad populum postridie quam Catilina profugit, nona in contione, quo die Allobroges involgarunt; decima in senatu Nonis Decembribus; sunt præterea duæ breves, quasi ἀποσπασμάτια legis agrariæ. Hoc totum σῶμα curabo ut habeas. Et quoniam te cum scripta, tum res meæ delectant; iisdem ex libris perspicies et quæ gesserim et quæ dixerim; aut ne poposcisses; ego enim tibi me non offerebam.*

Now the position laid down by Orelli is, “that if we admit this testimony, either the whole four orations are to be acknowledged as Cicero’s, or that we must suppose the three genuine orations (ii. iii. iv.) alluded to by Cicero, to have perished, and three supposititious compositions to have been put in their place.” The latter supposition he pronounces to be untenable, indeed it is scarcely possible that, under any circumstances, a copyist would have erased the three genuine orations, and have written out the false, or that no copies of Cicero’s own compositions would have been preserved even in juxtaposition with the false.

As the other hypothesis, that all four are true or all four false, would oppose Orelli’s theory, since he acknowledges the first as Cicero’s, he has recourse to a bold expedient. *He supposes the passage quoted above (Ad Att. 11, 1) to be written by the same forger, who composed the three false orations, and purposely inserted among Cicero’s letters, to induce a belief of their authenticity!*

Such an hypothesis, if unsupported, would at once deserve to be rejected. Let us see what internal evidence Orelli brings forward to induce us to reject this passage.

α. The style, he says, is altogether at variance with that of Cicero, e. g. *Refractariolum judiciale dicendi genus*; *a dicendi genere se abjungere*.—*Oratio, qua Catilinam emisi; Allobroges involgarunt*. In these few words we have three ἄπαξ λεγόμενα. And a fourth ungrammatical phrase *emisi* for *egredi ex urbe jussi*; to the verb *emisi* at least there should be added, says Orelli, *ex urbe*.

To this we answer, that the occurrence of words, which, owing to the loss of the great mass of Latin literature, are *to us ἄπαξ λεγόμενα*, is no proof whatever against the genuineness of the compositions they occur in. The style of epistolary correspondence, is far different from that of works specially intended for the public eye, and the most casual reader of Cicero’s letters will perceive, that in those letters he was fond of indulging in unusual words and phrases. Besides, Orelli puts the point unfairly, there are not three ἄπαξ λεγόμενα, strictly, in the passage, *a dicendi genere se abjungere* is similar to *ubi plus mali quam boni reperio, id totum abjudico ex oratione, &c.* the verb *involgare* is found in Aulus Gellius, *N. Att. iii. 11*. As to the phrase *qua emisi Catilinam*, Orelli forgot that it is but a quotation

in part from the beginning of the second Cat. Orat., and that in a citation of that kind the full phrase is not required. Perhaps the precise passage alluded to is Cat. ii. 2, “*quod tam capitalem hostem non comprehendenderim potius, quam emiserim.*”

2. Another objection is derived from these words, *iisdem ex libris perspicias, et quæ gesserim et quæ dixerim.* “Since Atticus wrote a history of Cicero’s consulship, it would indeed be a work of supererogation for Cicero to inform him of his exploits.” All depends on the time Atticus wrote his history, if antecedently to the date of this letter, the objection is valid; but if subsequently, what could be more natural than for Atticus, intending to write the history of Cicero’s consulship, to write to him for a copy of his speeches, and for information regarding his acts?

3. To whom then does Orelli attribute their composition? To no other than M. Tullius Tiro, Cicero’s freedman and scribe. And Orelli’s chief ground for this is, that by no other person could the passage above cited have been inserted in the letter. He thinks that when Tiro imagined the glory of his patron would be increased if he had delivered four orations against Catiline, as he had delivered three against the agrarian law—he endeavoured to imitate his master’s style, and miserably failed. If we ask for the proofs of failure, Orelli tells us that the scribe tortured himself in vain, in arranging the followers of Catiline into no less than six classes (ii. 8). Yet any one conversant with the minute subdivisions frequently met with in Cicero’s philosophical works, will not wonder if on some occasion he introduced the same into his oratory. But, independently of this, Cicero’s object was to impress the people with the real character of the conspirators, and seeing that men of all ranks and stations were involved in it, to take each class separately, and hold them up to the abhorrence of the multitude, while he showed that each party separately was powerless, and each influenced merely by selfish motives.

4. Orelli brings forward another argument to prove that, these orations were written by a “scriba,” *fatemur aliquoties erga libertinos ac scribas, e quorum genere ipse erat, amorem ostentavit.* Now Cicero mentions the zeal of the scribes but in a single passage, and consequently, if his argument

be good for anything, it extends only to the oration in which it occurs.

5. "But Sallust (says Orelli) mentions only one oration of Cicero, and therefore either did not know that any other orations existed, or knowing them, rejected them as false." The statement is true that Sallust mentions but one, it is also true that he had occasion to mention but one. The historian did feel called upon to notice the indignant outburst of withering eloquence poured upon the head of the traitor, who had dared, by his intrusion, to violate the sanctity of the senate, but he was not required to follow Cicero to the popular assembly, and give Cicero's version of the narrative, which forms the subject of his own history. Even in describing the proceedings in the senate (chap. 50) Sallust treats the subject most briefly, contenting himself with giving the speeches of Cato and Cæsar, as they were the acknowledged leaders of the aristocratical and democratical parties.

6. It will be seen from what is above written, that Orelli considers the whole question mainly to depend upon the admission or rejection of *that passage* in the letters to Atticus. Now there might be some ground for supposing that interpolated if it were isolated, but the fact is that numberless allusions to the Catiline orations occur in other letters, which we cannot suppose to be all interpolated, e. g. *Ad Att. i. 14. Quid multa? Totum hunc locum, quem ego varie meis orationibus, quarum tu Aristarchus es, de flamma, de furo, nosti illas ληξιδous valde graviter pertexuit.*" Comp. with this, the opening of the second Catiline: L. Catilinam—*vobis atque huic urbi ferrum flammamque minitantem.* Again, (same epistle.) "*Concursabant barbatuli juvenes, totus ille grex Catilinæ.* Compare *Cat. ii. x. 22, de (Catilinæ) amplexu, quos pexo capillo, nitidos, aut imberbes, aut bene barbatos videtis.* But allusions not only to the purport, but also to the phraseology of these speeches will be found in *Ad Att. i. 16, 9; pro Sulla, 29, 81; Phil. ii. 7, 16; Orat. 37, 129.* In *Pison, 2, 5; pro Sestio, 3, 8, seqq.* Compare the extract given beneath, from the letter *ad Att. 12, 21, 1.*

7. The question regarding the authenticity of the fourth oration rests on other and far different grounds, for the writer of this oration has represented the circumstances as

if, when on the nones of December 691, Silanus and Cæsar had expressed their sentiments in the senate, and when many were yielding to the opinion of Cæsar; that then before either Ti. Nero, or M. Cato had spoken, Cicero had held this oration, in which he compares the sentiments of Silanus and Cæsar, and with wonderful art proves the former to be preferable. Now to this view the narrative of Sallust is wholly opposed, c. 50. *Consul convocato senatu REFERT,* (this is all Sallust allows to Cicero), *quid de iis fieri placeat, qui in custodiam traditi erant.* *Tum D. Junius Silanus primus sententiam rogatus, quod eo tempore consul designatus erat, de iis qui in custodiis tenebantur, præterea de L. Cassio, P. Furio, P. Umbreno, Q. Annio, si comprehensi forent,* supplicium sumendum decreverat. Then C. Cæsar spoke (c. 51.) When he had ended, the senators variously expressed their concurrence with one or other. Next came the remarkable speech of Ti. Nero, with whom even Silanus was inclined to agree, influenced by Cæsar's speech, (c. 50.) To Nero succeeded Cato, whose speech we have in full, (*Sall.* c. 52,) and in accordance with whose opinion the decree of the senate was made. Now in all this we hear no more of Cicero than the simple fact that he proposed the question *quid de iis fieri placeat, &c.,* and if after the speeches of Silanus and Cæsar, Cicero had delivered so long an oration, how can we account for the silence of Sallust regarding it, especially as he seems to have given the history of these proceedings with accuracy as to the orators engaged? Moreover, Cicero himself shows that he had delivered no speech *after* Silanus and Cæsar (*Att.* xii. 21, A.U.C. 709.) *Legi Brutii epistolam eamque tibi remisi sane non prudenter rescriptam ad ea, quæ requisieras. Sed ipse viderit.* Quamquam ilud turpiter ignorat: *Catonem primum sententiam putat de animadversione dixisse, quam omnes ante dixerunt præter Cæarem; et cum ipsius Cæaris tam severa fuerit, qui tum Prætoris loco dixerit, consularium putat leniores fuisse, Catuli, Servilii, Lucullorum, Curionis, Torquati, Lepidi, Gellii, Volcatii, Figulæ, Cottæ, L. Cæsar, C. Pisonis, etiam M. Glabronis, Silani, Murenae designatorum Consulum. Cur ergo in sententiam Catonis?* Quia verbis luculentioribus et pluribus rem eandem comprehendenterat, ille autem hic laudat, quod rettulerim, non quod patefecerim, quod cohortatus sim, quod denique, ante, quam consulerent, ipse judicaverim. Quæ

*omnia, qui Cato laudibus extulerat in cælum perscribendaque censuerat, idcirco in ejus sententiam est facta discessio. Hic autem se etiam tribuere multum mihi putat, quod scripsicerat, "optimum consulem." Quis enim jejunius dixit inimicus.*" From this angry letter it appears, that Brutus had supposed, with Sallust, that the whole part which Cicero took in the proceedings was merely the proposition of the question *de iis, &c.* But from it this also is clear, that Cicero, prior or simultaneously with proposing the question, had laid open the whole conspiracy (*patefecerim*), had exhorted the senators to severity (*cohortatus*), nay, had himself given his sentence on the matter (*judicaverim*), but all prior to his consulting the senate, (i. e. asking the individual opinion of each, *ante quam consularent*). This being the case, how could Cicero compare the opinions of Silanus and Cæsar, which he had not yet heard? For if he had spoken twice on the same motion, assuredly he would have stated this in the above letter. The pseudo-Cicero then, in writing this speech under the great orator's name, saw that he could not well represent it as delivered after Cato's, which was applauded by the whole senate (*Sall. c. 53*), since after such a speech, the comparatively temporizing address which follows would have been altogether out of place. He therefore represents Cicero as speaking after Silanus and Cæsar, and as making a motion similar to that of Cato, but this is shown above to be false.

The above is chiefly the argument of Ahrens, which has been unnoticed even by Madvig; but long before Ahrens, Hooke had seen that this oration was spurious, his arguments may be comprised (at least the chief of them) in the following summary.

Plutarch reports that what Cicero said, after Cæsar spoke, was in support of Cæsar's opinion. Seven years after Cicero's consulship, neither Brutus nor Atticus knew anything of that fourth oration, which was probably composed on occasion of Brutus's having given more honour to Cato, in relating the debate about Catiline, than Cicero thought was consistent with his own glory.

That this masterpiece of oratory and political skill (!) was never spoken, one may reasonably conclude from the following considerations:—

1. He tells the house that there are two opinions before

them, whereas in reality there was but one; for Silanus, and all those who had assented to what he at first advised (among whom was the consul's \* brother Quintus), had gone over to Cæsar's opinion.

2. He represents Cæsar as voting for every other way of punishment except death, which not being true, but directly contrary to what Cæsar had advised, it is not likely the orator, while Cæsar was present, would impute it to him. For instance, Cæsar did not advise to have the criminals beaten with rods, but speaks of that punishment as no less illegal, without a hearing and judgment of the whole people, than death itself.

3. He represents Cæsar as having voted for perpetual imprisonment, which his words, in the speech given us by Sallust, do not import: neither could a vote of the senate deprive the people of their right of judging the prisoners, and determining their fate.

Add to this, that Cæsar (according to Plutarch's repeated testimony) moved for the close confinement of the prisoners only till Catiline should be defeated and crushed, and more ample information of the conspiracy could be taken at leisure. And Appian says expressly, that the imprisonment proposed by Cæsar was only till the war should be ended, and the criminals could be brought to trial.

4. Cicero's answer to Cæsar, concerning Caius Gracchus's law, which forbade the punishing citizens, uncondemned by the people, with death, is quite ludicrous. "Enemies (says the orator) are no citizens; therefore the prisoners, having been declared enemies by the senate, have no title to the benefit of that law." Would he have talked thus, Cæsar present?

5. He affirms, that Caius Gracchus had suffered death by order of the people: a notorious falsity, and contradictory to what he had said in his first speech against Catiline. But, had it been true, would the orator thence infer, that the people were dissatisfied with the law in question? Or would he infer from the people's having sentenced Caius Gracchus to death, that the senate might legally inflict on a citizen the same punishment? Can we suppose such discourse from Cicero in full senate?

\* Suet. in Cæs. 14.

6. He refutes, beforehand, Cato's argument for putting the prisoners to death without trial, by saying, that the people were not wanting in their zeal and duty on this occasion ; that the whole body of the people were assembled for the defence of the senate ; that the whole Roman people were of one and the same mind. If so, there could be no ground to apprehend a rescue, nor therefore any necessity of sentencing the prisoners to immediate death.

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## II. WHETHER CRASSUS AND CÆSAR WERE CONNECTED WITH THE CONSPIRACY.

[It has often been a question, whether Crassus and Cæsar were participators in the conspiracy of Catiline or not. The chief passages bearing on the subject are the following :—

SALL. *Catil.* 17. *Fuere item ea tempestate qui crederent M. Licinium Crassum non ignarum ejus consilii fuisse.*

Ibid 48. *Ubi Tarquinius Crassum nominavit, hominem nobilem, maximis divitiis, summa potentia,—plerique Crasso ex negotiis privatis obnoxii, conclamant indicem falsum esse, &c.*

Ibid. *Ipsum Crassum ego postea prædicantem audivi totam illam contumeliam sibi ab Cicerone impositam.*

Ibid 49. *Q. Catulus et C. Piso neque precibus neque gratia neque præcio Ciceronem impellere potuere, uti per Allobroges aut per alium indicem C. Cæsar falso nominaretur.*

DIO CASS. 37, 35, δῆλθε μὲν οὖν λόγος, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Κράσσος ἐν αὐτοῖς εἴη, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν συλληφθέντων τις ἐμήνυσεν οὐ μέντοι πολλοὶ ἐπίστευσαν, &c.

PLUTARCH, CÆSAR, chap. 7, οἱ περὶ Πείσωνα καὶ Κάτλου (Catulus) ἡτιῶντο Κικέρωνα φεισάμενον Καίσαρος ἐν τοῖς περὶ Κατιλίναν λαβὴν παρασχόντος. Λέντλω (Lentulus) καὶ Κεθῆγω εἰ μὲν κρύφα παρεῖχε τι θάρσους καὶ δυνάμεως ὁ Καίσαρ, ἄδηλός ἐστιν, &c.

PLUTARCH, CRASSUS, chap. 13. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ Κατιλίναν πράγμασι μεγάλοις καὶ μικροῦ δεήσασιν ἀνατρέψαι τὴν Ῥώμην ἦψατο μὲν τις ὑπόνοια τοῦ Κράσσου καὶ προσῆλθεν ἄνθρωπος ὀνομάζων ἀπὸ τῆς συνωμοσίας, οὐδείς δ' ἐπίστευσεν. "Ομως δὲ ὁ Κικέρων ἐν τινι λόγῳ φανερὸς ἦν Κράσσω καὶ Καίσαρι τὴν αἰτίαν προσ-

τριβόμενος. 'Αλλ' οὗτος μὲν ὁ λόγος ἐξεδόθη μετὰ τὴν ἀμφοῖν τελευτῆν. 'Εν δὲ τῷ περὶ ὑπατείας ὁ Κικέρων τύχωρ φησὶ τὸν Κράσσον ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴν πομπῆσσα περὶ τοῦ Κατιλίνα καὶ ζητουμενήν, ὡς ἥδη βεβαιοῦντα τὴν συνωμοσίαν. This should be corrected into περὶ τοῦ Κατιλίνα αἰτιωμένην, since it is hardly credible, that Cicero after the ides of March 710, would have published an oration, in which besides Cæsar, Crassus also should be named as a participant in Catiline's conspiracy. It seems to me probable, that that speech which Plutarch mentions, like the last three Catiline orations, is to be classed among the spurious speeches which were written by the rhetoricians after Cicero's death, and published under his name. A capital material for a thesis, no doubt, would be the subject. '*C. Cæsar et M. Crassus Catilinarii clandestini.*'—ORELLI.] Catulus had been defeated by Cæsar in his canvas for the pontificate. Against Piso Cæsar had brought an action, (*Sall.* 49), both vowed vengeance, and hence it is probably true that they urged Cicero to include Cæsar among the conspirators; but Cicero felt he could not dare to punish Cæsar capitally even if he were guilty; and that if he were once accused, the punishment of the other conspirators should be regulated by his. After all, what possible motive could Cæsar have had for joining in the conspiracy, he was not the man to fight under Catiline's standard, and he was too wise to jeopardize his progressing fortunes by uniting them with so reckless an attempt?—MERIVALE.

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## III.

*Extract from Cicero's Speech for Murena, chap. 24, 25.*

Sed tamen, Servi, quam te securim putas injecisse petitioni tuæ, cum tu populum Romanum in eum metum adduxisti, ut pertimesceret, ne consul Catilina fieret, dum tu accusationem comparares, deposita atque abjecta petitione? Etiam te inquirere videbant, tristem ipsum, moestos amicos; observationes, testificationes, seductiones testium, secessionem subscriptorum animadvertebant: quibus rebus certe ipsi candidatorum vultos obscuriores videri solent: Catilinam interea alacrem atque lætum, stipatum choro juventutis, vallatum indicibus atque sicariis, inflatum cum spe militum, tum collegæ mei, quemadmodum dicebat ipse, promissis; circumfluentem colonorum Arretinorum et Fesulanorum exercitu; quam turbam, dissimillimo ex genere,

distinguebant homines percussi Sullani temporis calamitate. Vultus erat ipsius plenus furoris : oculi sceleris : sermo, arrogantis : sic ut ei jam exploratus et domi conditus consulatus videretur. Murenam contemnebat : Sulpicium accusatorem suum numerabat, non competitorem : ei vim denuntiabat : rei publicæ minabatur.

25. Quibus rebus qui timor bonis omnibus injectus sit, quantaque desperatio rei publicæ, si ille factus esset, nolite a me commoneri velle : vosmet ipsi vobiscum recordamini. Meministis enim, cum illius nefarii gladiatori voces percrebuerint, quas habuisse in concione domestica dicebatur, cum miserorum fidelem defensorem negasset inveniri posse, nisi eum, qui ipse miser esset : integrorum et fortunatorum promissis saucios et miseros credere non oportere : quare qui consumpta replere, erepta recuperare vellent, spectarent, quid ipse deberet, quid possideret, quid auderet ; minime timidum, et valde calamitosum esse oportere eum, qui esset futurus dux et signifer calamitosorum. Tum igitur his rebus auditis, meministis fieri senatusconsultum, referente me, ne postero die comitia haberentur, ut de his rebus in senatu agere possemus. Itaque postridie, frequenti senatu, Catilinam excitavi, atque eum de his rebus jussi, si quid vellet, quæ ad me allatae essent, dicere. Atque ille, ut semper fuit apertissimus, non se purgavit, sed indicavit atque induit. Tum enim dixit, duo corpora esse rei publicæ, unum debile, infirmo capite : alterum firmum, sine capite : huic, cum ita de se meritum esset caput, se vivo, non defuturum. Congemuit senatus frequens, neque tamen satis severe pro rei indignitate decrevit. Nam partim ideo fortis in decernendo non erant, quia nihil timebant : partim, quia timebant. Tum erupit e senatu, triumphans gaudio, quem omnino vivum illinc exire non oportuerat : præsertim cum idem ille in eodem ordine paucis diebus ante, Catoni, fortissimo viro, judicium minitanti ac denuntianti, respondisset, si quod esset in suas fortunas incendium excitatum, id se non aqua, sed ruina restincturum.

## IV.

*Extract from Arnold's Later Commonwealth, vol. i. p. 332.*

The conspiracy of Catiline, as described by Sallust and Cicero, is considered by some persons to contain many improbabilities. It is incredible, they say, that a man like Catiline, unconnected with the regular popular party, should have seriously hoped to effect a revolution, nor can it be believed that any of the nobility should have submitted themselves to the guidance of such a leader. Even if he had succeeded in setting fire to the city and destroying the principal senators, the prætor of the nearest province would presently have marched against him, and would have crushed him with little difficulty. But they who argue thus, forget that Catiline was a Patrician of noble family, that he had been prætor; and that he was considered by Cicero as his most dangerous competitor for the consulship, when

a candidate for that office. He had been known in Sulla's pros-  
as as a man who scrupled at nothing ; and there was a large  
Rome to whom such a character was the greatest recommenda-  
d who would gladly follow any one who possessed it. That  
ty was inconsiderable in point of political power is true, and  
cordingly hoped to effect their designs by fire and assassination  
than by open force. But if Catiline could have once made  
master of the city, no one can doubt but that he would have  
a majority in the comitia ready, either from fear or sympathy  
projects to elect him consul or dictator ; and when thus invested  
the title of a legal magistrate, and in possession of the seal of  
ment, he would have probably persuaded, a very great part of the  
nity to remain neutral, while his own active supporters, the  
the young nobility, the needy plebeians, the discontented Italian  
and the restless veterans of Sulla's armies, would have enabled  
defy the efforts of any neighbouring praetor who might have  
posed to attack him. He might have held the government as  
us Cinna and Carbo had done ; and although Pompey might  
itated successfully the conduct of Sulla, in returning from  
revenge the cause of the aristocracy, yet the chance of  
g him was not so hopeless as to dismay a set of desperate con-  
rs, who in their calculations, would have been well contented, if  
obability of their failure was only a little greater than that of  
uccess.

CHRONOLOGY  
OF  
CATILINE'S CONSPIRACY.

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**686.<sup>1</sup> A.U.C. 68. B.C.**

*L. Cecilius Metellus.—P. Marcus, Rex. Consuls.*  
Catiline obtains praetorship.

**687. A.U.C. 67. B.C.**

*Calpurnius Piso and M. Acilius Glabrio, Consuls.*  
Catiline harasses his province, Africa.

**688. A.U.C. 66. B.C.**

*L. Volcatius Tullus, M. Aemilius Lepidus, Consuls.*

Catiline canvasses for the consulship.—Is accused of *ex repetundarum* by P. Clodius. Tullus holds a public court to decide whether Catiline should be allowed to stand. P. Aufidius and P. Sulla, consuls elect, are accused of corruption and dismissed. Catiline withdraws from the contest. (*Post paullo pecuniarum repetundarum recus, prohibitus erat consulatum petere, quod intra dies profiteri nequierat.*) Catiline, uniting with Autronius and Cneius Piso, forms his first conspiracy.

**689. A.U.C. 65. B.C.**

*L. Manlius Torquatus, L. Aurelius Cotta, Consuls.*

On the kalends of January Catiline designs to slay the new consuls, Torquatus and Cotta, who had been chosen in the room of Aufidius and Piso. This being discovered (*ea re cognita, SALL.*) they defer execution until February, intending then to put to death not the consuls, but the leading senators, (*plerisque senatoribus.*) Catiline gave the signal before the appointed time, and his intention was frustrated. (*Quod ni Catilina maturasset pro curia signundare, eo die, post conditam urbem Romanam, pessimum facinus pri-*

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<sup>1</sup> Some editors make the year of Catiline's praetorship to be 685, deduct one from each of the succeeding years. This depends upon the question whether our Saviour's birth should be counted as occurring in the year of Rome, 753, or 754. The latter is the calculation usually adopted.

*foret. Quia nondum frequentes armati conuenerant, ea res consilium diremit.—SALL. chap. xviii.)*

Clodius carries on his prosecution against Catiline, who escapes condemnation by bribing Clodius and his judges. He then prepares to sue for the consulship for the year 691. Piso is sent with an army into Spain.

690. A.U.C. 64. B.C.

*L. Julius Cæsar, C. Marcius Figulus, Consuls.*

On the kalends of June Catiline convenes his associates in the second conspiracy. The chief conspirators are thus enumerated by Sallust.

**SENATORS.**—P. Lentulus Sura.<sup>1</sup>

P. Autronius.

L. Cassius Longinus.

C. Cethegus.

P. Sulla.<sup>2</sup>

Servius Sulla.<sup>2</sup>

L. Vargunteius.

Q. Annius.

M. Porcius Læca.

L. Bestia.

Q. Curius.

**KNIGHTS.**—M. Fulvius Nobilior.

L. Statilius.

P. Gabinius Capito.

C. Cornelius.

*Ad hoc multi ex coloniis et municipiis, domi nobiles. Erant præterea complures paulo occultius, consilii hujusce participes nobiles, quos magis dominationis spes hortabatur, quam inopia.—SALL. chap. xvii.<sup>3</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> This person was the highest in rank among the conspirators, he had been consul, B.C. 71, but the censors had passed over his name, and hence he lost his seat in the senate. To regain this, he had to go through all the grades of office anew, and at the time of the conspiracy was prætor.

<sup>2</sup> These were nephews of the dictator, Sulla.

<sup>3</sup> The inducements held out by Catiline were.

I. An abolition of debts.

II. Proscription of the wealthy.

III. That all offices should be distributed among his associates.

*"Tum Catilina polliceri tabulas novas, proscriptionem locupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas, alia omnia, quæ bellum atque libido victorum ferit."* Chap. xxi.

The incidental circumstances, which favoured the conspiracy, are briefly given by SALLUST, ch. xvi. *"His amicis sociisque confisus Catilina, simul quod es alienum, per omnis terras ingens erat, et quod plerique Sullani militis, largius suo usi, rapinarum et victoriae veteris memores, civile bellum exoptabant, opprimundæ rei publicæ concilium cepit.*

## Candidates for consulship, for 691.

- L. Sergius Catilina (conspirator).
- P. Sulpicius Galba.
- C. Antonius Hybrida (conspirator), elected.
- C. Licinius Sacerdos.
- Q. Cornificius.
- L. Cassius Longinus (conspirator).
- M. Tullius Cicero (elected).
- Sextus Aufidius.
- C. Aquilius Gallus.
- M. Cæsonius.
- M. Lollius Palicanus.

The fact that Antonius was elected merely by a small majority over Catiline, and that Cicero at one time intended to coalesce with Catiline himself, shows that the power of the conspirators among the constituency was formidable.

Catiline is rejected, and immediately after is accused by Lucullus of murder (*inter sicarios accusatus*).<sup>1</sup>

691. A.U.C. 63. B.C.

*M. Tullius Cicero, C. Antonius Hybrida, Consuls.*

Among the conspirators actually in office this year, we find one consul, Antonius, gained over by Cicero, (*pactio provinciarum*). One prætor, C. Lentulus Sura, and among the tribunes up to the 10th December, P. Servilius Rullus, T. Altius Labienus, L. Cæcilius, Manlius Lentinus, and after the 10th, Q. Metellus Nepos, L. Calpurnius Bestia, and among the quæstors, P. Vatinus, Sext. Atilius Serranus.

## Candidates for consulship, 692.

- L. Sergius Catilina.
- L. Licinius Murena (elected).
- Servius Sulpicius.
- D. Junius Silanus (elected).

Piso is slain in Spain.

20th October—xiii. *kal. Novemb.*—Cicero lays before the senate all he had discovered regarding the conspiracy. A decree passed that the consular elections should not be held next day.

21st October—xii. *kal. Novemb.*—Crassus, at midnight, brings to Cicero letters threatening danger to the state. The senate is convened in the Temple of Concord. Cicero interrogates Catiline before the assembly, regarding his designs. The senate decrees *VIDERENT CONSULES, ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet.*<sup>2</sup>

22nd October—xi. *kal. Novemb.*—Silanus and Murena are elected consuls for 692.

<sup>1</sup> *Inter sicarios*, that is, he was arraigned among the *sicarii*, or assassins, who had taken advantage of the proscription of Sulla to murder their private foes.

<sup>2</sup> With respect to the discrepancy between Sallust, who represents this decree subsequent to the consular elections, see note on *Cat. 1. 2 vicesimum diem.*

*23d October—x. kal. Novemb.*—Catiline is accused under the *lex Plautia de vi*, by Lucius Paulus.

*27th October—vi. kal. Novemb.*—Mallius takes up arms in Etruria.<sup>1</sup>

*28th October—v. kal. Novemb.*—A day is appointed by Catiline for the murder of the leading senators. (*Cat. 1, 3.*)

*1st November—kal. Novemb.*—Catiline endeavours to seize Praeneste by a night assault.

*6th November—viii. id. Novemb.*—Catiline convenes his confederates at the house of M. Lecca, (i. e. on the night between the 6th and 7th November).

*7th November—vii. id. Novemb.*—Vargunteius and Cornelius present themselves at Cicero's gate, in order to assassinate him, but are refused admittance.

*8th November—vi. id. Novemb.*—Cicero convenes the senate in the temple of Jupiter Stator, and delivers the FIRST CATILINARIAN ORATION. Catiline was present. *Postremo dissimulandi causa, et quasi sui expurgandi, sicuti iurgo lacesitus foret, in senatum venit. Tum M. Tullius, consul, sive presentiam ejus timens, seu ira commotus, orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem rei publicæ, quam postca scriptam edidit.*—SALL.

On that night Catiline departs from Rome.

*9th November—v. kal. Novemb.*—The second Catiline oration, delivered from the rostra to the people.

*20th November, or thereabouts—xii. kal. Decemb.*—By a third decree of the senate Catiline and Mallius are declared public enemies.

Cicero defends Murena, consul elect, from the charge of bribery.

*About the end of November.*—The conspirators, meeting at the house of Sempronius, confide their designs to the ambassadors of the Allobroges.

Autronius makes for Etruria, and Cassius departs from Rome.

*3rd December—iii. non. Decemb.*—On the night between the 2nd and 3rd of December the ambassadors of the Allobroges, &c. are seized upon the Mulvian bridge.<sup>2</sup> On the 3rd the conspirators are brought into the senate house, and interrogated in presence of the Allobroges. By a fourth decree, the conspirators are consigned to custody (*libera custodia*), and a thanksgiving (*supplicatio*) is decreed in honor of Cicero.

The third Catilinarian oration, delivered at evening from the rostra to the people.

*4th December—Prid. non. Decemb.*—Rewards are decreed to those who should give information regarding the conspiracy.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This Mallius had been one of the centurions of Sulla. (Dio. Cass. xxxvii. 30.)

<sup>2</sup> The seizure of the letters, &c. must have relieved Cicero from great embarrassment; until he had obtained these, he had no legal proof of the conspiracy. His agent, Curio, was a conspirator himself, and the testimony of an informer is always looked on with suspicion; besides, to bring him forward now would prevent his being of service to Cicero in discovering the after designs of Catiline's party.

<sup>3</sup> That the disaffection was deep-rooted is proved by the fact, that

5th December—Non. Decemb.—Fourth speech of Cicero against Catiline, delivered in the Temple of Concord. The senate decrees that the last punishment should be inflicted on the conspirators. At the breaking up of the senate the life of Cæsar is threatened by the knights. Five conspirators are put to death.

692. A.U.C. 62. B.C.

*D. J. Silanus, L. Licinius Murena, Consuls.*

On the first of January Cicero inveighs against the tribune Metellus Nepos.

January 5th—iii. non. January.—Battle of Pistoria, defeat and death of Catiline. The other conspirators in Cisalpine Gaul are crushed by Metellus Celer.

Some time afterwards, Cassius Lecca, Servius Sylla, Vargunteius, Cornelius, and Autronius are tried under the *Lex Plautia de vi*, and exiled. P. Sylla also is arraigned, but defended by Cicero and acquitted.

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not a man appeared to take advantage of this offer and claim the reward. “*Namque duobus senati decretis, ex tanta multitudine neque præmio inductus conjurationem patefecerat, neque ex castris Catilinae quisquam omnium discesserat.*” (SALL. xxxvi.)

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<sup>3</sup> That the disaffection was deep-rooted is proved by the fact, that

expectations, my own and my father's friend, although I can never hope to attain to that lofty superiority which has been reached by the eminent individual whose name you have just mentioned.—Let us proceed, now, my dear Doctor, to Cicero.

Dr. B. Marcus Tullius Cicero was born in the 103rd year before the Christian era, at Arpinum, a Latin city, the inhabitants of which enjoyed the rights of Roman citizenship, and the privilege, consequently of voting at the comitia. The birth-year of Cicero was also that of Pompey, who was a few months his junior;<sup>1</sup> while Arpinum, the orator's natal place, was likewise famous for having produced the celebrated Marius, the well-known opponent of Sylla, and the deliverer at the same time and scourge of his country.

H. Was it not Pompey who made some allusion to this circumstance, Doctor, of Arpinum's having produced both a Cicero and a Marius?

Dr. B. It was. He took occasion once to remark, in a public speech, that Rome was under the strongest obligations to this municipium, because two citizens had come forth from it, who had each in his turn preserved Italy from ruin.<sup>2</sup> And Valerius Maximus makes a similar remark.

H. I remember his words: “*Conspicuæ felicitatis Arpinum unicum, sive literarum gloriosissimum contemtorem, sive abundantissimum fontem intueri velis.*”<sup>3</sup>

Dr. B. Yes, that used to be a favourite quotation with Russell, of Magdalen. The *contemtor literarum* is Marius, the *fons abundantissimus*, Cicero.—Our orator was of a family, which, though it had never borne any of the great offices of the republic, was yet very ancient and honourable:<sup>4</sup> of principal distinction and nobility in that part of Italy in which it resided, and of equestrian rank from its first admission to the freedom of Rome. It appears, that the father of Cicero, having his ambition probably excited by the successful career of his fellow townsman Marius, was the first who thought of obtaining some degree of lustre for his family, by bestowing a careful education on his two sons Marcus and Quintus, and one which might enable them to enjoy the highest offices in the gift of the Roman people.

H. But how could they procure this education at Arpinum?

Dr. B. They obtained it at Rome, in the dwelling of Caius Aculeo, their maternal uncle, and an eminent lawyer of the day; and their cousins, the young Aculeos, were educated with them, according to a method approved of by Crassus, the celebrated orator, and by the very instructors whom he himself had employed.<sup>5</sup> The language and lit-

<sup>1</sup> Cicero was born on the 3rd of January, (*Ep. ad Att.* 7, 5,) and Pompey on the last of September following. *PIGH. ANN. PLIN.* 37, 2.

<sup>2</sup> *CIC. de Leg.* 2, 3.

<sup>3</sup> *VAL. MAX.* 2, 2, 4.

<sup>4</sup> “*Hæc est mea, et hujus fratri mei germana patria: hinc enim orti stirpe antiquissima sumus; hic sacra, hic genua, hic majorum multa vestigia.*” *CIC. de Leg.* 2, 2, 3.

<sup>5</sup> “*Cumque nos cum consobrinis nostris, Aculeonis filiis, et ea disceremus, quæ Crasso placerent, et ab iis doctoribus, quibus ille uteretur, erudiremur.*” *De Or.* 2, 1.

Greece formed, of course, a prominent part of their early and in this they were carefully instructed by the poet Archias, who resided at Rome when Cicero was only five years of age, whose fostering care the latter beautifully alludes in the memoir in which he defends the poet's citizenship.

you not think, Doctor, that he rates somewhat too highly the this Archias? Dodgson, of Christ-Church, one of Dean Ireholars, insists that the poet was only an individual of secondities.

Why, I am inclined to think so myself. But vanity, you as the great failing in Cicero's character; and Archias, most in the true spirit of his country and his age, had ministered lantly to the personal feelings of the Roman orator, as to en in the eyes of the latter to a more than ordinary return of uage of praise. Be this, however, as it may, we cannot but he kind feeling so strongly displayed in his spirited eulogium e character and abilities of his early preceptor. But let us

Cicero is said to have attracted, at an early period, the attention of the two greatest orators of their day, Licinius Crassus and Antonius, who did not disdain to interest themselves in behalf th so conspicuous for zeal and the early development of talent. already given a proof of this ability by his poem of Pontius which he is said to have composed while still almost a boy, ch existed as late as the time of Plutarch.<sup>1</sup>

it, Doctor, you surely would not consider Cicero's poetry a standard by which to estimate his intellectual excellence.

I am well aware, my young friend, of the difference of opinion exists in relation to the poetry of Cicero; and that it is very fashion with modern scholars to deny him any merit in this if writing. He has been often ridiculed on account of an unie that occurred in a poem which he composed on the subject nsulship; and I have no doubt you can quote it for me.

*fortunatam natam me consule Romam.*"

Right. You remember probably the sarcasm of Juvenal,<sup>2</sup> he had uttered every thing in this way, he would have been a the swords of Antony's followers; and also Quintilian's lan-<sup>3</sup>ho censures the line as an example of defective versification; annot, I confess, see the justice of condemning a writer for a ie of poetry; and it appears to me, that, if our modern bards ed by this ordeal, a large number, who have obtained very able quarters on Parnassus, would be compelled to descend to Voltaire, in the preface to his *Catilina*, places Cicero by the best poets of his time, and thinks he may even dispute the Lucretius himself.<sup>4</sup>

T. *Vit. Cic.* 2.

10, 123, seq.

. *Or.* 9, 4, 41.

que peu de personnes savent, c'est que Cicéron était encore un niers poètes d'un siècles où la belle poésie commençait à naître. cait la réputation de Lucrèce. Y-a-t-il rien de plus beau que

H. Allow me to ask, Doctor Barton, whether you would consider Voltaire as a very strong authority in the present case.

Dr. B. I know what you mean by your question, Henry. The work which my friend Dr. Wynter, of St. John's College, recommended you to read, has given you a very low opinion of Voltaire's general accuracy; and I confess, that, in matters of real scholarship, his authority is of no weight whatever. As a poet, however, he may be allowed to give us his opinion respecting a brother poet, and may be considered a much safer guide in matters of taste than where learning and research are demanded.

H. Perhaps, Doctor, some light may be thrown upon this subject by the estimation in which Cicero's poetry was held among his contemporaries.

Dr. B. Strange as it may appear to you, Cicero's contemporaries all thought that his poem entitled *Marius*, an extract from which appears in the treatise on *Divination*,<sup>2</sup> and on which, by the bye, Voltaire's opinion is founded, was a production that had the fairest chance of descending to posterity. Indeed, the alliance between oratory and the poetic art is so strict, that it is difficult to excel in one, without having at the same time some disposition for the other. Both demand, in fact the very same qualities, an ardent imagination, a fertile invention, and grandeur and elevation of style. Thus, for example, the genius of Demosthenes was essentially tragic, and he appears as much of a poet as an orator, in some of those strains of continued eloquence, which no human effort has yet surpassed, and which have covered his name with one undying blaze of glory. We must bear in mind, too, that, in Cicero's days, the ancient rusticity of the Latin muse was only beginning to assume a more polished exterior, and to familiarize itself insensibly with harmony of numbers and the other embellishments of art. The perfection, however, to which poetry was carried after the death of Cicero, having absolutely excluded all mediocrity, it need not surprise us that he retained so little reputation in a species of writing which he found in so uncultivated and almost barbarous a state. Our judgments of things are formed in this world solely by comparison. Cicero passes with many for a bad poet, because he does not enjoy the same rank as Virgil and Horace, Tibullus and Ovid: and this manner of judging him seems to have originated at the court of Augustus, where, to throw ridicule on the character of a patriot like Cicero, was sure to be received with favour by him who sat upon the throne.

H. I find a good deal of truth in your remarks, my dear Doctor, and will give the subject, one day, my attentive consideration; meanwhile allow me to ask what portions we have remaining of Cicero's poetry.

Dr. B. But few. There are fragments of his translation, into Latin hexameters, of the *Phœnomena* of Aratus; the extract already mentioned from his poem entitled *Marius*, and another from that on the subject of his consulship, together with a few scattered lines from other

ces vers que nous sont restés de son poème sur *Marius*, et qui font tant regretter la perte de cet ouvrage?"

<sup>1</sup> Lettres de quelques Juifs, à M. de Voltaire. 3 tom. 12mo.

<sup>2</sup> *Cic. de Div.* 1, 47.

performances.<sup>1</sup>—But I am afraid I have indulged too much in the garrulity of age on this particular topic; let us return to the more immediate history of the Roman orator. It was the custom, in those days, for young persons of good families, after they had assumed the manly gown, to attach themselves to some distinguished member of the senate, whom they accompanied to all places of public resort, the forum in particular, and from whose example they learned to occupy themselves with the affairs of the republic or those of private individuals. The senator, to whom Cicero had been recommended, was the celebrated lawyer, Quintus Mutius Scævola,<sup>2</sup> surnamed the Augur, by way of distinction from one of his relatives who was Pontifex Maximus. How much he profited by the society and the wisdom of this excellent man, is acknowledged by him in grateful terms, in the beginning of the dialogue on the subject of friendship.

H. Did the study of jurisprudence form at this time his sole employment?

Dr. B. It did not. The great object which he had in view rendered it absolutely necessary for him to obtain a perfect acquaintance with the various writers who adorned the literature of Greece; and this course of reading formed, during the whole of his life, his favourite relaxation after the labours of the senate and the bar, and his chief consolation amid the political convulsions of the republic. Among the Greeks, who, at this period, gave instruction at Rome in their national literature, besides his old preceptor Archias, was Phædrus the Epicurean, and he was in particular the first Greek philosopher whose lectures were attended by the youthful Cicero.

H. I have heard it said also, Doctor, that Cicero in early life performed military service. Is the statement a correct one?

Dr. B. It is. Two careers, at this period, presented themselves to those of the Roman youth who were possessed neither of fortune nor family influence; the path of arms, and that of eloquence. Oratorical talents were sure of finding at Rome a thousand opportunities of displaying themselves, either in the defence of friends, or in the accusation of powerful offenders; and they conducted their possessor to honours and public favour as promptly and as effectually as the career of military exploits. Such, however, was the peculiar constitution of the republic, that the ablest general was compelled to cultivate, in some degree, the art of public speaking; and, on the other hand, the most eloquent orator could not remain a stranger to the art of war. Every young man, destined for the movements of the bar, had to commence by making some campaigns abroad, and Cicero made his in the war of the allies, under Cneius Pompeius Strabo, father of the well-known Pompey, and under Sylla, the celebrated competitor of Marius. At the conclusion of this period, the republic was endangered without, by the contest with Mithridates, and within by civil strife. Five years of trouble thus ensued, during which Cicero, whose youth entitled him to the privilege of remaining neutral between the two factions, devoted all his time to rhetoric and philosophy.

H. Under what instructors, Doctor?

<sup>1</sup> Cic. Op. ed Ernesti, vol. 7, p. 1120, seqq.

<sup>2</sup> Brut. c. 89.

Dr. B. He had now for his preceptors many learned Greeks, whom the war with Mithridates had compelled to abandon their country. The chief of these was Philo,<sup>1</sup> of Larissa, who had been at the head of the Academy at Athens, and who was now a very successful teacher of philosophy in the Roman capital. The ardour with which Cicero embraced the Academic tenets is easily explained by the utility which he was likely to derive from them in the discussions of the forum. Philo, however, was not his only master. The Stoic Diodotus<sup>2</sup> taught how to wield the arms of dialectic science ; and under this rhetorician, who lived and died beneath his roof, Cicero daily exercised himself in extemporaneous declamation. The exercises were in the Greek language, Diodotus probably being not well acquainted with the Latin ; but still they were, no doubt, of the greatest advantage to Cicero, in enabling him to enrich his native idiom with the treasures of the Hellenic tongue.

H. I thank you, Doctor Barton, for thus dwelling upon the earlier studies of Cicero. The narrative may serve to animate the youthful aspirants of our own day. How forcibly are we struck by the contrast, when we compare the preparatory toil of a Demosthenes and a Cicero with that of the orators of our own times. Theirs was the heroic age of eloquence, an age destined never to return. The ancient candidate for the prize of oratory devoted his whole faculties to a mastery over the instrument of persuasion. He neglected none of the means of success, however slight or insignificant in appearance. He explored every avenue of the mind, and took possession of all the inlets of delight through the medium of the senses. If he figured as a statesman, the study of eloquence included the whole mental discipline. If he appeared as an advocate, and won the cause, it was to the arts of persuasion he owed the victory.<sup>3</sup>

Dr. B. True, Henry ; but then how different is the training of the modern, whether he appear in the senate or the forum ! His path is crowded and encumbered with the materials of almost unlimited extent and variety, which the labours of centuries have accumulated, and which he is required to shape to the ends of judicious speech. He is thrown on a scene of business, and into affairs of complexity, from the moment of his entrance on a public career. He has to combine and arrange a vast number of details, inconsistent with all unity of application. He cannot pursue eloquence as a separate branch of intellectual discipline, and of preparation for the conflicts of life. The ancients, having in their political assemblies no balancing of interests, no complicated adjustments, no compromises of policy, no schemes of concession, gave themselves up to a single point of discussion. They were never diverted from a certain unity of intellectual view by the distractions and divisions which pervade our mixed assemblies. Theirs was a singleness of purpose effected by simplicity of means. What weapons of signal power and proof did not these circumstances lend to the eloquence of antiquity !<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cic. de Or. 3, 28.—Brut. 89.—Ep. ad Fam. 13, 1.—Tusc. Disp. 2, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Brut. 90.—Ep. ad Fam. 13, 16.—Ep. ad Att. 2, 20.—Acad. 4, 36.

<sup>3</sup> *Southern Review*, No. 10, page 325.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

H. I perceive the force of your remarks, my dear Doctor, and that the labours and efforts of modern oratory ought to have been rated more highly by me.—But let us proceed with Cicero.

Dr. B. The first oration which Cicero pronounced, at least of those extant, was delivered in the presence of four judges appointed by the prator, and with the celebrated Hortensius for his opponent. It was in the case of Quintius, and the orator was at that time but twenty-six years of age. The first public or criminal trial on which he spoke, was that of Roscius of Ameria, the succeeding year, when he appeared on the defence, and displayed great courage in attacking, during his speech, a certain Chrysogonus, a favourite slave, to whom Sylla, then in the height of his power, had given freedom, and whom he had permitted to buy the property of the father of Roscius as a forfeiture.

H. This was certainly bold conduct in so young an advocate.

Dr. B. It was indeed. From dread of the power of Sylla, the accused had difficulty in prevailing on any patron to undertake his cause, but Cicero eagerly embraced this opportunity to give a public testimonial of his detestation of oppression and tyranny. The oration, however, was too much in the florid Asiatic manner, which the example of Hortensius had rendered fashionable in the forum. The spirit displayed by Cicero in conducting this defence met with general applause, and was remembered by himself in his old age with a feeling of such delight, that he recommends to his son, as the surest path to true honour, to defend those who are unjustly oppressed, as he himself had done in many causes, but particularly in that of Roscius of Ameria, whom he had protected against Sylla in the height of his authority.<sup>1</sup>

H. And did no evil consequences result to the orator from this courageous defence?

Dr. B. None whatever. It must be confessed, indeed, that Cicero quitted Rome soon after this, partly it is said on account of his health, which had suffered by his close application to study, and partly for improvement. Perhaps he deemed it but common prudence to withdraw for a season from the immediate presence of the all-powerful Sylla. He travelled into Greece and Asia Minor, where he spent two years in the assiduous study of philosophy, under the ablest instructors in either country, and where he also acquired, under Grecian masters, the art of commanding his voice, and giving it greater compass and variety than it had hitherto attained.<sup>2</sup>—The first cause which he pleaded after his return to Rome, was that of Roscius, the celebrated tragedian, which involved a mere matter of civil right, and was of no peculiar interest or importance. All the orations which he delivered during the five following years are lost, of which number were those for Marcus Tullius and Lucius Varenus, which Priscian mentions as being extant in his time.

H. I perceive, too, that even the speech for Roscius, the actor, is not complete, since the ill-omened words, “*Desiderantur non pauca,*” are appended to it.

Dr. B. They are indeed words of evil import, but we shall have pre-

<sup>1</sup> Dunlop, Rom. Lit. vol. 2, p. 279.

<sup>2</sup> Brutus, 91.—Dunlop, ubi supra.

sently to speak of losses far more serious and deplorable. Let us go on meanwhile with the biography of our orator.—Cicero had attained the quætorship at the age of thirty, an office forming the first step in the ascent to consular honours. His election was most honourable to him, as he was chosen by the unanimous suffrages of the tribes, and stood first on the list of competitors.<sup>1</sup> The provinces of the quæstors being always distributed by lot, the island of Sicily fell to the share of Cicero,<sup>2</sup> where he displayed so much prudence and sagacity, so much activity in the discharge of his official duties, and, what was most rare in those times, so much integrity and disinterestedness, as to excite the admiration of all the Sicilians.

H. Was it not during his government in this island that he discovered the tomb of the mathematician Archimedes?

Dr. B. It was, Henry. Before he left Sicily, at the close of his quætorship, he made the tour of the island, to see whatever it contained that was worthy the attention of a liberal and cultivated mind. On reaching Syracuse, his first request was, to be shown the tomb of Archimedes; but neither magistrates nor people could indicate its position, and Cicero himself was the first to discover it, by the sphere and cylinder engraved on the marble, and by a half-defaced inscription,<sup>3</sup>—You sigh, Henry.

H. I am thinking, Doctor, of the proud boast of him who engaged to move the universe, if a foothold were afforded him, and of the neglected tomb where that same individual, after little more than a century, was slumbering forgotten in his narrow resting-place.

Dr. B. True, but his name has never died, and it was this very immortality that led the Roman quæstor to his neglected grave.—At the age of thirty-seven, Cicero obtained the office of ædile. Before entering on the functions of this magistracy, a glorious opportunity was afforded for the display of his eloquence, in the prosecution against Verres, the prætor of Sicily, accused by the inhabitants of that island of many flagrant acts of injustice, rapine, and cruelty, while he exercised among them the functions of the prætorship. Applications for redress, however, in cases of this kind, rarely brought any relief to the oppressed nations, bowed down beneath the tyranny of Rome. The decision in such cases depended upon judges generally implicated themselves in similar enormities, and better calculated therefore to afford impunity to the guilty than relief to the aggrieved. This undue influence received additional weight in the case of Verres from the high rank and connexions of the culprit. Unappalled, however, by these difficulties, Cicero entered boldly on the management of the prosecution. He had been solicited to undertake the case by a petition from all the towns of Sicily, except Syracuse and Messina, both of which had been occasionally allowed by the plunderer to share the spoils of the province.<sup>1</sup> The issue was completely successful; and after the opening speech of Cicero, and the depositions of the witnesses,

<sup>1</sup> "Me cum quæstorem in primis—cunctis suffragiis populus Romanus faciebat." *Or. in Pis.* 1.—Compare *Brut.* 92.

<sup>2</sup> "Me quæstorem Siciliensis exceptit annus." *Brut.* 92.

<sup>3</sup> *Tusc. Quæst.* 5, 3.

Verres, driven to despair, submitted, without awaiting his sentence, to a voluntary exile.

H. But what is this oration against Cæcilius, which, I find here, on opening my Cicero, has been placed at the head of the orations against Verres, and why is it called "*Divinatio*?"

Dr. B. There was one Cæcilius, a mere creature of Verres, who had been his quæstor in Sicily, and who pretended to have received certain personal injuries from him, and to have a very intimate knowledge of all his crimes. He claimed, on these grounds, to be appointed accuser, in preference to Cicero, intending of course to manage the prosecution in such a way that Verres might easily escape.

H. An ingenious contrivance certainly.

Dr. B. Yes; but it emanated from Hortensius, who was counsel for the accused. The rival claims, therefore, of Cæcilius and Cicero had first to be decided, and this mode of deciding was technically termed "*Divinatio*," because, as there were no facts in the case, the judges, without the aid of witnesses, divined as it were, what was proper to be done.<sup>1</sup>

H. But, Doctor, did you mean to be understood as saying that only one of the orations against Verres was ever pronounced?

Dr. B. I did. Of the six speeches against this individual, only one was actually delivered. The remaining five, which he intended to pronounce after the proof was completed, were subsequently published in the same shape, as if Verres had actually stood his trial and made a regular defence. Of these, the most interesting is that "*De Signis*," where an account is given of the statues, and paintings, and works of art, which Verres plundered; while the finest is undoubtedly that "*De Suppliciis*," which is full of striking passages and the most vehement pathos.<sup>2</sup>

H. These orations, however, Doctor, must sound very oddly in some parts to a modern ear.

Dr. B. They do, indeed, Henry, I can assure you. Thus, in the beginning of the second oration, Cicero speaks of a report having been spread that Verres was to abandon his defence, but that here he sat braving his accusers and judges with his characteristic impudence. The effect of this is very amusing, when we recollect that Verres had absconded before one word of all this could be pronounced.<sup>3</sup>

H. Still, Doctor, it is very comfortable, for us ordinary mortals, to know that so much of the brilliant eloquence of Cicero was carefully elaborated and wrought out in private, before the occasion arrived for its being flashed forth upon a dazzled auditory. The more I am allowed to look behind the curtain, and to survey from a nearer point of view the workshops of great minds, the more I am inclined to think that "sublimity," or, as we ought more correctly to render it, "elevation of style," is in reality a very mechanical kind of operation.

Dr. B. Yes; my old friend Parr thought that *sublimis* came from *super limum*,<sup>4</sup> but I rather think *sub lima* the more rational etymology, and

<sup>1</sup> Ascon. in Or. contra Cæcil.

<sup>2</sup> Dunlop, Rom. Lit. vol. 2, p. 283, seqq.

<sup>3</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Parriana, by E. H. Barker, vol. 2, p. 475.

that the finest passages in the literature of every nation are precisely those which have been most carefully subjected to the private application of the file.—But to return. At the expiration of the two years which were required by law to intervene between the *aedileship* and the office of *prætor*, Cicero was elected to this latter station.<sup>1</sup> It was while invested with this magistracy, that he advocated with all his eloquence, against the views of the senate, to whom he was sincerely attached, and against the true interests of the republic, his cherished idol, the famous bill of the tribune of Manlius, which granted to Pompey, for enabling him to terminate the Mithridatic war, a power that seemed incompatible with public freedom.

H. I have never liked the character of Pompey, and it would delight me, Doctor, if your sentiments respecting him were to prove in accordance with my own. Do tell me what you think of the man.

Dr. B. Sallust paints his character in a very few words : “*Oris probi, animo inverecundo,*” meaning to imply, that his probity was more upon his tongue than in his heart. Pompey, in fact, respected virtue sufficiently not to offer it any open outrage or insult, but he never loved it enough to sacrifice to it in secret. Hence arose that profound dissimulation, in which he always enveloped himself, and that system, so well supported by him, of never wishing apparently to become possessed of any object, except by his own merit, while in reality he was grasping at, and bearing off every thing by dint of private intrigue. If he was inferior, however, to Cæsar in military talents, he was always superior to him in the comparative purity of his morals, and in the moderation of his sentiments. Cæsar wished to be the master of the world, Pompey only the first citizen of the republic. He was constant in his friendships, a moderate enemy, and peaceable citizen, as long as he had no rival to fear. Intrepid in conflict, he was always generous after victory: and hence he gave to Mithridates a splendid funeral, and burnt all the correspondence between Sertorius and the chief men of Rome.—To return to the point from which your question called me off, Cicero, at the period alluded to, was midway in his career of public honours; the consulship was before him, and the hope of attaining to this darling prize of his ambition, through the influence of Pompey, must have exercised some degree of control over the movements of the orator. At all events, the Romans of that day gave him little credit for sincerity in his extravagant eulogiums upon that favourite commander.

H. To what foreign province, Doctor, was Cicero sent on the expiration of his *prætorship*?

Dr. B. He would not accept of any government,<sup>2</sup> but remained at Rome, where he strove more and more in every way to conciliate the favour of the people. He was now preparing to sue for the consulship, the great object of all his hopes; and his whole attention was employed how to obtain it in his proper year, and without a repulse. There were two years necessarily to intervene between the *prætorship* and *consulship*; the first of which was usually spent in forming a general in-

<sup>1</sup> Or. pro Leg. Manil. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Or. pro Muren. 20.

terest, and soliciting as it were in a private manner; the second in suing for it openly, in the proper form and habit of a candidate. The efforts of Cicero were crowned with success, and he was chosen consul with almost the same honours as in his antecedent elections to magistracy. His principal opponent was Catiline.

H. And his colleague in office, Antonius. Was it not so?

Dr. B. Yes; the same Antonius, who was in secret league with the party of Catiline, and had to be bought off by Cicero with the opulent province of Macedonia.<sup>1</sup>

H. I will not occupy your time, Doctor, by any questions relative to the conspiracy of Catiline; of that daring movement I have obtained an accurate idea from the pages of Sallust. I will merely request of you to give me a brief sketch of the subsequent life of Cicero, and then pass to an examination of his writings.

Dr. B. I think this will be our more advisable course, Henry, as time would fail us were we to endeavour to do full justice to both; and, besides, allusion will occasionally be made to the history of his later years in our remarks on his literary efforts. The extraordinary but well-merited honours conferred upon Cicero for crushing this formidable conspiracy, could not fail to excite against him the opposition of the envious, as well as the jealousy of the more ambitious portion of his fellow-citizens. They took care not to reproach him at first with any act of injustice in his public career, but merely expressed themselves fatigued, and indeed completely worn-out, by his continual eulogiums upon his own patriotic efforts. In the forum, at the meetings of the senate, before the tribunals of justice, nay, even in the private circles which he frequented, the names of Catiline and Lentulus were constantly on his lips. He introduced his own praises into his writings. Almost every treatise of his, composed after this event, contains some allusion to his public services. Even his speeches lost in this way, through the excessive vanity of the man, a large portion of that pleasing and persuasive influence by which they were once characterized. It was like a kind of fatality.

H. When did he first experience the evil effects of this line of conduct? Not surely during his consulship?

Dr. B. When he was about to retire from it. On such occasions, it was usual for the magistrate, who was laying down his office, to make a speech to the assembled people, detailing the various public services which he had rendered during its continuance, and showing that his discharge of the duties of the magistracy had been a faithful and conscientious one. The tribune Metellus interrupted Cicero, when on the point of making such an harangue, and commanded him to be silent. The only alternative left the orator was to swear in a loud voice that he had saved the city from conflagration, and his fellow-citizens from the sword. In this oath the populace joined with one accord, and Cicero was conducted home by them in triumph, amid the mortification of his enemies and the joy of his friends.<sup>2</sup>

H. A noble triumph, Doctor, and well worthy of the man whom Catulus had styled, in a full senate, the father of his country.

<sup>1</sup> Sallust, B. C. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Or. in Pis. 3.—Ep. ad Fam. 5, 2.

Dr. B. Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus, who, three years after, formed the coalition known in history as the first triumvirate, secretly favoured the designs of Cicero's enemies, whose numbers the latter had increased by his unyielding and rigid discharge of duty, and to whom was now to be added the profligate Clodius, that bold and bad man, whose tribuneship was fraught with ruin to the peace and welfare of the deliverer of his country. Ever since the period of his acquittal from the charge of sacrilege, the malignant star of Clodius was in the ascendant, and that of Cicero began to wane. During the progress of the accusation a deadly animosity had grown up between them, and Clodius was not a man to neglect any favourable opportunity of revenge.<sup>1</sup>

H. Was not this man a descendant of the haughty race of the Claudii, who had ever shown so little regard for the liberties of the people?

Dr. B. He was; but profligacy and ruin had compelled him to take refuge among the very class on whose rights his patrician forefathers had so repeatedly trampled; and the corrupt and impoverished noble, the head of the Claudian family, voluntarily degraded himself from his rank, and obtained adoption into a plebeian house.

H. But what were his objects?

Dr. B. They were two; to humble the aristocracy and take vengeance upon Cicero.<sup>2</sup> Being elected to the tribuneship, this pestilent demagogue obtained the passing of a law, making it criminal in any one to have put to death a Roman citizen without a trial before the people, and inflicting the penalty of exile. The blow was aimed at Cicero, who, however, in ordering the punishment of Catiline's accomplices, had only obeyed the mandate of the senate, and the illustrious Roman was compelled to bend to the storm and go into voluntary banishment. Immediately after his departure a law was passed, which exiled him to the distance of 500 miles from Rome, and declared all his property to be confiscated. His villas, accordingly, were pillaged and burnt, his dwelling at Rome was demolished, and a temple to Freedom was erected on its site.

H. But where was the aid which he expected, and ought to have received, from Pompey?

Dr. B. As long as that profound dissembler believed that there was danger lest Cicero might throw himself into Cæsar's hands, he gave him the strongest assurances, confirmed by oaths and the most solemn protestations, that there was no danger, and that he would rather lose his own life, than suffer any harm to approach the person of the orator. But growing cool and reserved, as the plot against Cicero drew towards a crisis, and pretending to believe that the latter had formed designs against his safety, he withdrew to his villa, and abandoned him to his fate.<sup>3</sup>

H. Why did not Cicero demand a personal interview, and upbraid him with his monstrous duplicity?

Dr. B. He did obtain such an interview; but as for upbraiding the

<sup>1</sup> Quarterly Review, No. 112, p. 354.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Or. pro Dom. 11.

wily hypocrite, he wanted firmness for that. He threw himself at the feet of Pompey, and supplicated for aid. But the answer he received was perfectly in character: Pompey felt himself compelled to act in nothing against the wishes of Caesar.<sup>1</sup>

H. And where were his other friends?

D. B. All zealous for his welfare, but, as might naturally be expected, divided in opinion as to the course which he ought to pursue. Lucullus advised him to remain, and defend himself by force. Cato and Hortensius urged him to yield to the storm; and this advice, coinciding with the opinion of Atticus, and being supported by the fears and entreaties of his own family,<sup>2</sup> made him resolve to leave the field to his enemies and go into voluntary exile. Withdrawing in the night season, escorted by a numerous train of friends, who, after a day's journey or two, left him with every demonstration of regret, he turned his course towards Sicily, intending to make it his place of refuge, and sure of finding in the bosoms of its inhabitants that grateful affection which had been denied him at home. But when he was come within sight of the island, the Roman praetor sent him word that he must not set foot within it; and what made the shock still more cruel was this, that the magistrate in question had been an old and familiar friend, was under important obligations to Cicero, and belonged to the same party in the state.<sup>3</sup>

H. But why did the praetor take this step?

Dr. B. Through fear of Clodius, whose enmity he had already experienced, and the weight of whose power he now dreaded to encounter.<sup>4</sup>—Retiring to Greece, Cicero now took refuge in Thessalonica, where the hand of friendship was extended to him by Plancius, then quaestor of Macedonia, and where the praetor Apuleius, though he dared not venture to grant him openly his protection, yet connived at the acts of his quaestor, and took a lively interest in his behalf.<sup>5</sup> Two months had hardly elapsed before his friend the tribune Ninnius<sup>6</sup> made a motion in the senate for his recall. Pompey also, roused by the insults of Clodius, whose power was now on the decline, and anxious to retrieve his own credit and ingratiate himself with the senate and people, began to exert himself in his behalf. After a long and stormy interval, after every effort had been made by Clodius and his factious adherents, the cause of justice triumphed, and Cicero was recalled from exile by the unanimous suffrages of the centuries, and to the great joy of a vast majority of his countrymen.<sup>7</sup>

H. I have heard it said, Dr. Barton, that Cicero's conduct, while in exile, was not such as one would consider either manly or spirited.

<sup>1</sup> Ep. ad Att. 10, 4. Plutarch says, that Pompey slipped out of a back door, and would not see him; but it is certain from Cicero's account that he was admitted to an interview.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. Vit. Cic. c. 31.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. c. 32.

<sup>4</sup> Or. pro Planc. 40.

<sup>5</sup> Or. pro Planc. 41.—Post Red. in Sen. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Or. pro Sext. 31.

<sup>7</sup> Pro Dom. 33.—Post Red. in Sen. 11.

Dr. B. It was worse. It was actually pusillanimous. He deplored his fall in the most desponding and lamentable terms. He complained of false friends, of an ungrateful country, of the utter ruin of all his worldly prospects. His friends were forced to admonish him sometimes to rouse his courage, and remember his former character. Nay, to such an extent was this feeling carried, that Atticus even wrote him word, of a report having reached the Roman capital, that his affliction had disordered his senses.<sup>1</sup> The truth is, the excessive vanity of the man had received so rude and severe a shock, as almost to unsettle his intellect; and he who had fondly hoped, that his name and services would remain ever fresh and undying in the memory of his countrymen, could hardly believe that he was now an exile and fugitive from the very country he had saved.

H. But his return, Doctor, do tell me of that.

Dr. B. Ah! that was indeed a glorious era in his existence. The account of it is given by Cicero himself. The whole Appian Way, from Brundisium to Rome, appeared but one continued street, lined on both sides with crowds of men, women, and children. Nor was there a prefecture, town, or colony, which did not send deputations to congratulate him on his return. What Cicero himself says, was, as Plutarch remarks, even less than the truth, that all Italy brought him back upon its shoulders. "That one day," observes the orator, "was worth an immortality; when, on my approach towards the city, the senate came out to receive me, followed by the whole number of citizens, as if Rome itself had left its foundations and marched forward to embrace its preserver."<sup>2</sup>

H. For what length of time had Cicero remained in exile, Doctor Barton?

Dr. B. He was recalled sixteen months after his departure from Rome; but he did not exactly re-enter the city until seventeen had elapsed. The law for his recall from exile was passed on the 4th of August, and the day of his return was the 4th of September.

H. And where was Clodius, Doctor, during the period that elapsed after Cicero's restoration?

Dr. B. Doing every thing in his power to raise fresh tumults against him, and daily committing new outrages, until an end was put to his evil career by the swords of Milo's followers.—Cicero, after his return from exile, devoted himself for several years to the affairs of his numerous clients; and it was during this period that the celebrated trial of Milo took place, for the killing of Clodius, when the orator, intimidated by the display of a military force, and the outcries of the factious, made but a weak and ineffectual defence.

H. Cicero was no very great admirer, I believe, of warlike movements.

Dr. B. Why, when an occasion offered, and he was compelled to act, he conducted himself in a manner far from discreditable. I will cite you an instance. Pompey, in order to check more effectually the practice of bribery, had procured the passing of a law, by which all future

<sup>1</sup> Ep. ad Fam. 14, 4.—Ep. ad Att. 3, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Or. in Pis. 22.—Post. Red. in Sen. 15.—Pro Sext. 63.

s and praetors were disqualified from holding any province, till five after the expiration of their magistracies ; and, that there might supply of governors during this interval of five years, the senators sular and praetorian rank, who had never held any foreign com- were to divide the vacant provinces among themselves by lot. , in consequence of this, obtained the government of Cilicia,<sup>1</sup> a ce which included also Pisidia, Pamphylia, and three districts of together with the island of Cyprus. At the head of two legions eated the Parthians, who had advanced as far as Antioch ; and urning his arms against the inhabitants of the mountains, an un- race of banditti, who had never acknowledged the Roman sway, ok two of their towns, Erana and Pindenissus, the latter their l, and which cost him a six weeks' siege, and in testimony of his s was saluted by his soldiers with the title of *Imperator*.<sup>2</sup> He have obtained a triumph also, had not the troubled state of at home prevented one from being conferred.

The troubles to which you allude were those no doubt which led the commencement of the civil contest. How did he act ; their continuance ?

B. In the first outbreaking of this memorable war, Cæsar and ey were both anxious to gain over a man whose good opinion was portant as Cicero's. The orator regarded the cause of Pompey t of the republic ; he disapproved of every thing which had been for the increase of Cæsar's power ; but yet he plainly foresaw, collision between these two commanders would end in the ruin : republican party. Hence the indecision which marked his con- and necessarily embroiled him with both. During the space of months he was debating within himself whether he should follow ey and the senate into Epirus, or remain in Italy. At last he d for the first of these courses, and joined Pompey at Dyrrha-<sup>3</sup> Scarcely, however, had he taken this step, when he began to : of it.<sup>4</sup> He did not present himself at the battle of Pharsalia, ness, real or pretended, having confined him at Dyrrhachium, Cato was encamped with fifteen cohorts. When the issue of the it was known, Cato offered to Cicero, as a personage of consular the command of the forces. He declined, and recommended an modation, a step which nearly cost him his life at the hands of n of Pompey.<sup>5</sup> Returning upon this abruptly to Italy, he found : country a safe conduct sent unto him by Cæsar, who was then ypt, and couched in the most honourable terms.<sup>6</sup>

Ah, it was this that Grant, of New College, showed me yester- at the Bodleian, in a volume of Fabricius, beginning with the , " *M. Tullium Ciceronem, ob egregias ejus virtutes*," &c.<sup>7</sup>—The

<sup>1</sup> Ep. ad Att. 5, 15.—Ibid. 5, 17.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. ad Fam. 15, 1.—Ibid. 15, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. ad Fam. 6, 6.—Or. pro Marcell. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Ep. ad Fam. 7, 3.—Plut. Vit. Cic. c. 38.

<sup>5</sup> Plut. Vit. Cic. c. 39.

<sup>6</sup> Ep. ad Fam. 14, 23.

<sup>7</sup> G. Fabric. Antiq. Mon. Insig.

career of the orator is now drawing to a close. Doctor, and I will only beg of you to give me a rapid sketch of his history, that we may pass on to his works.

Dr. B. Well then, it shall be a rapid one, as you request.—Cicero, who had waited at Brundisium, for the return of Cæsar, from the beginning of the year to the month of October, was very kindly received by that commander when he reached the shores of Italy. Returning upon this to Rome, he took no part whatever in public affairs, and only broke through the long silence which he had preserved, when rendering thanks to Cæsar for the recall of Marcellus, and defending Ligarius, and king Deiotarus.—The assassination of Cæsar took place on the 15th of March, A.U.C. 710. Although Brutus was on terms of the greatest intimacy with Cicero, he had nevertheless concealed from him the plan of the conspiracy; and yet the moment the dictator fell, raising on high his blood-stained dagger, he congratulated the Roman orator on the restoration of the republic. But the latter soon perceiving, that, instead of a mild and clement master, his country ran the risk of passing under the sway of the ambitious and profligate Antony, availed himself of the privilege of a free legation, and embarked for Greece. The representations of his friends, however, respecting the favourable state of affairs at Rome, induced him to return to Italy, and he re-entered the capital on the last day of August.<sup>1</sup> From this moment to the day of his death, he set himself in opposition to the designs of Mark Antony, against whom he pronounced or published from the 2nd of September, 710, to the 22nd of April, 712, fourteen harangues, known by the name of *Philippics*. In order to balance the authority of Antony, Cicero favoured with all his influence the young Octavianus, who appeared attached to him, and frequently applied to him for advice. The indifference, however, if not actual contempt, which the senate displayed towards this youthful and aspiring leader, drove him eventually into a union with Antony and Lepidus. Thus the second triumvirate was formed, and one of its conditions was the head of Cicero.

#### H. And how did Octavianus act?

Dr. B. Historians<sup>2</sup> inform us that he did not give up Cicero to the swords of Antony's hirelings, without the greatest reluctance, and only after a struggle of two days to preserve him. But all this affection for the orator was probably unreal, and only assumed for the purpose of excusing in some degree his subsequent abandonment of the aged patriot. Cicero was at his Tusculan villa, when the news of the proscription reached him, secret intelligence having been sent him by some of his friends. At first he resolved to sail for Greece, where Brutus was assembling around him the surviving followers of the party of the republic. Contrary winds, however, prevented the execution of this design, and he landed again on the Italian coast, and spent the night near Circeii, in great anxiety and irresolution. On the following day, the importunity of his domestics prevailed upon him to sail for Caieta, where he went again on shore, to repose himself in his Formian villa.

<sup>1</sup> Ep. ad Att. 16, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. Vit. Cic. c. 46.—Vell. Patrc. 2, 66.—Sueton. Aug. 27.

he slept soundly for several hours, when his attendants, having of the arrival of a party of soldiers, who were in quest of him, yed their aged master towards the shore, through a private part woods ; but before they could succeed in reaching the ship, the rs, headed by a tribune whom Cicero had once defended in a cause, overtook the fugitives, and executed the bloody mandate tony.<sup>1</sup>

And was no effort made to save him on the part of his followers ? B. The attendants, as soon as the soldiers appeared, prepared selves for action, being resolved to defend their master's life at the d of their own ; but Cicero commanded them to set down the litter ich they were conveying him, and to make no resistance.<sup>2</sup> When officials approached, surveying them with a look which almost drove from their bloody purpose, he bade them execute the errand on they were sent, and extended his neck from the litter to receive low. His head and hands were severed from his body, conveyed me, and fixed upon the rostra, the head between the two hands, e orders of Antony !

His age, my dear Doctor ?

B. Within one month of sixty-four. He was killed on the 7th of aber, ten days after the establishment of the triumvirate.<sup>3</sup>—Shall proceed to delineate his character, or will you first have a brief sis of his literary efforts ?

The latter, undoubtedly, will be the preferable course, for I shall be better able to appreciate your delineation of the man.

B. I think so myself. Now, open your Cicero, and name to me cession the several productions of the Roman, as you will find arranged there ; I will give you a brief account of each. But, aber, only a brief one ; the rest is to be supplied from your own e reading.

I accept your terms, my dear Doctor, and will do my best to fulfil rt of the agreement.—Now, here we have, first in order, a treatise etoric, in four books, addressed to Herennius.

B. Which treatise Cicero never wrote. If you ask me the name true author, I can only reply, that the matter is involved in utter tainty. You will see, by the heading, that some of the learned iscribed it to Cornificius. This was the opinion of Aldus Manu-Sigoni, and Muretus, who made the writer to have been nificius, the elder, Cæsar's quæstor during the civil war. Gerard us, on the other hand, contends for the younger Cornificius. er attributes the work to Gallio, a rhetorician in the time of Nero. z is in favour of M. Antonius Gniphon, who was born in Gaul, 640, studied at Alexandria, and taught rhetoric in the house father of Julius Cæsar. But there are difficulties attending all opinions, especially the last, and the point must be still left open jecture. It appears, however, that this work was one of the first es on rhetoric ever published in the Latin language, since its

<sup>1</sup> Plut. Vit. Cic. c. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Liv. Fragm. ap Senec. Suas. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Vell. Patro. 2, 64.—Pigh. Ann. ad A.U.C. 710.

author cites no previous Latin writer, and asserts that he has been first to give Latin names to the figures of Rhetoric. The first and second books are extremely dry; the third, more engaging; and the fourth which turns upon the three kinds of style suitable for discourse decidedly the best of the whole.<sup>1</sup>

H. Next comes a treatise "*De Inventione Rhetorica.*"

Dr. B. On that part of rhetoric which relates to invention. This is the work alluded to by Cicero, in the commencement of his treatise "*De Oratore,*" as having been published by him in his youth. I generally believed to have been written by him when twenty-four years of age, and to have originally contained four books, of which but two remain. Schütz, however, maintains that he never wrote, or at least never published, more than the two books, which we possess. In composing this work, Cicero, as far as an opinion may be ventured, would appear to have had before him notes taken from the prelections of his instructor, whom the anonymous author of the treatise addressed Herennius had also attended. For a number of passages, in the two books "*De Inventione,*" coincide in a very marked manner with those in the work to Herennius; unless, indeed, the author of the latter was the preceptor of Cicero.<sup>2</sup>

H. To the work on invention succeed the three dialogues "*De Oratore,*" inscribed to his brother Quintus.

Dr. B. These were written, A.U.C. 698, when Cicero, disgusted with the political dissensions of the capital, had retired during part of the summer to the seclusion of the country. The speakers in these dialogues are the orators Antonius and Crassus, (the latter of whom was attended by the young Sulpicius and Cotta, at that time the two most promising speakers at Rome,) the eminent lawyer Scævola, and Catulus and Julius Cæsar, (grand-uncle to the dictator,) the last two distinguished also for their eloquence, and who joined the party in the interval between the first and second dialogues. The principal part of the conversation, however, is borne by Crassus and Antonius; the former advocating, what was in fact Cicero's own opinion, that almost universal knowledge is essentially requisite to perfection in oratory; the latter, who was a mere practical pleader, maintaining that the various accomplishments insisted upon by Crassus, were totally distinct from the proper office and duties of a public speaker. According to him, eloquence is not an art, because it depends not on knowledge. Imitation of good models, practice, and minute attention to each particular case, are laid down by him as the true foundations of forensic eloquence; the great objects of an orator being, in the first place, to recommend himself to his clients, and then to prepossess the judges in his favour. Crassus, in reply, enters on the embellishments of rhetoric: pronunciation, elocution, harmony of periods, metaph-

<sup>1</sup> An account of the whole controversy may be seen in Dunlop, Rom. Lit. vol. 2, p. 366, seqq.; and in Baehr, Gesch. Rom. Lit. p. 5 seqq.

<sup>2</sup> Dunlop, Rom. Lit. vol. 2, p. 366.—Schoell, Hist. Lit. Rom. vol. p. 117.

sentiments, action, and, in short, whatever can impart a finished grace and dignity to a public discourse.<sup>1</sup>

H. Excuse my interrupting you, Doctor, but how could Cicero, if he were not present at these conversations, obtain such accurate information of the various topics that were discussed?

Dr. B. He is supposed to have heard them from Cotta; and this fiction is the more convenient, since it enables him to shelter his own opinions under those of two such eminent masters of oratory as Crassus and Antonius.—Cicero entertained a very high opinion of this work, and his friends considered it one of his best. It is peculiarly valuable to us at the present day, as containing every thing of importance in the Greek works on rhetoric, while the copiousness, and ease, and graceful polish of the style are above all commendation.<sup>2</sup>—What have we next?

H. A dialogue entitled “*Brutus, sive de claris Oratoribus.*”

Dr. B. Cicero supposes, that, after his return from Asia, M. Brutus, the same who subsequently conspired against Caesar, pays him a visit accompanied by Atticus, and that these two request him to resume a conversation which he had previously held with Atticus alone, and in which they had been discoursing of the most eminent orators. Cicero complies, and, after a few slight, but masterly sketches of the most celebrated speakers of Greece, enters upon a full detail of the Roman orators from the earliest periods to his own time. This work is of great value, as regards the history of Roman eloquence, but it is not as interesting as its title would lead you to expect. It contains too many names, and too little is said of each, so that it resembles in some degree, a dry sort of catalogue.<sup>3</sup>

H. To the “*Brutus*” succeeds the “*Orator.*”

Dr. B. In this production, which is addressed to Brutus, and was written at his request, Cicero treats of the qualifications that constitute a perfect orator. It is intended to complete the subjects examined in the dialogues “*De Oratore.*” Cicero’s perfect orator, you will bear in mind, existed nowhere but in his own imagination.—Come, turn over. What do you find next in order?

H. A treatise entitled “*Topica,*” and addressed to C. Trebatius.

Dr. B. It gives an account of the various topics, or common-places, which are the foundation of rhetorical argument. The work is, in fact, an extract from that of Aristotle on the same subject, accompanied by a commentary from the pen of Cicero, the whole being amalgamated into one treatise. It was prepared for the use of Trebatius, the eminent lawyer; and hence Cicero takes his examples chiefly from the Roman civil law, as more intelligible to Trebatius than illustrations drawn from the philosophy of Aristotle.<sup>4</sup>

H. We have then a dialogue, “*De Partitione Oratoria.*”

Dr. B. This is a production of rather inferior value. It is a dialogue

<sup>1</sup> Dunlop, Rom. Lit. vol. 2, p. 353, seqq.

<sup>2</sup> Dunlop, ubi supra.

<sup>3</sup> Dunlop, Rom. Lit. vol. 2, p. 359.—Schoell, Lit. Rom. vol. 2, p. 120.

<sup>4</sup> Dunlop, Rom. Lit. vol. 2, p. 364.

between Cicero and his son, concerning the principles and doctrine of eloquence. It appears to have been written A.U.C. 707, while he was prosecuting the war in Africa.—The work which you will find closing the series of Cicero's rhetorical works, is that entitled *optimo genere Oratorum*,<sup>1</sup> and was originally intended as a preface to a translation which Cicero had made from the orations of Demosthenes and Aeschines, respecting the crown.

H. May I ask, Doctor, what was Cicero's object in making this translation?

Dr. B. To correct a false impression, at that time very prevalent among his countrymen, that Attic eloquence was limited to a plainer and more slender mode of expression, distinguished by purity of style and accuracy of taste, but void of all ornament and redundancy. He took, therefore, a free translation of the two master-pieces of Attic eloquence; the one being an example of vehement and energetic oratory, the other of pathetic and ornamental oratory.—Now for a rapid summary of the speeches of Cicero. We have already touched upon the speech of Quintius, Roscius of Ameria, and Roscius the actor, and likewise the oration against Cæcilius, and the six against Verres. What do you find after these?

H. The speech delivered in defence of Fonteius.

Dr. B. This was pronounced while Cicero was aedile. It is a defense of an unpopular governor, accused of oppression by the people entrusted to his care. Much however is lost; which is the more regretted, as it would have formed an interesting contrast to the speech against Verres.

H. Then comes the oration for Aulus Cæcina.

Dr. B. A mere question of civil right, turning on an edict of the Roman prætor.

H. The oration for the Manilian law follows, but as I have finished the perusal of this, I will not trouble you for an answer. The speech for Cluentius succeeds.

Dr. B. And a powerful and splendid production it is, and one of the most correct and forcible of all the judicial orations of Cluentius. He had been accused by an unnatural mother of having poisoned his step-father.

H. Three orations against the Agrarian law of Rullus are next in order.

Dr. B. The history of the affair is briefly this: Rullus, a tribune of the commons, brought in a law, that the public domains in the provinces should be sold, and that the spoils acquired by Roman commanders in foreign wars should be taken from them, in order by these two means, a sum of money might be raised for the purchase of lands in Italy, particularly Campania, which lands were to be distributed among the people. Cicero delivered his first oration against the law, (the beginning, however, of which is wanting,) the very day he entered on the duties of the consulship. His opposition was effectual, and the law was rejected. The tribunes, however, subsequently instilled some suspicions into the minds of the

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<sup>1</sup> Dunlop, Rom. Lit. vol. 2, p. 365.

with regard to Cicero's motives in opposing this project, he found it necessary to deliver the second and third orations on the same topic.<sup>1</sup>

H. The oration for Rabirius succeeds.

Dr. B. He was accused of having been concerned in the death of Saturninus, a seditious tribune, who had been slain by a party in the interest of the senate. Thirty-six years had intervened, and the accuser was Labienus, afterwards well known as Cæsar's lieutenant in Gaul. Rabirius, notwithstanding the efforts of Cicero, would in all probability have been condemned, had not his friend, the prætor Metellus, taken down the standard from the Janiculum, which dissolved the comitia and broke off the trial. The troubles connected with the affair of Catiline occupied soon after the public attention, and the charge against Rabirius was never revived.

H. Yes, here are the speeches against Catiline, which formed part of my Harrow reading, and the oration for Murena, another old acquaintance of mine comes slowly after. I will not trouble you about these, Doctor Barton, but will thank you to give me some information about the next, the speech in behalf of Flaccus.

Dr. B. This is the same Flaccus of whom you read in Sallust. He was prætor at the time of the conspiracy of Catiline, and aided in the arrest of the Allobroges. Cicero here defends him against a charge of extortion and peculation, brought by various states of Asia Minor, which he had governed as proprætor.

H. An oration for Publius Sylla.

Dr. B. He was related to the dictator, and was accused of having been engaged in Catiline's conspiracy. Cicero succeeded in procuring his acquittal. The cause was tried the year after his consulship.

H. Another old favourite of mine, the oration for Archias, which is followed by one entitled, "*Ad Quirites post reditum*."

Dr. B. If you turn over a little farther, you will find three others, entitled respectively, "*Post reditum in senatu*," "*Pro Domo sua ad Pontifices*," and "*De Haruspicum Responsis*." I am sorry to say that these four orations are now generally regarded as spurious, and as having been composed by the rhetoricians of a later age as exercises in declamation. Cicero did, indeed, deliver four speeches, almost immediately after his return from exile, on subjects similar to these. The first was addressed to the senate, the second to the people, the third to the College of Pontiffs, to obtain restitution of the ground on which his house had stood, and which had been made the site of a temple, and the fourth in answer to a declaration of Clodius, that certain alarming prodigies which had lately appeared, were occasioned by the desecration of this same piece of ground, which the pontiffs had discharged from religious uses. But the four speeches that have come down to us, afford abundant internal evidence of their never having proceeded from Cicero.<sup>2</sup>

H. Dismissing these, we have next in order the oration for Plancina.

<sup>1</sup> Dunlop, Rom. Lit. vol. 2, p. 295.

<sup>2</sup> Dunlop, Rom. Lit. vol. 2, p. 333.—Schoell, Lit. Rom. vol. 2, p. 104.

Dr. B. This is the Plancius of whom I made mention as having been quæstor of Macedonia when Cicero came thither as an exile. He is here defended by the orator, in return for the kindness shown on that occasion, against a charge of bribery in suing for the office of sedile.

H. Then comes the oration for Sextius.

Dr. B. Here again Cicero requites the services of a friend. Sextius, while tribune, had exerted himself to procure Cicero's recall, and the latter now defends him in an elaborate harangue against a charge of exciting a tumult in the capital.

H. An oration against Vatinius.

Dr. B. This Vatinius was produced on the opposite side in the trial of Sextius, as a witness against him. This gave Cicero an opportunity of interrogating him, and the whole speech is one continued invective, uttered in a series of questions without waiting for a reply. Hence it is sometimes called, not *oratio*, but *interrogatio*.

H. An oration for Cœlius.

Dr. B. Cœlius, a gay and rather dissolute young man, was accused by Clodia, the well-known sister of Clodius, of an attempt to poison her, and of having borrowed money from her to procure the assassination of Dio, the Alexandrian ambassador. This oration, which is highly commended by Middleton<sup>1</sup> for its occasionally playful manner was also a particular favourite with the celebrated Fox.<sup>2</sup>

H. It is succeeded by a speech, “*De Provinciis consularibus*.”

Dr. B. This oration is indeed a remarkable one. It procured for Cæsar a continuance of his government in Gaul, and this last may be regarded as one of the immediate causes of the ruin of the republic. Cicero advocated the continuance of this command without in the least degree penetrating the designs of the ambitious Cæsar, whose only object was to have Gaul as the training-place of his legions until he could turn their arms against his country.

H. The oration for Balbus.

Dr. B. Pompey, by a special law, had granted the freedom of Rome to Balbus, a native of Cadiz, who had performed some important services for him in the war against Sertorius. The validity of Pompey's act was now questioned, but was successfully defended by Cicero.

H. An oration against L. Calpurnius Piso.

Dr. B. Piso had been recalled from his government of Macedonia, in consequence of Cicero's oration on the consular provinces. Taking an early opportunity, he complained before the senate of the treatment he had received, and indulged in an attack on the orator, ridiculing in particular his poetic effusions. Cicero's reply is remarkable for its coarse and bitter invective.

H. What, in the presence of the senate?

Dr. B. Yes, he indulges, before that grave body, in language and allusions that suit only the meridian of a tavern; and this too against a man of family and distinction.—But why do you shake your head?

H. Ah! here is the famous speech against Milo, which was never delivered. What a pity that no one took down the oration which

<sup>1</sup> Life of Cicero, vol. 2, p. 69.—Dunlop, Rom. Lit. vol. 2, p. 310.

<sup>2</sup> Correspondence of Wakefield and Fox, p. 85.

actually uttered, that we might have compared its feebleness to the beautiful harangue which has come down to our times.

B. It was taken down in writing, and still existed in the days of us, but must have been, as you remark, far inferior to the one we now have, since the latter was accounted, both by Cicero and by his contemporaries, as the finest effort of his genius.<sup>1</sup> The oration which I find next in order is entitled, "*Pro Rabirio mo.*"

B. He was prosecuted for repayment of a sum which he was said to have received, in conjunction with the proconsul Gabinius, King Ptolemy for having placed him on the throne of Egypt, contrary to the injunctions of the senate. But why that look of re?

This oration, which succeeds, I have read of in Plutarch. It is one for Ligarius, accused of having borne arms against Cæsar, after the battle of Pharsalia, and of having renewed the war in Africa.

B. Yes, the dictator himself presided at the trial, much prejudiced against Ligarius. But the eloquence of the advocate extorted a verdict. It was during this oration that Cæsar's countenance is said to have changed, and the papers which he held to have dropped from his hand.<sup>2</sup>

We have but two remaining before we reach the Philippics, the one for Deiotarus, and that in behalf of Marcellus. With the latter I am too well acquainted to trouble you for any explanation. Of the oration of the former I am ignorant.

B. Why, this was a defence of Deiotarus, tetrarch of Galatia, and with an attempt to poison Cæsar, during the stay which the latter made at his court. The case was heard in the private apartment of Cæsar, and the issue was successful for the accused.

I will not trouble you, my dear Doctor, to explain for me the merit of each of the Philippics. I have read that they were aimed at Antony, that they were so entitled in imitation of the splendid speeches of Demosthenes, and that, like the latter, they derive their beauty from the noble expression of just indignation which is so nobly diffused over all. Allow me to ask, however, which one, in your opinion, is entitled to the palm.

B. Undoubtedly the fourteenth, which was delivered after the victory had been received of the total defeat of Antony, before the walls of Modena, by the army under Octavianus and the consuls Crassus and Pansa. This success was thought to have decided the fate of Antony and the republic, and Cicero gives loose to his patriotic feelings in a flow of the noblest eloquence. This, too, was the last oration that Cicero delivered, for the union of Octavianus and Antony was cemented by his blood.<sup>3</sup>

And have we now gone through all the orations, Doctor Barton, the man of Arpinum?

B. All that have come down to us, Henry. Many, however, have

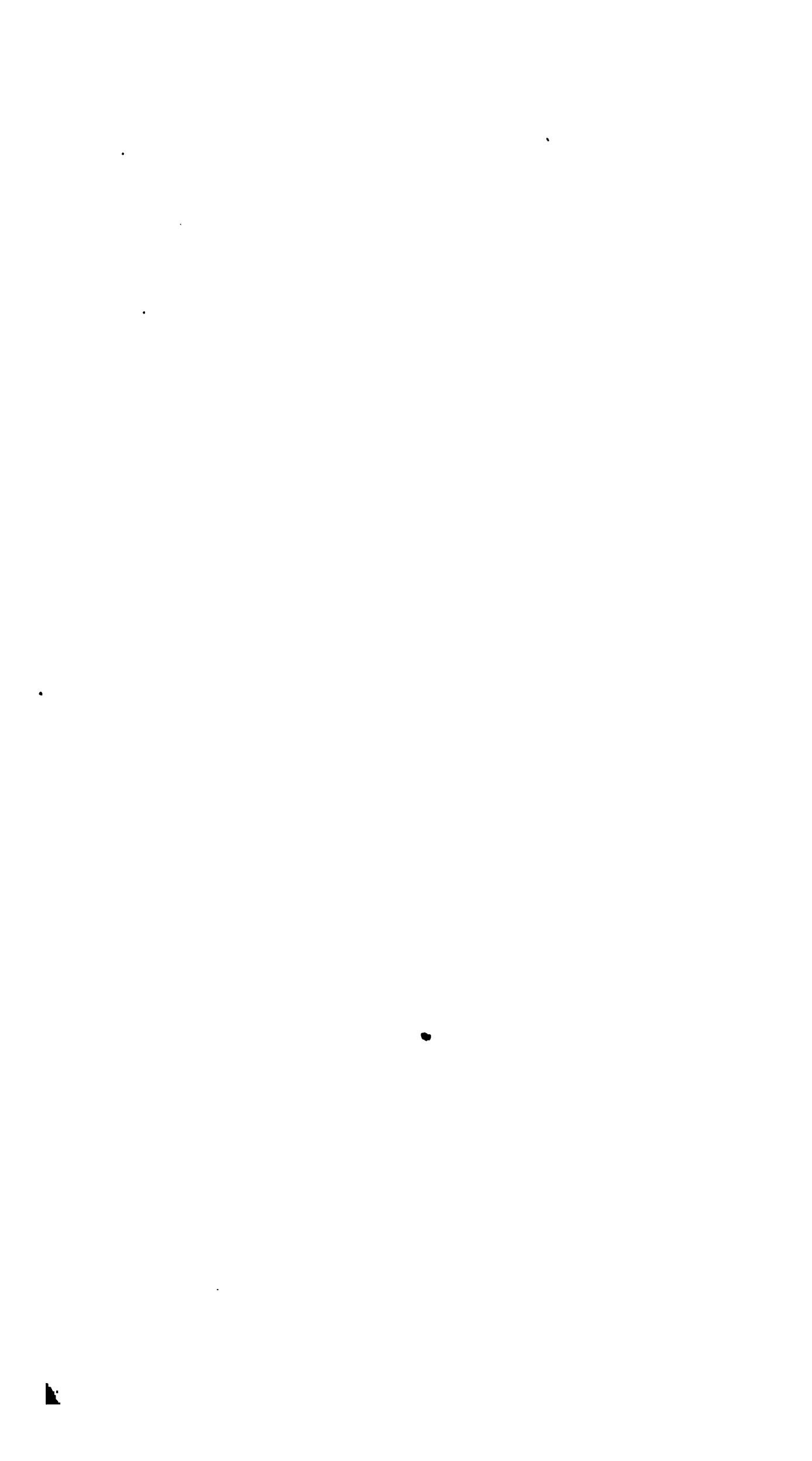
<sup>1</sup> Dunlop, Rom. Lit. vol. 2, p. 313.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. Vit. Cic. c. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Dunlop, Rom. Lit. vol. 2, p. 327.



**M. TULLII CICERONIS  
ORATIO IN L. CATILINAM  
PRIMA,  
HABITA IN SENATU.**



## ORATIO PRIMA.

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I. <sup>1</sup>Quousque tandem <sup>2</sup>abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra?  
Quamdiu etiam furor <sup>3</sup>iste tuus [nos] <sup>4</sup>eludet? Quem ad  
finem sese effrenata jactabit audacia? <sup>5</sup>Nihilne te noctur-

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<sup>1</sup> *Quousque tandem*, &c. "How far, then, Catiline, wilt thou trifle with our patience? How long, too, will that frantic wickedness of thine baffle our efforts? To what extent will thy unbridled audacity display itself?"—We may suppose the whole senate to have remained, for a time, in the deepest silence, every eye directed towards Catiline; and Cicero, at last, slowly rising from his curule chair, and pointing the finger of indignant scorn at the guilty intruder, to have burst forth into this startling and impassioned exordium.

<sup>2</sup> *Abutere*. Cicero prefers the softer and more poetic termination *-re*, in the imperfect and future indicative, and present and imperfect subjunctive. In the present indicative he rarely employs it.—*Patientia nostra*. The reference in *nosta* is to himself and the senate generally.

<sup>3</sup> *Iste tuus*. The pronoun *iste* is here employed to mark indignant scorn and contempt. It must be observed, with regard to *iste*, that it is, strictly speaking, used, together with its derivatives, in reference to the person addressed. Thus, *iste locus*, "that place where you are;" *ista verba*, "those words which you uttered." (CROMBIE, *Gymnasium*, vol. 1, p. 41, 4th edition.) When Cicero addressed his antagonist, in any instance, he often used *iste* in accordance with the principle just laid down; and, as he generally used it contumeliously, it acquires a reproachful meaning.

<sup>4</sup> *Eludet*. A metaphor borrowed from the movements of gladiators, in avoiding a blow from an opponent. (DONAT. *in Ter. Eun.* 1, 1, 10.)—*Quem ad finem*. Equivalent, in Ciceronian Latinity, to *quousque* or *quamdiu*. (ERNESTI, *Clav. Cic. s. v. finis*.)—*Jactabit*. The student will mark the force of the frequentative. It is equivalent to *insolenter se geret*.

<sup>5</sup> *Nihilne te*, &c. "Have the guards stationed nightly on the Palatine hill produced no impression upon thee? Have the watches planted throughout the city produced none? None, the consternation of the populace? None, the thronging together of all good citizens?" &c. Literally, "Has the *nightly* guard of the Palatium in no respect *moved* thee? *In no respect* have the watches of the city?" &c.

num præsidium <sup>1</sup> Palatii, nihil <sup>2</sup> urbis vigiliæ, nihil timor populi, nihil <sup>4</sup> concursus bonorum omnium, nihil hic <sup>5</sup> munitissimus habendi senatum locus, nihil <sup>6</sup> horum ora vultusque inoverunt? <sup>7</sup> Patere tua consilia non sentis? Constrictam jam horum omnium conscientia teneri conjurationem tuam non vides? Quid <sup>8</sup> proxima, quid superiore nocte egeris, ubi fueris, quos convocaveris, quid consilii ceperis, quem nostrum ignorare arbitraris? O tempora, O mores? Sena-

<sup>1</sup> *Palatii.* The Palatine was the most central of the seven hills of Rome, stretching into the Forum, and the most important to be guarded in case any public disturbance arose, since a foe, in possession of it, might easily make himself master of the rest of the city. Hence the necessity of its being secured on the present occasion. The Palatine hill was said to be the residence of Romulus, and was, in fact, the first part of the city that was inhabited. Here, in a later age, stood the imperial mansion of Augustus and his successors, and hence the origin of the modern term "palace." [The guard upon the Palatium was formed of Roman knights. Cf. SALL. 49, "*Nonnulli equites Romani cum telis erant circum ædem concordie.*" Watches were also established throughout the whole city. See SALL. 30. Those who occupied the Palatium commanded the whole city. *Romulus τοῦ Παλατίου τεῖχος ὑψηλοτέρως ἐρύμασι ἐτείχισε.* DIONYS. p. 114. It was the oldest part of the city.]

<sup>2</sup> *Urbis vigilæ.* When there was any alarm or disturbance in the city, or when any suspicion was entertained of public commotion or secret conspiracy, the inferior magistrates (the ædiles, quæstors, and tribunes,) were entrusted by the senate with the care of the public peace, and planted guards and watches in proper places.

<sup>3</sup> [*Timor populi.* Cf. SALL. ch. 31. "*Immutata urbis facies erat: ex summa lætitia atque lascivia . . . repente omnis tristitia invasit, festinare, trepidare,*" &c.]

<sup>4</sup> *Concursus.* Several editions have *consensus*, ("the union,") which is also given by Quintilian (9, 3, 30) in citing from this passage. The more spirited reading, however, is undoubtedly *concursus*. See SALL. chap. 31.

<sup>5</sup> *Munitissimus.* In dangerous emergencies, the senate were usually convened in the temple of some tutelary divinity, and not in a *Curia*, or senate-house. The place selected, on the present occasion, was the temple of Jupiter Stator, at the foot of the Palatine Hill; and it is hence called "*munitissimus locus*," from the circumstance of there being a guard, at the time, on the Palatine. With respect to the true position of the temple of Jupiter Stator, (which some editors very erroneously make to have been in the capitol,) consult LIV. 1, 12. OVID. *Fast.* 6, 794. NARDINI, 6, 12.

<sup>6</sup> *Horum ora vultusque.* "The looks and countenances of those who are here assembled." *Ora* refers to the looks of aversion directed at Catiline; *vultus* to the expression of their countenances, in which were depicted anxiety and alarm. *Muretus* refers the words to the aversion manifested by the senators on the entrance of Catiline into the assembly, when all

tus hæc intelligit, consul videt; hic tamen vivit. Vivit? <sup>9</sup> immo vero etiam in senatum venit: fit <sup>10</sup> publici consilii particeps: notat et designat oculis ad cædem unumquemque nostrum. Nos autem, <sup>11</sup> viri fortis, satisfacere rei publicæ videmur, si istius furorem ac tela vitemus. Ad mortem te, Catilina, duci jussu consulis jampridem <sup>12</sup> oportebat; <sup>13</sup> in te conferri pestem istam, quam tu in nos omnes jamdiu machi-

quitted that part of the benches where he had taken his seat. They would rather seem to refer to the deportment of the senate during all the time that he had been present.

<sup>7</sup> *Patere.* "Lie open to view," i.e. are brought fully to light.—*Constrictam jam horum omnium teneri.* Literally, "is now held firmly grasped in the knowledge of all these," i.e. is now become a matter of firm conviction to all who are here assembled. *Constrictus* is applied to whatever is firmly held in, and can no longer escape our grasp. While the compound term *conscientia* (instead of the simple *scientia*) is employed to denote that many are acquainted with the conspiracy. Compare the explanation of SCHUTZ, (*Index Lat. s. v.*) "*Communis inter complures rei alicujus notitia.*"

<sup>8</sup> *Proxima.* Cicero delivered this oration on the 8th of November. A meeting of the conspirators had taken place on the night of the 6th, at the house of Laeca. This is what Cicero calls *nox superior*. The morning of the 7th was the time fixed for his assassination by the two Roman knights. During that day, Cicero caused all the movements of the conspirators to be closely watched, and ascertained also, by his secret agents, all that was done on the night of the 7th. This was the *nox proxima*. Compare chapter 4th, and *Pro Sull. c. 18.* [The *nox superior* is the same as *nox prior*, i. e. as Cicero himself states, *nox ea que consecuta est posterum diem Nonarum Novembrium* (5th Nov.) *Pro Sulla, 52. ORELL.*]

<sup>9</sup> *Immo vero.* "Nay, indeed." Grævius omits *vero*, but its presence imparts additional strength to the clause. Compare *Ep. ad Att. 12, 42:* "*Ferendus tibi in hoc error; ferendus? immo vero etiam adjuvandus.*" And also *Tursellinus de Part. Lat. s. v. Immo.* [*In Senatum.*—Catiline as having been *prætor*, had the right of entering the senate.]

<sup>10</sup> *Publici consilii particeps.* "A sharer in the public deliberations." Cicero's object is to excite the indignation of the Senate against Catiline for his having come into that assembly, actually to take part in their deliberations.

<sup>11</sup> *Viri fortis.* Spoken ironically. "Men full of courage." Cicero charges himself and the senate with cowardice, in not having before this brought Catiline to punishment—*Satisfacere rei publicæ.* "To do our duty to the state."—*Istius.* "Of that wretch." Pointing at Catiline. Compare note 3, page 3.

<sup>12</sup> *[Oportebat.* The imperfect indic. denotes that an act has not been done which should have been done. So *debebat.* *Pro Rosc. § 4.*]

<sup>13</sup> *In te conferri, &c. Jampridem* is implied from the previous clause. "Long since ought that ruin to have been heaped upon thy own head,"

naris. <sup>1</sup> An vero vir amplissimus, <sup>2</sup> P. Scipio, pontifex maximus, Tib. Gracchum, <sup>3</sup>mediocriter labefactantem statum rei publicæ, privatus interfecit: <sup>4</sup> Catilinam, orbem terræ cæde atque incendiis vastare cupientem, nos consules perferemus? <sup>5</sup>Nam illa nimis antiqua prætereo, quod <sup>6</sup>C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Melium, novis rebus studentem, manu

&c. The pronoun *istam* tacitly implies that the ruin in question is the work of Catiline, and this idea is immediately enlarged upon in what follows, *quam tu in nos omnes*, &c.

<sup>1</sup> *An vero.* The primitive meaning of *an* is “or,” and, when used interrogatively, the sentence is always elliptical. Thus, *an dcessare mecum voluit?* “Did he wish to contend with me?” This, when resolved, is nothing more than, “Am I wrong in my surmise, or did he wish to contend with me?” So, in the present instance, *an vero vir amplissimus*, &c. (which we translate, “Did, in fact, that very illustrious individual,” &c.) is, in reality, when fully expressed, “Am I wrong in my assertion, or did, in fact,” &c. The same explanation will apply to the Greek *ἢ*, when used as an interrogative particle.

<sup>2</sup> *P. Scipio.* The reference is to P. Scipio Nasica. He is called *privatus* because the office of *pontifex maximus* was not a magistracy: [since it lasted through life, while all magistracies were annual]: and hence the same person could be *pontifex* and also *consul* or *prætor*. MURETUS, *ad loc.* The term *privatus* may, therefore, be rendered, “although filling no office of magistracy.” As regards Scipio Nasica, consult Hist. Ind. s. v. Scipio.—*Gracchum.* Consult Hist. Ind. s. v. Gracchus, and Legal Index, s. v. Sempronia Lex. [The date for the death of Gracchus is A.U.C. 621.]

<sup>3</sup> *Mediocriter labefactantem*, &c. “When disturbing only, in a moderate degree, the settled order of things in the state.” *Status* is here figuratively employed, in allusion to the posture or attitude of a gladiator in combat. It will be observed, that Cicero designedly extenuates the offence of Tiberius Gracchus, in order that the rigour, with which he was punished, might be contrasted the more strongly with the impunity enjoyed by Catiline. [The three great rogations of Gracchus were, 1. His proposal to give the *civitas* to all the inhabitants of Italy. 2. His agrarian laws. 3. The creation of *Triumviri deducendis coloniis*.—The murder of Gracchus was (according to VELLEIUS, ii. 2,) “*initium in urbe Romæ civilis sanguinis gladiorumque impunitatis.*”]

<sup>4</sup> *Catilinam.* The common text has *vero* after *Catilinam*; but since this already occurs with *an*, in the previous part of the sentence, and does not appear in the present passage as cited by Quintilian, (8, 4, 13,) we have rejected it with Manutius, Lambinus, and other editors.

<sup>5</sup> *Nam illa*, &c. Cicero here assigns a reason for other examples not being cited, in preference to that of Tiberius Gracchus. They were of too remote a date; whereas the movements of Gracchus had occurred at a comparatively recent period.

<sup>6</sup> *C. Servilius Ahala.* Consult Hist. Ind. s. v. Ahala. He was *magister equitum* to the dictator T. Q. Cincinnatus. Ernesti first gave the true reading *C. Servilius*, for the common lection, *Q. Servilius*.—

sua occidit. Fuit, fuit <sup>7</sup> ista quondam in hac re publica virtus, ut viri fortes acrioribus suppliciis civem perniciosum quam acerbissimum hostem coercent. <sup>8</sup> Habemus<sup>9</sup> senatus consultum in te, Catilina, vehemens et grave: <sup>10</sup> non deest reipublicæ consilium neque auctoritas hujus ordinis: nos, nos, dico aperte, <sup>11</sup> consules desumus.

## II. DECREVIT <sup>12</sup> quondam senatus ut L. Opimius consul

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*Sp. Mælium.* Mælius was the richest private man in the commonwealth, and more than suspected of aiming at the sovereign power, in consequence of his liberal donations of corn among the lower orders during a season of great scarcity. [He was slain by order of Quintius Cincinnatus, then Dictator.] Consult Hist. Ind. a. v. Mælius—Novis rebus studentem. “Aiming at a change in the government,” i. e. plotting a revolution.

<sup>7</sup> *Ista virtus.* “That degree of public virtue,” i. e. of true patriotism. *Ista* is here used simply in the sense of *illa*, and the latter pronoun itself would no doubt have been actually employed, had it not occurred just before, in the expression, “*nam illa nimis*,” &c.

<sup>8</sup> *Habemus.* We have rejected *enim* after *habemus*, with Grævius, Ernesti, Schütz, &c., on the authority of some of the best MSS. It appears to have found its way into the text from *habemus enim*, in the next chapter.

<sup>9</sup> *Senatus consultum.* By which the consuls were enjoined, “*ut videbent ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet.*” To take measures, that the state should not sustain any injury. A decree of this nature armed the consuls with dictatorial power for the time being, and, by virtue of it, they could put to death whomsoever they pleased, without the formality of a trial. (ADAM's Rom. Antiq. edit. by Boyd, p. 18.) Compare SALLUST, *Cat.* c. 29, and PLUTARCH, *Vit. Cic.* c. 15.) Catiline and his accomplices might have been seized and punished under this decree, but Cicero purposely abstained from such a course, and sought rather to induce them to quit the city.

<sup>10</sup> *Non deest reipublicæ, &c.* “Neither the wisdom nor the sanction of this order is wanting to the republic.” [*Reipublicæ* is the dative. Cf. *Verr.* iii. 89. *Illi exempla non decrunt, reipublicæ salus deerit.* Some editors consider it to be the genitive, but then *rei publicæ consilium*, would be merely the same as *auctoritas hujus ordinis.*] Compare TACITUS, *Germ.* 12. “*Centeni singulis ex plebe comites, consilium et auctoritas, adsumt.*”

<sup>11</sup> *Consules desumus.* “We consuls are wanting in our duty.” [Anthon had inserted a third *nos* before *desumus*, as given by Priscian, lib. 17, p. 1076. But *nos* is rejected by Orelli.] Cicero means, that the consuls have not done their duty in allowing Catiline to go so long unpunished. His object is to intimidate him, and induce him to leave the city.

<sup>12</sup> *Quondam.* A.U.C. 633, B.C. 121. Fifty-eight years before the time when Cicero uttered this. [Ten years intervened between the proceedings of Tiberius and those of Caius Gracchus.]—L. Opimius. He was consul with Fabius Maximus, A.U.C. 633. Consult Hist. Ind.

<sup>1</sup> videret, ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet. Nox null intercessit; interfactus est propter <sup>2</sup>quasdam seditionis suspicioneis C. Gracchus, <sup>3</sup>clarissimo patre, avo, majoribus occisus est cum liberis <sup>4</sup>M. Fulvius consularis. Simi senatus consulto, <sup>5</sup>C. Mario et L. Valerio consulibus, ea permissa res publica: num unum diem postea <sup>6</sup>L. Saturninus tribunum plebi, et C. Servilius praetorem mors a rei publicae poena remorata est? At vero <sup>7</sup>nos vicesimum

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<sup>1</sup> Videret, &c. A decree of this kind was called *decretum ultimum*, or *ultimae necessitatis*. Consult note 9, page 7. Sometimes both consuls were named in it, at other times only one.

<sup>2</sup> Quasdam seditionum suspicioneis. "Certain suspicions of seditious projects." Cicero here purposely uses mild language, as in the instance of the elder Gracchus. (Note 8, page 6.) Consult Hist. Ind.

<sup>3</sup> Clarissimo patre, &c. The Gracchi had for their father Sempronius Gracchus, who had been once honoured with the censorship, twice with the consulate, and had enjoyed a triumph over the Celtiberians. Their maternal grandfather (*Avo*) was the elder Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal.

<sup>4</sup> M. Fulvius. One of the three commissioners named for carrying into effect the agrarian law, by dividing the public lands. He was the friend of C. Gracchus. Consult Hist. Ind. The eldest son of Fulvius was slain with his father during the affray; the younger after the conflict.

<sup>5</sup> C. Mario. This occurred during the sixth consulship of Marius, A.U.C. 633. The crime of Saturninus and Servilius was seditious and turbulent conduct, and especially the having assassinated C. Memmius, a candidate for the consulship, in the Campus Martius. Consult Hist. Ind., s. v. Saturninus.—The individual, whom Cicero here calls C. Servilius is elsewhere styled C. Servilius Glaucia. Cicero purposely employs the *nomen* merely, as it belonged to a family of distinction, and he adds to it the title of *praetor*, in order that it may be seen, that neither birth nor official dignity could save him from the prompt vengeance of the laws, which Catiline had for so long a time been braving.

<sup>6</sup> L. Saturnini, &c. [I would render this passage thus: "Whether did death and the penalty exacted by the state, for a single day respite Saturninus, &c.; *unum diem* is the accus. of time.—*Rei publicae pœna* is used in the same sense as *pœna legum* below, ch. ix., and the meaning of "to respite," is no great stretch on the proper signification of *re morari*, which is to "delay," "defer," as *Pro Lege Man. 14, hæc res qua cæteros remorari solent illum non retardarunt*. The verb is used in the sense of respite in *Propert. 1, 19, 17. Quamvis te longæ remoren tuta senectæ.*] Anthon adopted the following reading, *num unum diem re stea L. Saturnini tribuni plebis, et C. Servilius praetoris mortem re licæ pœna remorata est?* which was first suggested, we believe, by Barker. "Did the punishment due to the republic, delay for a day thereafter, the death of L. Saturninus?" &c., i.e. did L.

*habescere*

jam diem patimur *habescere* aciem horum auctoritatis. Habemus enim hujusmodi senatus consultum, verumtamen inclusum in tabulis, tanquam <sup>8</sup> gladium in vagina reconditum: quo ex senatus consulto <sup>9</sup> confestim interfectum te esse, Catilina, convenit. Vivis: et vivis non ad deponendam, sed ad confirmandam audaciam. <sup>10</sup> Cupio, patres conscripti, me esse clementem: cupio in tantis rei publicæ periculis me non <sup>11</sup> dissolutum videri: sed jam <sup>12</sup> me ipsum inertiae

Saturninus, though a tribune of the commons, and C. Servilius, although invested with the prætorship, escape the punishment of death, so justly their due, for a single day after the decree in question had been passed?—Ernesti gives the ordinary reading, but recommends *L. Saturnini, tribuni plebis, et C. Serrilii, prætoris*, retaining, however, *mors ac*, and giving to *remorata est* the intransitive meaning, “to delay,” or “linger.”

<sup>1</sup> *Nos.* “We consuls.” Referring to himself and colleague.—*Vicesimum diem.* It was, in fact, only the 18th day since the senate had decreed that Cicero and Antonius should see that the public received no injury. The orator, however, calls it in round numbers, the 20th. [Respecting this limit of time, *vicesimum jam diem*, Anthon is in error, following the calculation of Asconius. The first day is *ante diem*, xii. Kal. Nov., i.e. October 21; the last is *ante diem*, vi. Id. Nov., i.e. 8th November. From the month of October let us take then twelve days, add to these four days of November, which preceded the nones, then the nones; we have thus seventeen days; add next the 8th day before the ides of November, on the night of which day Catiline met his confederates in the house of Marcus Læca. — The succeeding day (the 19th) was the vii. Id. Nov., on that Cicero convened the senate; and on the day succeeding, i. e. the vi. Id. Nov., he delivered this oration. As the ancients considered a day begun as completed so far as reckoning went, or, in other words, counting inclusively, we have the full sum of twenty days. From AHRENS.]

<sup>2</sup> *Gladium.* Omitted in many MSS. and editions; but defended by Ernesti, because *inclusum* precedes.

<sup>3</sup> *Confestim interfectum, &c.* “You ought, Catiline, to have been immediately put to death.” *Convenit* is here the perfect tense. Muretus doubts whether this usage of *convenit* be in accordance with correct Latinity; but many examples might be adduced in confirmation of it. One alone will here suffice: “*Quo nomine mirari convenit eos.*” (VELL. Patr. 1, 3.)

<sup>4</sup> *Cupio.* Render the first *cupio*, “I am desirous, on the one hand,” and the second, “I am anxious, on the other.” If expressed in Greek, the first of these clauses would have *μέν νοι*, and the second *δέ*.

<sup>5</sup> *Dissolutum.* “Culpably negligent,” i. e. too indulgent. Thus Ernesti, a. v. “*Dissolutus, nimis negligens, opponitur severo et justo,*” (*Clav. Cic.*), and the words of Cicero himself, on another occasion: “*Maluisse Domitium crudelē in animadvertisendo, quam in prætermittendo dissolutum videri.*” (*In Verr.* 5, 3).

<sup>6</sup> [I have restored *me ipsum* for Anthon's reading *me ipse*: for Cicero

<sup>1</sup>nequitiaque condemno. Castra sunt in Italia, contra rem licam, <sup>2</sup>in Etruriæ faucibus collocata: crescit in dies sing hostium numerus: <sup>3</sup>eorum autem castrorum imperato ducemque hostium intra mœnia atque adeo in senatu mus, intestinam aliquam quotidie perniciem rei pul molientem. Si te jam, Catilina, comprehendendi, si int̄ jussero; credo, erit verendum mihi, ne non hoc potius or boni serius a me, quam quisquam crudelius factum dicat. Verum ego hoc, quod jam pridem factum esse c tuit, <sup>4</sup>certa de causa nondum adducor, ut faciam. denique interficiam te, cum jam nemo tam improbus, perditus, <sup>5</sup>tam tui similis inveniri poterit, qui id non

opposes himself to others whom he condemns for inactivity and gence, § 30.]

<sup>1</sup> *Nequitiaque.* The term *nequitia* generally denotes “worf ness,” “wickedness,” “depravity,” &c., but is here used in a rr sense, for “utter remissness.” Compare the language of Cicero, in eleventh chapter of the present oration: “*num est vehementius & tatis ac fortitudinis invidia quam inertiae ac nequitiae pertimescet?*” Here *nequitia* is opposed to *severitas*. [The strict meaning of the is “*impotency*.”]

<sup>2</sup> *In Etrurice faucibus.* “In the mountain defiles of Etruria.” Manlius had then near Fæsulæ, in Etruria, an army, which he collected from the veteran soldiers of Sylla, under whom he himself served. [The attempt of Manlius is graphically given SALL. c. 28. *C. Manlius in Etruria plebem sollicitare . . . pra latrones cujusque generis . . . nonnullos ex Sullanis colonis.* We that Manlius was enabled to make this attempt by means of f supplied by Catiline. *Catilinæ pecuniam, sua aut amicorum fide & tam mutuam, Fæsulas ad Manlium quemdam portare, qui postea pri fuit belli faciundi.*] Fæsulæ stood at the foot of the Appennines far from what is now the city of Florence, and the camp of Ma was pitched near a narrow defile leading into Etruria. The *fauces* is often employed to denote a mountain pass, defile, strait, leading to some place or region. Compare LIVY, (42, 54,) “*utr oppida in faucibus sunt, quæ Tempe adeunt.*”

<sup>3</sup> *Eorum autem imperatorem.* Alluding to Catiline.—[Atque adeo “Aye, and even in the senate.”—Credo. “I firmly believe.” I suppose the word to be used ironically.]—Serius. “At too late a per

<sup>4</sup> *Certa de causa.* “For a certain reason.” Cicero is more ex on this head, at the close of the present oration (c. 12). His fear lest, if Catiline were punished at an early stage of the proceed before his guilt became fully developed, he might pass with man: *an injured man*, since there were not a few in the city, and even in the senate, who believed Catiline innocent, and who would called Cicero a tyrant if he had put him to death. And then,

factum esse fateatur. Quamdiu quisquam erit, qui te defendere audeat, vives: sed vives ita, ut vivis, multis meis et firmis præsidiis <sup>6</sup> obsessus, ne commovere te contra rem publicam possis. Multorum te etiam oculi et aures non sentientem, sicut adhuc fecerunt, speculabuntur atque custodient.

III. Etenim quid est, Catilina, quod jam amplius exspectes, si neque nox tenebris obscurare cœtus nefarios, nec <sup>7</sup> privata domus parietibus continere vocem conjurationis [tuæ] potest? <sup>8</sup> si illustrantur, si erumpunt omnia? Muta jam <sup>9</sup> istam mentem: mihi crede: obliviscere cædis atque incendiorum: teneris undique: luce sunt clariora nobis tua

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even if Catiline himself were capitally punished, the conspiracy would not be crushed, since so many of the guilty participants in it would still remain alive. Cicero's object was to compel Catiline to leave the city, and carry with him all his abandoned confederates; and hence, in order to intimidate and drive him to this course, he speaks immediately after of soon putting him to death: "Tum denique interficiam te," &c.

<sup>5</sup> *Tam tui similis.* "So like thee in character," i. e. so like thee in utter want of principle. *Similis* and *dissimilis*, generally speaking, are used with a dative of external resemblance: but with a genitive of resemblance in nature or internal constitution. (ZUMPT, *L. G.* p. 270. *Kearick's transl.*)

<sup>6</sup> *Obsessus.* "Beset." From *obsido*, -*cre*. Cicero had numerous guards on the alert, both from the free towns of Italy and from the capital itself.—*Ne commovere te possis*, &c. A metaphor borrowed from the situation of a combatant, who is hemmed in so closely by his opponent as to be unable "to make any farther movement."

<sup>7</sup> *Privata domus.* Alluding particularly to the house of Læca.—*Vocem conjurationis.* Cicero obtained full information of the secret meetings and plans of Catiline, through Fulvia and Curius. Graevius and others read *voces* instead of *vocem*, but this destroys the personification in *conjunctionis*. If Cicero had written *voces*, he would have put *conjuratorum* in the place of *conjunctionis*.

<sup>8</sup> *Si illustrantur, si erumpunt omnia.* "If your secret plans are made manifest, if they all burst forth into public view." *Illustrantur* refers back to *tenebris*, and *erumpunt* to *parietibus*.

<sup>9</sup> *Istam mentem.* "That detestable purpose of yours." Compare note 3, page 3.—*Mihi crede.* "Take me for your adviser." Rely on what I tell you.—[*Teneris undique.* "You are convicted on all points." Thus Steinmetz: *teneris manifestis in rebus, maleficiis vel, teneris omnibus indiciis.*]—*Quæ etiam mecum, &c.* "And these you may even review along with me." The student will observe that we have rendered *quæ* by *et hæc*. Wherever the connexion is slight between the antecedent and relative, the latter may be resolved into the conjunction

consilia omnia: quæ etiam mecum licet recognoscas. Meministine, me <sup>1</sup> ante diem duodecimum kalendas Novembres dicere in senatu, fore in armis certo die, qui dies futurus esset <sup>2</sup> ante diem sextum kalendas Novembres, C. Manlium, audaciæ satellitem atque administrum tuæ? Num me sefellit, Catilina, non modo res tanta, tam atrox, tam incredibilis, verum, <sup>3</sup> id quod multo magis est admirandum, dies?

and demonstrative or personal pronoun. Compare CROMBIE, *Gymnasium*, vol. i. p. 162.

<sup>1</sup> *Ante diem duodecimum, &c.* “On the twelfth day before the kalends of November,” i. e. on the 21st of October. This apparently anomalous mode of expression probably arose from a transposition of *ante*. Having once written *ante die duodecimo kalendas*, they would easily be led to change *die* into *diem*, as if it had been governed by *ante*. (ZUMPT, *L. G.* p. 428. *Kenrick’s transl.*) [But see note 5, page 13.]

“The practical rule for reducing one of our dates to the Roman calendar is, when the day is between the Kalends and Nones, (unless it be the day before the Nones,) to add one to the number of the Nones, and subtract the number of the given day: e. g. to find the Roman date of the 2nd of June, we have  $5+1-2=4$ ; so that the date required is, *a. d. IV. Non. Jun.* When the day is between the Nones and Ides, a similar course is pursued: e. g. to find the expression for our 10th of August, we have  $13+1-10=4$ ; so that our date is, *a. d. IV. Id. Sext. (or Aug.)* But if the day is after the Ides, (unless it be the last day of the month,) we add two to the number of days in the month, and subtract the number of the given day: e. g. it is required to find the Roman date of the 22nd December; we have  $31+2-22=11$ ; so that the expression is *a. d. XI. Kal. Jun.* To reduce Roman dates to ours, we reverse the process just described, i. e. subtract the number of the Roman day: e. g. Augustus died *XIV. Kal. Sept.*: to accommodate this to our calendar, we say  $31+2-14=19$ ; so that the date required is the 19th of August. When a date is given as under the old calendar, the proper allowance must be made.” IDELER, *Handbuch der Mathematischen, &c.*

The date alluded to in the text requires some explanation. On the 20th October, Cicero gave notice to the senate of the existence of a conspiracy against the state. The consular election was to have been held the next day, the 21st; but the senate, in consequence of the impending danger, put off the comitia, and resolved to meet on that day for the purpose of deliberating more fully on the subject; for otherwise, they could not have done any business on a comitial day. On the 21st, therefore, Cicero, in full house, called upon Catiline to clear himself from the charge alleged against him; whereupon the latter, without denying or excusing it, bluntly replied, “that there were two bodies in the republic,” meaning the senate and people, “the one of them infirm with a weak head, the other firm without a head; and that this last had so well deserved of him, that it should never want a head while he lived.” This declaration startled the senate, and they immediately decreed that the consuls should see that the republic

Dixi ego idem in senatu, cædem <sup>4</sup>te optimatum contulisse  
<sup>5</sup>in ante diem quintum kalendas Novembres, tum cum multi  
<sup>6</sup>principes civitatis Roma, non tam sui conservandi, quam  
tuorum consiliorum <sup>7</sup>reprimendorum causa, profugerunt.  
Num inficiari potes; te illo ipso die meis præsidiis, mea  
diligentia circumclusum, commovere te contra rem publicam  
non potuisse, cum tu, discessu cæterorum, <sup>8</sup>nostra tamen,

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received no injury. The next day, the postponed comitia took place, and Silanus and Murena were elected consuls for the year 691, Catiline being one of the unsuccessful competitors.

<sup>1</sup> *Ante diem sextum*, &c. "The sixth day before the kalends of November," i. e. the 27th October.

<sup>2</sup> *Id quod multo magis est admirandum*. Ernesti regards these words as a gloss, but without sufficient reason. It was, in fact, a sufficient matter of surprise and wonder, that Cicero should have been so well informed, as to be able to predict, in the senate, the very day on which Manlius would be in arms.

<sup>3</sup> *Te contulisse*. "That you had appointed."—[*Optimatum*, i. e. the aristocracy of wealth composed of plebeians and patricians; they supplied and usurped the place of the older *Patricii*.]

<sup>4</sup> *In ante diem quintum*, &c. "For the fifth day before the kalends of November," i. e. had set down the intended massacre for that day. The phraseology *ante diem*, &c. has already been noticed, (note 1.) The preposition *in* is here employed to govern the entire clause, and designates the time for which the intended action is set down, and on which it is to be performed. [In the phrase *ante diem quintum kalendas*, *diem quintum* is the accusative of time. *Kalendas* is governed by *ante*; from the nature of prepositions, and a confusion of the two phrases *diem ante kalendas*, and *diem kalendarum*, *ante* was placed first, and the four words were united, and considered as one substantive, "*ante-diem-quintum-kalendas*"; and hence the use of the preposition *in* to govern the whole is quite legitimate.]

<sup>5</sup> *Principes civitatis*. "Leading men of the state." By *principes civitatis*, Cicero here means *principes optimatum*. (Compare *Pro Sext.* 45, 48, &c. *Post Red.* 3.) The term *optimates* with Cicero generally designates persons distinguished by rank, or political weight arising from the influence of wealth; see note 4, above. [This flight of the leading men marks an utter disorganization of society, unless we are to suppose this an oratorical flourish of Cicero's; no such circumstance is alluded to by Sallust.]

<sup>6</sup> *Reprimendorum*. Used here in the sense of *impediendorum*.—*Profigerunt*. Among those who quitted Rome, was M. Licinius Crassus, who had received a letter from Catiline, warning him to depart, which letter he showed to Cicero. (PLUT. *Vit. Cic.* c. 15.)

<sup>7</sup> *Nostra qui remansissemus cæde*. "With the blood of those of us that had remained." The elegant construction here employed is deserving of being noted. The relative is made to refer to an antecedent implied in the possessive. Compare TERENCE, (*Andr.* 1, 1, 70,) "Omnes laudare fortunas meas, qui gnatum habeam tali ingenio prædiuum."

qui remansissemus, cæde contentum te esse dicebas? Quid? cum tu te<sup>1</sup> Præneste kalendis ipsis Novembribus occupaturum nocturno impetu esse confideres, sensistine, illam coloniam meo jussu,<sup>2</sup> præsidiis, custodiis, vigiliisque esse munitam? Nihil agis, nihil moliris, nihil cogitas, quod ego<sup>3</sup> non modo audiam, sed etiam videam, planeque sentiam.

IV. RECOGNOSCE tandem mecum<sup>4</sup> noctem illam superiorem: jam intelliges multo me vigilare acrius ad salutem, quam te ad perniciem rei publicæ. Dico te priori nocte venisse<sup>5</sup> inter falcarios, (non agam obscure,) in M. Læca domum: convenisse eodem<sup>6</sup> complures ejusdem amentis scelerisque socios. Num negare audes? Quid taces? con-

<sup>1</sup> *Præneste*. Neuter accusative singular. [Its modern name is *Palestrina*.] This place was situate in Latium, about twenty-three miles S. E. from Rome. Its citadel is described by Strabo as remarkable for its strength of position, and was therefore an important place for Catiline to seize upon, and for Cicero to endeavour to secure.—*Kalendis ipsis Novembribus*. “On the actual kalends of November,” i. e. on the first day of the month.—*Occupaturum*. Muretus says, that no other writer makes mention of this attempt.

<sup>2</sup> *Præsidiis*. These *præsidia*, *custodie*, and *vigilie* were composed of the inhabitants of Præneste, but the whole arrangement was Cicero's.

<sup>3</sup> *Non modo*, &c. [Anthon reads *non modo non audiam, sed etiam non videam*. But it is very common in this construction, for the second *non* to be omitted.] Compare CORTIUS, *ad Plin. Ep.* 8, 7. MURET. *Var. Lect.* 10, 7. As *non* is sometimes expressed, sometimes omitted, Dr. Hunter was led to investigate the principle on which this variety depended, and has laid down the following rules: 1. “When the same circumstance is meant to be denied in both clauses, and when the term expressive of that circumstance is, in the arrangement of the sentence, placed after *ne quidem*, the repetition of *non* after *non modo* seems to be unnecessary.” (As in chap. 10 of this oration: *Nunquam tu non modo otium, sed ne bellum quidem, nisi nefarium concupisti.*) 2. “When both clauses are negative, denying not a common circumstance, but each clause severally a *separate and distinct* circumstance; in this case a *second negative*, after *non modo*, seems indispensably necessary.” As, in this sentence. For a full discussion of the point see his notes on the second book of *Livy*, pp. 336, *et seq.* [We have followed ORELLI and MSS.]

<sup>4</sup> *Noctem illam superiorem*. “The transactions of the night before the last.” The night here meant was that of the 6th November, when the meeting was held at the house of Læca. Compare note 3, page 3.—*Priori nocte*. “On that former night.” Referring again to the night of the 6th.

<sup>5</sup> *Inter falcarios*. “Through the scythe-makers' street.” This was a *street, or district*, of Rome, most probably the former, taking its name from the residence of these artizans. The explanation of Priscian is to make *inter* synonymous with *ad*. “Dico te venisse inter falcarios, id

incam, si negas. Video enim [esse] hic in senatu quosdam, qui tecum una fuerunt. O dii importales! ubinam gentium sumus? quam rem publicam habemus? in qua urbe vivimus? Hic, hic sunt, nostro in numero, patres conscripti,<sup>7</sup> in hoc orbis terræ sanctissimo gravissimoque consilio, qui de nostro omnium interitu, qui de hujus urbis, atque adeo orbis terrarum exitio cogitent. Hosce ego video consul, et de re publica sententiam rogo, et, quos ferro trucidari oportebat, eos nondum voce vulnero! Fuisti igitur apud Læcam illa nocte, Catilina:<sup>8</sup> distribuisti partes Italæ: statuisti quo quemque proficiisci placeret: delegisti<sup>9</sup> quos Romæ relinqueres, quos tecum educeres: <sup>10</sup> descriptsisti urbis partes ad incendia:

est, in locum ubi sunt falcarii." Livy, somewhat in the same way, uses the term *lignarios*, (35, 41.) "*Porticum extra trigeminam inter lignarios fecerunt*," where Crevier understands *opifices*.

<sup>1</sup> *Complures*. Sallust (*Cat.* 17) gives the names of eleven senators who were present on this occasion. Compare *Pro Sulla*, c. 18, seq.—*Convincam*. "I will prove the truth of what I say."

<sup>7</sup> *In hoc orbis terræ, &c.* "In this the most venerated and august assembly on earth."—*Cogitent*. "Are plotting." The subjunctive mood is used in this construction for the sake of perspicuity, since the indicative would be ambiguous, and would present a double meaning. Thus, *sunt qui cogitant*, means not only, "there are those who plot," but also, "they who plot exist." The subjunctive, therefore, is preferred for the former of these meanings. So, *sunt qui dicant*, *sunt qui legant*, &c. CROMBLE, *Gymnasium*, vol. ii. pp. 30 et seq. 4th ed.

<sup>8</sup> *Distribuisti partes Italæ*. Sallust (*Cat.* 27) informs us that C. Manlius was sent to Fæsulæ and the adjacent parts of Etruria: Septimius, a native of Camerinum, into the Picene territory; C. Julius, into Apulia.

<sup>9</sup> *Quos Romæ relinqueres*. According to Sallust (*Cat.* 43), Statilius and Gabinius were to fire the city, and Cethegus to assassinate Cicero. Lentulus was to have had, according to Plutarch, a general superintendance of the whole affair, and was to have spared none in the general massacre, but the sons of Pompey, whom he intended to seize, and hold as hostages for a peace with that commander. For there was a report, about this time, that Pompey was returning with his army from the Mithridatic war. (PLUT. *Vit. Cic.* c. 18.)

<sup>10</sup> *Descriptsisti urbis partes, &c.* Sallust states (*Cat.* 43) that the conspirators were to fire twelve parts of the city at one and the same time. Plutarch, however, informs us that they had divided Rome into hundred parts, and had selected the same number of men, to each of whom was allotted his quarter to be set on fire. As this was to be done by them all at the same moment, they hoped that the conflagration would be general. Others were to cut off the water, and kill all who went to seek it. (PLUT. *Vit. Cic.* c. 18.)—["*Descriptsisti*. "Marked ut," "arranged." Cf. *Pro Sull.* 18. "*Tum Catilina dies exuendi, tum*

<sup>1</sup> confirmasti, te ipsum jam esse exiturum: dixisti, paullulum tibi esse etiam tum moræ, quod ego viverem. Reperti sunt <sup>2</sup> duo equites Romani, qui te ista cura liberarent, et sese <sup>3</sup> illa ipsa nocte, paullo ante lucem, me meo in lectulo interfecturos esse pollicerentur. Hæc ego omnia, vixdum etiam cœtu vestro dimisso, <sup>4</sup> comperi: domum meam majoribus præsidiis munivi atque firmavi: exclusi eos, quos tu mane ad me salutatum miseras, cum illi ipsi venissent; quos ego jam multis ac summis viris ad me id temporis venturos esse prædixeram.

V. <sup>5</sup> Quæ cum ita sint, Catilina, perge quo cœpisti: egre-

cateris manendi conditio, tum descriptio totam per orbem cœdis atque incendiorum constituta est.”]

<sup>1</sup> Confirmasti. “ You assured them.”—*Dixisti, paullulum, &c.* “ You told them that you still, even then, were in some little degree hindered from departing.” Literally, “ that there was still, even then, some little cause of delay unto you.”

<sup>2</sup> Duo equites Romani. Sallust (*Cat.* 38) gives the names, C. Cornelius and L. Vargunteius, but he calls the latter a senator. Vargunteius was probably of equestrian origin. [“ Nulla est diversitas inter Tullium et Sallustium: Tullius enim cum illa loqueretur, Vargunteium, equitem Romanum in senatum cum sexcentis aliis collectum indignum habuit, quem nominaret senatorem.”—ORELL.]

<sup>3</sup> Illa ipsa nocte, &c. They were to pay their intended visit early in the morning, a time when the distinguished Romans and higher magistrates held their levees, and when clients used to wait upon their patrons. Compare MARTIAL, (4, 8, 1,) “ *Prima salutantes, atque altera conterit hora.*”

<sup>4</sup> Comperi. He obtained his information from Curius through Fulvius (SALL. *Cat.* 28.)—*Exclusi eos, &c.* Plutarch informs us, that the assassins came as soon as it was light, and, being denied entrance, grew very insolent and clamorous, which made them the more suspected. He calls them Marcius and Cethegus: but Cicero, Sallust, Appian, and Plutarch, are too much at variance with each other, to enable us to give, with precision, all the minor features of the conspiracy.

<sup>5</sup> Quæ quum ita sint. “ Such being the case.” Cicero’s usual form of expression, in reference to things that have been explained by him, and may now be regarded as settled and clear; as, for example, in the present instance, the existence of a treasonable design on the part of Catiline.

<sup>6</sup> Illa tua Malliana castra. (Compare note 2, page 10.)

<sup>7</sup> Si minus, quam plurimos. “ If not all, as many as possible.”—*Murus*, strictly speaking, the wall of a city; *mænia*, battlements or fortifications; *paries*, the wall of a house. (CROMBIE, *Gymn.* vol. i. p. 2.)—*Nobiscum versari diutius.* “ To remain any longer among us.” Literally, “ to be occupied,” or “ engaged, along with us,” &c.

<sup>8</sup> Non feram, &c. “ I will not endure, I will not suffer, I will not

dere aliquando ex urbe: patent portæ: proficiscere. Nimium diu te imperatorem<sup>6</sup> illa tua Malliana castra desiderant. Educ tecum etiam omnes tuos: <sup>7</sup> si minus, quam plurimos. Purga urbem. Magno me metu liberabis, dummodo inter me atque te murus intersit. Nobiscum versari jam diutius non potes: <sup>8</sup> non feram, non patiar, non sinam. Magna diis immortalibus habenda est, <sup>9</sup> atque huic ipsi Jovi Statori, antiquissimo custodi hujus urbis, gratia, quod hanc tam tetram, tam horribilem, <sup>10</sup> tamque infestam rei publicæ pestem toties jam effugimus. Non est saepius <sup>11</sup> in uno homine summa salus periclitanda rei publicæ. Quamdiu mihi, <sup>12</sup> con-

permit this." The gradation here is worthy of notice. As a man, I will not *endure* thy presence; as a good citizen, I will not *suffer* thee to remain unopposed; as a magistrate, I will not *permit* thee to continue among us.

<sup>8</sup> Atque huic ipsi, &c. "And to Jupiter Stator, in particular, in whose temple we are here assembled." The student will observe the force of *huic* in designating the place. With regard to *ipsi*, it may be remarked, that this pronoun is not, in fact, reflective, but serves emphatically to distinguish that to which it is applied from all others.—*Statori*. Jupiter Stator was so called from his having stopped the flight of the Romans, when hard pressed by the Sabines. In the memorable action which was brought to an end by the heroic conduct of the Sabine females, Romulus and his followers had been driven back to the base of the Palatine hill, when he invoked, in his extremity, the aid of Jupiter, and vowed a temple to him on the spot where he was standing, if that god would stop the disgraceful flight of the Romans. The action took a favourable turn, and a temple was accordingly erected, at the foot of the Palatine, to Jupiter, surnamed, from the circumstance of the case, *Stator*, because he had caused the Romans to make a stand (*stare fecit*) in this quarter, against their pursuers. (Liv. 1, 12.) Some editors indulge in the singular error of making the temple of Jupiter Stator to have been in the capitol, thus confounding it with that of Jupiter Capitolinus.—Jupiter Stator is called by Plutarch Στάσιος, and by Dio Cassius Ορθώσιος.

<sup>10</sup> Tamque infestam rei publicæ. "And so fraught with ruin to the republic."—*Toties*. There is something of the exaggeration of oratory in this, since Catiline had only once before conspired against the state, along with Cn. Piso. (SALL. *Cat.* c. 18.) The reference, however, may also be a general one to his activity and wickedness.

<sup>11</sup> In uno homine. "In the person of a single individual." Cicero means that the public weal is no longer to depend on his own life. Some commentators apply these words less correctly to Catiline.—*Summa salus*. The best MSS. have this order, in place of the common *salus summa*, and so Gracchus and others read.

<sup>12</sup> Consuli designato. The consuls elect were so called during the interval that elapsed between the period of their election and that of

suli designato, Catilina, insidiatus es, non publico me præsidio, sed privata diligentia defendi: cum<sup>1</sup> proximis comitiis consularibus me consulem in<sup>2</sup> campo, et competitores interficere voluisti, compressi tuos nefarios conatus amicorum præsidio et copiis, nullo tumultu publice concitato: denique quotiescumque me petisti, per me tibi obstiti: quamquam videbam, perniciem meam cum magna calamitate rei publicæ<sup>3</sup> esse conjunctam. Nunc jam aperte rem publicam universam petis. Templa deorum immortalium, tecta urbis, vitam omnium civium, Italiam denique totam, ad exitium et vastitatem vocas.

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their entrance upon office. These magistrates, from A.U.C. 600, were elected about the end of July or beginning of August, and installed on the first of January. (ADAM, *Rom. Antiq.* p. 94.) Cicero and Catiline had both been candidates for the consulship, and, when the former succeeded, Catiline endeavoured to murder him in the Campus Martius, and elsewhere, by his private emissaries, ("omnibus modis insidias parabat Ciceroni." SALL. *Cat.* c. 26.)

<sup>1</sup> *Proximis comitiis consularibus.* Referring to the 22d of October, the previous month. (Compare note 1, page 12.) On the day of election here alluded to, Cicero, as Plutarch informs us, put on a coat of mail: the principal persons in Rome conducted him from his house, and great numbers of the youth attended him to the Campus Martius. There he threw back his robe, and displayed part of the coat of mail, on purpose to point out his danger. The people were incensed, and immediately gathered about him; the consequence of which was, that Catiline was again rejected, and Silanus and Murena were chosen consuls. (VIT. *Cic.* c. 14.) [Sallust thus alludes to both facts, *Catalina neque petitio, neque insidiae, quas consuli in campo fecerat, prospere cessere.* The comitia had originally been appointed for the 12th before the kalends of November, but were deferred until the 5th. See on this point, *Murena*, chap. 25.]

<sup>2</sup> *Campo.* The consular comitia were held in the Campus Martius.—*Competitores.* Silanus and Murena.—*Amicorum præsidio,* &c. Consult note 1.—*Me petisti.* "You aimed a thrust at me." A gladiatorial term. Compare Cicero's language towards the close of chapter 6.—"Quot ego tuas petitiones," &c.

<sup>3</sup> *Esse conjunctam.* "Was intimately connected."—*Petis.* "You aim a blow at." Compare note 2.—*Ad exitium et vastitatem vocas.* "You summon to ruin and desolation." Elegantly used instead of the more common phraseology, "*Evertere et solo aquare machinaris.*"

<sup>4</sup> *Quoniam id, quod primum,* &c. "Since I dare not yet pursue that course which first suggests itself, and is in strict accordance with the principles of this government, and the administration of our forefathers," i. e. inflict capital punishment upon you.—Some commentators refer the expression *hujus imperii* to the consular office, ("and is in strict accordance with the nature of that office which I now fill,") but the other interpretation seems preferable.

3, <sup>4</sup> quoniam id, quod primum, atque hujus imperii  
æque majorum proprium est, facere nondum audeo :  
id, quod est <sup>5</sup>ad severitatem lenius, et ad communem  
utilius : nam, si te interfici jussero, residebit in re  
<sup>6</sup> reliqua conjuratorum manus : sin tu (quod te  
in hortor,) exieris, <sup>7</sup>exhaurietur ex urbe tuorum  
magna et perniciosa sentina rei publicæ. Quid  
lina? Num dubitas id, me imperante, facere, quod  
a sponte faciebas? Exire ex urbe consul jubet  
Interrogas me, <sup>9</sup>num in exsilio? Non jubeo: sed,  
nsulis, suadeo.

*severitatem.* “In point of severity” [the same as *quoad, quod*.]—*Et ad communem, &c.*, “and as regards the common  
productive of more decided advantage.”

*a conjuratorum manus.* Ernesti thinks *reliqua* too frigid,  
*ets aliqua*, which appears to us still more frigid than *reliqua*.—

The metaphor is preparatory to the use of *sentina*. The  
end of the settling down or precipitation of fæculent matter in

*restringitur ex urbe, &c.* *Sentina* properly means that part of the  
sea where the bilge-water collects. It is then taken to denote the  
sea itself; and finally any worthless and impure collection of  
Cicero, in the following passage, employs the term in speak-  
ing of the lowest of the people, the very dregs of the city: “*Hoc enim  
usus, quasi de aliqua sentina, ac non de optimorum cirium  
eretur.*” The manuscript reading is *perniciosa sentina rei publicæ*  
*rei publicæ* is thus regarded as a genitive, forming with  
double genitive, in imitation of the Greek. (GOERENZ, *ad  
loc.*, 17, 42, p. 169. MATTHIÆ, *G. G.* § 380, vol. ii. p. 608, *Ken-  
t.*) Ernesti suspects this genitive *rei publicæ* to be a mere  
error, since *ex urbe*, which is sufficient for the sense, precedes.  
He it, notwithstanding, in his text. Anthon has also retained  
it, but placed it before *sentina*, and made it depend, as a dative,  
*reia.* He thinks it may be that *sentina rei publicæ* was writ-  
ten by some copyist for *rei publicæ sentina*, (a common error  
and the true position of the words may at first have been  
written by small numbers placed over them, which numbers were  
subsequently copied, and the erroneous order allowed to  
prevail.) Compare PORSON’s *Letter to Dalzel, Mus. Crit.* vol. i. p. 336.)  
ords *sentina rei publicæ*, comp. SALL. c. 37. *Omnis quos flagi-  
facinus domo expulerat, ii Romam sicut in sentinam con-*

Quintilian cites this passage with approbation (viii. 6, 15.)  
[*sentina rei publicæ dixit fæditatem hominum significans;*  
this case, compare *Cat.* 11, 4, *hanc sentinam hujus urbis.*] ]

*conente faciebas.* “You were inclined to do of your own accord.”  
here equivalent to *facere volebas*.—*Exire ex urbe, &c.* How  
stranger than if he had said, “*Exire ex urbe Cicero Catilinam jubet.*”  
in *exsilio*. Cicero purposely avoids ordering Catiline to

VI. QUID est enim, Catilina, quod te jam in hac delectare possit? In qua nemo est<sup>1</sup> extra istam conjunctionem perditorum hominum, qui te non metuat; nemo, non oderit. <sup>2</sup> Quæ nota domesticæ turpitudinis non in vitæ tuæ est? [<sup>3</sup> Quod privatarum rerum dedecus hæret infamia?] <sup>4</sup> Quæ libido ab oculis, <sup>5</sup> quod facinus manibus unquam tuis, quod flagitium a toto corpore abficiens, Cui tu adolescentulo, <sup>6</sup> quem corruptelarum illecebris iustisses, non aut ad audaciam ferrum, aut ad libidinem factu prætulisti? Quid vero? nuper, cum morte superioris ux

go into exile. This would have been, in the present stage of the hazardous experiment, as it might have exposed him to the charge of a tyrannical exercise of authority. The Romans were averse to the use of the word *exile*, even in their judicial sentences, and hence punishment of expatriation was called *ignis et aquæ interdictio*, “interdicting from fire and water,” by the force of which a person was compelled to leave Italy. It was a settled principle, that no Roman citizen could lose, without his own consent, the right of citizenship; hence, when a person was to be banished, he was, by a fiction of law, interdicted from fire and water. ADAM, *Rom. Antiq.* pp. 56, 57.—[Non jubeo, for exile was not a punishment, but a means of avoiding punishment: and so in no Roman law is any crime found punished with exile. See *Cat.* 51.]

<sup>1</sup> *Extra istam conjurationem*, &c. “Unconnected with that federated troop of abandoned followers.” The pronoun *iste* here means the person, and also denotes scorn and contempt on the part of the speaker. Compare note 3, page 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Quæ nota*, &c. “What mark of domestic turpitude has not been branded on your character?” *Nota* was applied by the Romans to mark branded on a fugitive slave when retaken, (*Cic Off.* 2, 7; is a metaphor taken from the branding of cattle; see *Georg.* iii. 1, and also to the stigma imposed by the censors for immoral conduct (*Pro Cluent.* 46.) So the voice of public scorn had branded, infamy, the character of Catiline. According to Plutarch, Sallust, Asconius, Catiline had slain his own brother; had murdered his son, that there might be no obstacle to his marriage with Aurelia Cætilla; and had indulged in incestuous intercourse with an illegitimate daughter of his own.

<sup>3</sup> *Quod privatarum rerum*, &c. “What shameful conduct in private life adheres not to your infamy?” This clause is strongly suspected of being a mere interpolation, since the same idea is already expressed in the words, “*Quæ nota.*” The Latinity of *non hæret infamia* is questionable, and savours strongly of the style of a scholiast.

<sup>4</sup> *Quæ libido*. “What scenes of impurity.” Compare the remarks of DOERING, *ad loc.*: “*Oculis nempe homines libidinosi venari solent*—*flagitia alimenta.*”

<sup>5</sup> *Quod facinus*. “What daring deed.”—*Quod flagitium*. “What infamous pollution.” The distinction between *facinus* and *flagitium*

nuptiis domum <sup>7</sup> vacuefecisses, nonne etiam alio incre-  
scelere hoc scelus cumulasti? Quod ego prætermitto,  
ille patior sileri, ne in hac civitate <sup>8</sup> tanti facinoris im-  
as aut exstisset aut non vindicata esse videatur. Præ-  
sto ruinas fortunarum tuarum, quas omnes impendere  
proximis Idibus senties: ad illa venio, quæ non ad  
am ignominiam vitiorum tuorum, non ad <sup>10</sup>domesticam  
difficultatem ac turpitudinem, sed ad summam rem  
am, atque ad omnium nostrum vitam salutemque per-  
. Potestne tibi hæc <sup>11</sup>lux, Catilina, aut hujus cœli

be noted. *Facinus* denotes a bold or daring action, and unless coined with a favourable epithet, or the action be previously said as commendable, the term is always to be understood in autive sense. *Flagitium* refers chiefly to disgraceful and lustful though it sometimes denotes any fault, error, or crime, that dishonour on the offender. (CROMBIE, *Gymnasium*, vol. ii. p.

*em corruptelarum illecebris irretisses.* "Whom you had en-  
amid the allurements of your corrupting arts." Compare  
r, *Cat.* c. 14: "Sed maxime adolescentium familiaritates adpetebat,

*cuefecisses.* Catiline was said to have poisoned his first wife in  
make way for Aurelia Orestilla.—*Alio incredibili scelere.* . The  
of his son. Compare CATULLUS (64, 402), "Optavit genitor pri-  
unera gnati," &c. [Sallust mentions Catiline's murder of his  
t is silent regarding that of his wife. See SALL. c. 15.]  
*uti facinoris immanitas.* "The enormity of so great a

*rimis Idibus.* His creditors would then be entitled to call for  
rest on their advances. [Not only the interest but the prin-  
uld be demanded on the *Ides*. ATT. xiv. 20. *Jam vel sibi habent*  
, *modo numeret Idibus.*] Among the Romans, the Kalends and  
re the two periods of the month, when money was either laid  
nterest or called in, or else the interest demanded for what was  
-

Compare HORACE (*Sat.* 1, 3, 87), "Quum tristes misero ventore  
;" and also (*Epod.* 2, 69), "Omnem redigit idibus pecuniam, &c.  
present oration was delivered on the 8th of November, and  
t Ides would be on the 13th. The Ides fell on the 15th  
ch, May, July, and October, and the 13th of the other

*mesticam tuam difficultatem.* "Your domestic difficulties," i. e.  
nts. Compare VERR. 2, 28: "Ostendit se in summa difficultate  
aria."

r. Grævius and others read *hæc lux*. On this Ernesti remarks  
whole relation is lost between *hujus vitæ lux*, and *hujus cœli*

[*Lux non simpliciter pro vita positum est, quod vult Grævius,*  
*ificatur potius commoratio in urbe.* Cf. *Fam.* 11, 12. *Urbem,*  
*ni Rufa, cole, et in ista luce vive.*—STEINMETZ.]

spiritus esse jucundus, cum scias, horum esse neminem, q  
nesciat te <sup>1</sup> pridie kalendas Januarias, <sup>2</sup> Lepido et Tullo co  
sulibus, <sup>3</sup> stetisse in comitio cum telo? Manum, consulū  
et principum civitatis interficiendorum causa, paravī  
Sceleri ac furori tuo <sup>4</sup> non mentem aliquam, aut timore  
tuum, sed <sup>5</sup> fortunam rei publicæ obstitisse? Ac jam i  
omitto: (<sup>6</sup>neque enim sunt aut obscura, aut non mul  
post commissa.) Quotiens tu me designatum, quoties  
consulem interficere conatus es? <sup>7</sup>Quot ego tuas petitiones  
ita conjectas, ut vitari non posse viderentur, parva quads  
declinatione, et, ut aiunt, corpore effugi? <sup>8</sup>[Nihil agis]

<sup>1</sup> *Pridie kalendas Januarias.* That is the 31st of December. Sallust gives a brief account of this earlier conspiracy (*Cat.* 18.) The plan was, to murder the consuls in the capitol, and then for Catiline and Autronius to seize upon the consular authority. Suetonius (*Jul. Cæs.* c. 9) informs us, on the faith of contemporary writers, that Caesar and Crassus had taken part in this conspiracy, and that it failed from Caesar's not having given the preconcerted signal, in consequence of Crassus's not appearing at the appointed time. According to Sallust the plot failed a second time, on the nones (5th) of February, in consequence of Catiline's having given the signal for action before a sufficient number of conspirators had assembled.

<sup>2</sup> *Lepido et Tullo consulibus.* A.U.C. 687. Catiline, being accused of extortion was unable to stand candidate for the consulship, and hence inflamed with hatred and disappointment, he resolved to murder the new consuls, on the 1st of January, 688.

<sup>3</sup> *Stetisse in comitio cum telo.* "Took your station in the comitium with a dagger." The *comitium* was that part of the forum where the *comitia* met.—It was forbidden, by one of the laws of the twelve tables, to carry any weapon within the city. The allusion in the text has already been explained under note 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Non mentem aliquam.* "No glimpse of reason," and consequently remorse, amid his frenzy.

<sup>5</sup> *Fortunam.* "The wonted good fortune." Compare SALLUST (*Cat.* c. 41,) "*Tandem ricit fortuna rei publicæ.*"

<sup>6</sup> [Neque enim sunt, &c. "For neither are they concealed, nor are your after offences few." Steinmetz reads, *neque enim sunt aut obscuræ aut non multa commissa postea*, i. e. for his after crimes are neither obscure nor few. The Delphin and some others have *multo post.*]

<sup>7</sup> *Quot ego tuas petitiones, &c.* "How many thrusts of thine, aimed in such a way that they seemed impossible to be parried, have avoided by a slight swerving of position, and as they say, by the movements of my body." *Petitio, declinatio, corpus, and effugio,* are gladiatorial terms, purposely employed by Cicero, that he may seem to regard Catiline as no better than one of this class of persons. Compare the language he uses in the second oration against Catiline (c. 11) "*Gladiatori illi confecto et saucio consules opponite,*" &c.

<sup>8</sup> *Nihil agis, &c.* "You do nothing, you contrive nothing, you

nihil assequeris, [nihil moliris,] quod mihi latere vuleat <sup>9</sup> in tempore: neque tamen conari ac velle desistis. <sup>10</sup>Quotiens jam tibi extorta est sica ista de manibus! Quotiens vero excidit casu aliquo et elapsa est! [<sup>11</sup>Tamen ea carere diutius non potes:] <sup>12</sup>quæ quidem quibus abs te initiata sacris ac devota sit, nescio, quod eam necesse putas consulis in corpore defigere.

VII. NUNO vero, quæ est ista tua vita? Sic enim jam tecum loquar, non ut <sup>13</sup>odio permotus esse videar, quo debeo, sed ut misericordia, quæ tibi nulla debetur. Venisti <sup>14</sup>paullo ante in senatum. Quis te ex hac tanta frequentia, ex tot

meditate nothing." The student will observe the regular gradation of ideas.—We have retained the common reading with Ernesti. Some editors reject *nihil moliris, quod mihi latere vuleat in tempore*, but without any propriety. [They are omitted by Orellius.] The words from *quod* to *tempore*, both inclusive, are wanting in some manuscripts. [The construction *mihi latere* is not uncommon. *Post reib. in Sen.* 6. *Nobis hæc auctoritas latuit. Lucan.* 1. *Pharsal.* 417. *At mihi semper . . late,* &c.—STEINMETZ.]

<sup>9</sup> *In tempore.* "At the very moment when it is of advantage to me to know them." Equivalent to *illo tempore quo illa scire mihi utile sit.* Compare the Greek form *τὸν καὶ ϕῶν*, and *Drakenb. ad Liv.* 8, 7.

<sup>10</sup> *Quotiens jam, &c.* "How often before this has that dagger of thine been wrested from thy grasp?"

<sup>11</sup> *Tamen ea carere diutius non potes.* These words are omitted by some editors, as not required by the context, and savouring, therefore, of interpolation. They are susceptible, however, of an easy defence; "Still you cannot be deprived of it for a longer period than the mere instant," i. e. no matter how often it be wrested, or fall, from your grasp, it is sure, the very next instant, to be in your hands again.

<sup>12</sup> *Quæ quidem, &c.* As the relative begins the clause, and the connexion between it and the antecedent is comparatively slight, it must be rendered by the pronoun *hæc*. (Compare note 9, page 11.) "With what unhallowed rites this dagger has been consecrated by thee and devoted to its purpose, I do not know, that you should deem it necessary to plunge it in the bosom of a consul." Cicero is thought to allude here to the horrid sacrifice of a human being, at the house of Catiline, an account of which is given by Sallust (*Cat. c. 23*), and Dio Cassius, (37, 30—vol. i p. 131, *ed. Reimar.*)—The sacrificial knife was consecrated to that purpose alone: Cicero insinuates that Catiline had a weapon dedicated to the purpose of slaying the consuls. [Devota, *retere illo Græcorum more, quo gladios facinori alicui destinatos, aut per quos cædes memorabilis patrata erat, diis consecrabant.*—STEIN.]

<sup>13</sup> *Odio.* "By the detestation."—*Quæ tibi nulla debetur.* "No portion of which is justly your due."

<sup>14</sup> *Paullo ante.* "A moment ago."—*Ex hac tanta frequentia.* "Of his so crowded a house." Referring to the full numbers of the senate, whom the intelligence of the conspiracy had drawn together.

tuis amicis ac necessariis,<sup>1</sup> salutavit? Si hoc post hominum memoriam contigit nemini, <sup>2</sup> vocis exspectas contumeliam, cum sis gravissimo judicio taciturnitatis oppressus? Quid? quod adventu tuo ista <sup>3</sup> subsellia vacuefacta sunt, quod omnes consulares, qui tibi persæpe ad cædem constituti fuerunt, simul atque assedisti, partem istam subselliorum <sup>4</sup> nudam atque inanem reliquerunt, quo tandem animo hoc tibi ferendum putas? <sup>5</sup> Servi mehercule mei si me isto pacto metuerent, ut te metuunt omnes cives tui, domum meam relinquendam putarem: tu tibi urbem non arbitraris? Et, si me meis civibus <sup>6</sup>injuria suspectum tam graviter atque offensum viderem; carere me adspectu civium, quam infestis omnium oculis conspici mallem: tu cum conscientia scale-

<sup>1</sup> *Salutavit.* When Catiline came into this meeting, and took his seat, all the senators abandoned that part of the *subsellia*, or benches, where he had placed himself, and not one of his private friends dared to salute him.

<sup>2</sup> *Vocis exspectas contumeliam, &c.* "Do you wait for the open insult from the voices of these present, when you are crushed by the most expressive sentence of their very silence?" The *contumeliam vocis* is the same as if the senators had openly called Catiline a public enemy; the *judicium taciturnitatis* refers to the manner in which he was received on coming into the senate.—The student will mark the force of the subjunctive *oppressus sis*, as denoting what is, to all appearance, passing in the mind of Catiline.

<sup>3</sup> *Ista.* The orator here points to the place where Catiline is seated. Compare note 3, page 3.—*Subsellia.* The seats of the senators are here called *subsellia*, in opposition to the elevated place where the consul had his curule chair. *Subsellium* properly means a low bench or seat.

<sup>4</sup> *Nudam atque inanem.* "Bare and unoccupied." The Latin writers frequently employ two epithets, of almost the same import, to give additional strength to the idea.

<sup>5</sup> *Servi mehercule, &c.* Muretus passes a high and richly deserved encomium on the force and skill which characterize this passage. It is, in truth, an excellent illustration of the argument *a fortiori*.

<sup>6</sup> *Injuria.* "Without just cause."—*Offensum.* "Odious." Compare CASAUBON, *ad Suet. Jul.* 19.

<sup>7</sup> *Vulneras.* "You are every day wounding." *Vulnero* is here used somewhat in the sense of *lædo*. Compare chapter 4. "*Eos nondum voce vulnero.*"

<sup>8</sup> *Omnium nostrum parens.* Compare the beautiful passage in the treatise *De Officiis*: "*Cari sunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares, sed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa est.*"

<sup>9</sup> *Et jamdiu te nihil judicat, &c.* The common text has *de te*. We have rejected the preposition, according to the suggestion of LAMBINUS, which is approved by MURETUS and GRÆVIUS. If *de* be retained,

um tuorum agnoscas odium omnium justum et jam tibi  
tu debitum, <sup>1</sup>lubit, quorum mentes sensusque <sup>2</sup>vulneras,  
orum adspectum præsentiamque vitare? Si te parentes  
timarent atque odissent tui, neque eos ulla ratione placare  
posset, ut opinor, ab eorum oculis aliquo concederes: nunc  
te patria, quæ communis est <sup>3</sup>omnium nostrum parens, odit  
ac metuit, <sup>4</sup>et jamdiu te nihil judicat nisi de <sup>5</sup>parricidio suo  
cogitare. <sup>6</sup>Hujus tu neque auctoritatem verebore, neque  
judicium sequore, neque vim pertimesces? Quæ tecum,  
Catilina, sic agit, et quodam modo <sup>7</sup>tacita loquitur:—Nul-  
lum jam aliquot annis facinus exstitit, nisi per te; nullum  
legitimum sine te: tibi uni <sup>8</sup>multorum civium neces, tibi  
veratio direptioque <sup>9</sup>sociorum impunita fuit ac libera: tu  
non solum ad negligendas leges et <sup>10</sup>quæstiones, verum etiam

the sense requires the insertion of another *te*, in the accusative, before  
*cogitare*.

<sup>6</sup> *Parricidio suo*. “Her ruin.” The term *parricidium*, among  
the Roman writers, indicates not merely the murder of parents, but  
also of those with whom one stands in any near and intimate rela-  
tion. Compare the language of one of the old lawyers: “*Lege Pom-  
peia de parricidis tenetur, qui patrem, matrem, arum, ariam, frumentum,  
tororem, patronum, patronam occiderit.*” (*Pauli Sentent. lib. 4, tit. 24.*)

<sup>7</sup> *Hujus tu neque*, &c. “Will you neither respect her authority,  
nor be guided by her opinion, nor stand in awe of her power?”  
*Judicium* is here equivalent to *sententiam*.

<sup>8</sup> *Tacita loquitur*. What the grammarians call an *oxymoron*, an  
apparent contradiction in terms. So in the following chapter, “*quum  
iacent clamant*.”

<sup>9</sup> *Multorum cirium neces*. Alluding to the murders committed by  
Catiline, as a partisan, and during the proscriptions of Sylla. Consult  
*Hist. Ind.* Quintius Cicero forcibly enumerates some of those mur-  
ders. (*De Pet. Cons.*) *Catilina . . . natus in patris egestate, educatus  
in sororis stupris, corroboratus in cœde cirium; cuius primus ad rem  
publicam aditus in equitibus Romanis occidens fuit. Nam illis, quos  
neminimus, Gallis, qui tum Titiorum ac Nanniorum ac Tunusiorum  
capita demecabant, Sulla unum Catilinam præficerat; in quibus ille homi-  
num optimum, Q. Caecilius, sororis suæ virum, equitem Romanum, nul-  
larum partium, cum semper natura tum etiam aetate jam quietum suis  
manibus occidit . . . M. Marium vitibus per totam urbem occidit; ad  
busum egit; ibi omni cruciatu laceravit, collum gladio sua dextera  
accut, cum sinistra capillum ejus a vertice teneret: caput sua manu tulit,  
cum inter digitos ejus riri sanguinis fluenter, &c.*—ORELL.]

<sup>10</sup> *Sociorum*. Catiline had, as praetor, obtained Africa for his govern-  
ment, where he was guilty of great extortion and rapine. On his  
return to Rome, he was accused by Publius Clodius, the future enemy  
of Cicero, but escaped by bribing his accuser and the judges who  
tried him.

<sup>11</sup> *Quæstiones*. “*Public prosecutions.*” Consult Legal Index.

ad evertendas perfringendasque valuisti. Superiora illa, quamquam ferenda non fuerunt, tamen, ut potui, tuli: nunc vero me totam esse in metu propter unum te,<sup>1</sup> quidquid increpuerit, Catilinam timeri, nullum videri contra me consilium iniri posse,<sup>2</sup> quod a tuo scelere abhorreat, non est ferendum. Quamobrem discede, atque hunc mihi timorem eripe: <sup>3</sup> si est verus, ne opprimar; sin falsus, ut tandem aliquando timere desinam.

VIII. HÆC si tecum, ut dixi, patria loquatur, <sup>4</sup> nonne impetrare debeat, etiam si vim adhibere non possit? <sup>5</sup> Quid? quod tu te ipse <sup>6</sup> in custodiam dedisti? Quod, vitanda suspicionis causa, apud <sup>7</sup> M'. Lepidum te <sup>8</sup> habitare velle

<sup>1</sup> *Quidquid increpuerit, &c.* "That on the occurrence of any noise, as Catiline should be dreaded." Compare LIVY, 4, 43: "Si quid increpatur, terroris."

<sup>2</sup> *Quod a tuo scelere abhorreat.* "That is at variance with your guilt" In which you do not bear a part.

<sup>3</sup> *Si est verus, &c.* What Hermogenes calls a *σχῆμα διλήμματος*, or form of a dilemma.

<sup>4</sup> *Nonne impetrare debeat?* "Ought she not to obtain her request?" i. e. ought she not to prevail upon you to depart?

<sup>5</sup> *Quid, quod tu ipse, &c.* "What shall I say of this, that you offered to surrender yourself into the safe keeping of some private individual?" The phrase *quid quod*, which can only be used when a verb succeeds, is elliptical, and to be completed as follows: *Quid dicam de eo quod*. It generally implies, that what comes after is more surprising or decisive than what went before, and hence it is frequently rendered into English by "nay," or "nay even." Compare ZUMPT, *L. G.* p. 416.

<sup>6</sup> *In custodiam.* This is what was called *libera custodia*. When an individual of rank and family laboured under the suspicion of any treasonable practices, he sometimes surrendered himself into the hands of another person distinguished for private worth, and attachment to the state, to be guarded, as it were, by the latter, until his guilt or innocence might be established by the result of a public prosecution. ADAM, *Rom. Antiq.* p. 219. This step was generally taken in order to impress the people with an opinion of his innocence. On some occasions the person accused was given over into the safe keeping of another, without being allowed to exercise any will of his own, as in the case of Lentulus, and the other confederates of Catiline, recorded by Sallust. (*Cat.* c. 47.) Dio Cassius (58, 3) call this species of custody by a very appropriate name, *φυλακὴ ἀδεσμος*.

<sup>7</sup> *M'. Lepidum.* We have given the prænomen as *M'*. (i. e. *Manius*) instead of the common reading *M.* (*Marcum*.) The Lepidus here meant was Manius, not Marcus, Lepidus, who held the consulship with Volcatius Tullus.

<sup>8</sup> *Habitare.* "To take up your residence."

<sup>9</sup> *Parietibus.* The term *paries* most commonly denotes the wall of a

isti? A quo non receptus, etiam ad me venire ausus es: que ut domi meæ te asservarem, rogasti: cum a me quoque responsi tulisses, me nullo modo posse iisdem<sup>9</sup> parietibus to esse tecum,<sup>10</sup> qui magno in periculo essem, quod iisdem mibus contineremur; ad<sup>11</sup> Q. Metellum prætorem venisti: quo repudiatus, ad sodalem tuum,<sup>12</sup> virum optimum, M. arcellum demigrasti: quem tu<sup>13</sup> videlicet et ad custodien- m te diligentissimum, et ad suspicandum sagacissimum, ad vindicandum fortissimum fore putasti. Sed quam ige videtur a carcere atque a vinculis abesse debere, qui ipse jam dignum custodia judicarit? Quæ cum ita sint, tilina, dubitas,<sup>14</sup> si hic emori æquo animo non potes, abire in

ise. Its primitive meaning appears to have been a party, or separa- n, wall. In the following passage it signifies a wall for upholding or porting: “*Parietes fornicum perfoSSI urbem patefecerunt.*” (*Liv. 44,*) See note 7, page 16.

<sup>9</sup> *Qui essem.* “Since I was.” *Qui* is joined to the subjunctive mood, en the relative clause states some circumstance belonging to the ecedent, as accounting for the principal fact, or as contributing to production. (CROMBIE, *Gymnasium*, vol. ii. p. 26.)

<sup>10</sup> *Q. Metellum.* Cicero refers to Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer, who was sequently despatched by him to raise an armed force against Catilinæ in the Gallic and Picene territories. (Compare *Orat. 2, in Cat.* chapters 2 and 12.) He was consul with L. Afranius, two years afterds, and was poisoned by his wife, Clodia, in 695.

<sup>11</sup> *Virum optimum.* Used ironically. Compare *Quintilian* (9, 2)—*Marcellum.* The father of Marcus Marcellus, one of the accomplices Catiline. (*Pro Sext. 4.*) Orosius, in the following passage, makes ntion of both father and son: “*Motus etiam in Pelignis ortus a rcellis, patre et filio, per L. Vectium proditus, patefacta Catilinæ coniunctione, quasi succisa radice, compressus est,*” &c. (6, 4.)—We must be ful, however, not to confound the Marcellus here mentioned with one named by Cicero a little after, and whom he styles *vir fortis*. This latter was the one whom he defended before Cæsar.

<sup>12</sup> *Videlicet.* Ironical. “No doubt.”—*Ad suspicandum.* “In spying your secret movements.”—*Ad vindicandum.* “In bringing you to tice.”

<sup>13</sup> *[Si emori.* Some MSS. have *si hic morari*, several, *si morari*. The ds æquo animo correspond better with the reading, *emori*. We are to suppose a death by execution to be hinted at, for *emori* is only d of a natural or voluntary death. The meaning then is, “crushed consciousness of guilt, you cannot contentedly await a natural th, or by your own hands procure it; why then will you not leave ” &c.—ORELL. Madvig also prefers this reading. Anthon adopted other reading, *morari*, as forming a better antithesis to *abire*, but y probably this love of antithesis was the cause of the corruption. ides, *morari* could not mean to live in Rome, but only to make a f and transitory stay there.]

aliquas terras, et vitam istam, multis suppliciis justis debitisque eruptam, fugæ solitudinique mandare?

<sup>1</sup> Refer, inquis, ad senatum, (id enim postulas,) et, si hic ordo sibi placere decreverit te ire in exsilium, obtemperaturum te esse dicis. Non referam id, <sup>2</sup> quod abhorret a meis moribus: et tamen <sup>3</sup> faciam, ut intelligas, quid hi dete sentiant. Egressere ex urbe, Catilina: libera rem publicam metu: in exsilium, si <sup>4</sup> hanc vocem exspectas, proficisci. <sup>5</sup> Quid est, Catilina? ecquid attendis, ecquid animadvertis horum silentium? <sup>6</sup> patiuntur, tacent. <sup>7</sup> Quid exspectas auctoritatem loquentium, quorum voluntatem tacitorum perspicis? At si hoc idem huic adolescenti optimo, <sup>8</sup> P.

<sup>1</sup> *Refer, inquis, ad senatum.* "Lay the matter, you say, before the senate." *Referre ad senatum* was the usual phrase for the laying of any matter before the Roman senate. If the consuls were in the city at the time when any such reference was to be made, they, by virtue of their office, consulted the senate on the matter in question. If they were absent, the reference was made by the other magistrates, according to their respective rank. (*Aul. Gell. 14, 7.*)

<sup>2</sup> *Quod abhorret a meis moribus.* "Which is repugnant to my character." As Cicero was naturally averse to harshness and severity, he was unwilling to lay the affair of Catiline formally before the senate, since he knew that the latter would, most certainly, condemn him. His object was to induce him to quit the city.

<sup>3</sup> *Faciam, ut intelligas.* "I will act in such a way that you may clearly perceive." He means that he will tell him openly to go into exile, and that the senate will sanction this bold step on the part of Cicero, by their total silence.

<sup>4</sup> *Hinc vocem.* "This expression." Consult note 8, page 19.  
<sup>5</sup> *qui sit Catilina!* Cicero probably made a pause at the end of the previous sentence, that Catiline might observe the more clearly, from the total silence of the assembled senators, how completely their sentiments accorded with those of the speaker. He then exclaims, in reference to the silence which prevails on all sides: "What is this, Catiline?"

<sup>6</sup> *Patent, sed non loquuntur.* "They suffer it, they are silent" i.e. they permit me to use this bold language towards you, and to bid you go into exile because they believe, with me, that you are an enemy to your country; and no one raises his voice in your behalf.

<sup>7</sup> *Eccl. 10. 10. 11. 12.* "Why do you wait for their understanding this by their voices whose wishes you perceive, although they are silent?" *These refers to their understanding, by word of mouth, what will be said given Catiline no opportunity to speak.*

<sup>8</sup> *P. Sest.* P. Sextus Gallus who was successor to the consul A. C. L. and whom Cicero subsequently defended in an oration which he called *Pro Galli.* He appears to have been the creature of Catiline, and to have been his spy in Alexandria. (*Pro Sest. § 8.*)

Sextio, si fortissimo viro, <sup>9</sup>M. Marcello dixissem; <sup>10</sup>jam mihi consuli, hoc ipso in templo, jure optimo senatus vim et manus intulisset: <sup>11</sup>de te autem, Catilina, cum quiescant, probant; cum patiuntur, decernunt; cum tacent, clamant. Neque hi solum, <sup>12</sup>quorum tibi auctoritas est videlicet cara, vita vilissima: <sup>13</sup>sed etiam illi equites Romani, honestissimi atque optimi viri, ceterique fortissimi cives, <sup>14</sup>qui circumstant senatum, quorum tu et frequentiam videre, et studia perspicere, et voces paullo ante exaudire potuisti: quorum ego vix abs te jamdiu manus ac tela contineo, eosdem facile adducam, ut te haec, quæ jampridem vastare studes, relinquentem, <sup>15</sup>usque ad portas prosequantur.

meus. *Impedior nonnullius officii, ut ego interpretor, religione quo minus exponam, quam multa P. Sextius, cum esset cum collega meo censor, ad me detulerit, quanto ante providerit.*"]

<sup>9</sup>*M. Marcello.* This is the Marcellus whom Cicero afterwards defended before Cicero. Consult Hist. Ind.

<sup>10</sup>*Jam.* "Ere now."—*Vim et manus.* "The hand of violence." Literally, "violence and their hands." A species of hendiadys.

<sup>11</sup>*De te.* "With regard to you."—*Cum quiescant, &c.* "When they remain quiet, they actually approve of my conduct; when they permit me to use this language, they, in truth, decree to that effect; when they keep silence, they proclaim loudly their sentiments."—*Probant.* The senate approve of the course which Cicero has just pursued towards Catiline, in ordering him into exile.—*Decernunt.* They actually decree that he go into exile.—*Clamant.* They loudly proclaim, as it were, their decided conviction of Catiline's being a foe to his country.

<sup>12</sup>*Quorum tibi auctoritas, &c.* "Whose authority, it seems, is highly respected by you; whose lives are most cheap in your eyes." Catiline pretended great respect for the authority and sanction of the senate, but held their lives, in fact, so cheap, as to have marked out the majority of them for destruction.

<sup>13</sup>*Sed etiam illi equites Romani.* "But even those Roman knights do the same," i. e. *silentio probant.* The Equites constituted the second order of citizens among the Romans. They received their name from the privilege which they enjoyed of serving on horseback, and were distinguished by a robe with a narrow stripe of purple, *angustus clavus*: and a gold ring, *annulus aureus*; hence *annulo aureo donari*, to become a knight. They sat in a separate place at the public spectacles, next to the orchestra, on fourteen benches; hence *sedere in quatuordecim*, to be a knight. Their fortune was 400 *sestertia*. Vide ADAM, *Rom. Antiq.* pp. 20—23.

<sup>14</sup>*Qui circumstant senatum.* A body of Roman knights, and other patriotic citizens, were in arms around the temple in which the senate were convened, in order to protect them from any sudden attack on the part of the conspirators, in case such, as was strongly apprehended, should take place.—*Voces.* Referring to the patriotic cries of those assembled without the temple.

<sup>15</sup>*Usque ad portas prosequantur.* Those who went into voluntary

IX. <sup>1</sup> QUAMQUAM quid loquor? <sup>2</sup> te ut ulla res frangat? tu ut unquam te corrigas? tu ut ullam fugam meditere? tu ut ullum exsilium cogites? Utinam tibi istam mentem dii immortales <sup>3</sup> duint! Tametsi video, si mea voce perterritus ire in exsilium animum induxeris, quanta tempestas invidis nobis, si minus in præsens tempus, recenti memoria scelerum tuorum, at in posteritatem impendeat. <sup>4</sup> Sed est tanti dummodo ista <sup>5</sup> privata sit calamitas, et a rei publicæ perculis se jungatur. <sup>6</sup> Sed tu ut vitiis tuis commoveare, ut legum pœnas pertimescas, <sup>7</sup> ut temporibus rei publicæ cedas, non est postulandum: neque enim is es, Catilina, ut te aut

exile were generally accompanied to the city gates by large numbers of their friends. Cicero promises an escort of knights to Catiline, if he will abandon Rome. The orator means, that through joy to rid themselves of him, they will see him safely to the gates of the city.

<sup>1</sup> Quamquam. "And yet." Compare the remarks of Forcellini, on this usage of *quamquam*: "*Venustatem habet, cum quis se ipsam corrigit*; and consult the following passages where it occurs in the same sense: CIC. N. D. 3, 16; VIRG. *Aen.* 5, 194.

<sup>2</sup> Te ut ulla res frangat? &c. "Is it to be expected that any thing can ever break that obstinate spirit of yours? that you can ever reform?" We must supply before *ut*, in this passage, the words *sperandumne sit fore*, or something equivalent. Drackenborch (*ad Liv.* 4, 2, 12) has collected examples of this elegant and elliptical usage of the particle *ut*.—*Frangat*. As regards the peculiar force of this verb in such passages as the present, compare *Liv.* 2, 23; and consult BROUCKHOUS, *ad Tibull.* 1, 9, 71.

<sup>3</sup> Duint. An archaism for *dent*. This form occurs also in *Livy*, forming part of the language of a vow: "*Bellona, si hodie nobis victoriam duis, ast ego templum tibi voveo.*" (10, 19.) Besides being used on such solemn occasions, it is frequently met with among the comic writers.—[Recenti memoria, "while the recollection of your crimes is fresh."—Steinmetz explains, "Propter recentem memoriam."]

<sup>4</sup> Sed est tanti. "But it is worth this sacrifice." As if he had said: "Rei publicæ salus est mihi tanti momenti, ut huic impendenti invidice tempestati me objiciam."

<sup>5</sup> Privata sit. "Be confined to myself," i. e. concern me individually; fall only on my head.

<sup>6</sup> Sed tu ut vitiis tuis commoveare. "But that you can be at all affected by the consciousness of your crimes." *Vitia* is here used to denote any evil deeds.

<sup>7</sup> Ut temporibus rei publicæ cedas. "That you can yield to the interests of the republic." It is the same as if Cicero had said: "*Ut a consilio tuo recedas, et ea, quæ præsens rei publicæ status postulat, fupatiaris.*"—Grævius, Lallemand, Beck, and Schütz, prefer *cedas*, which is found in some manuscripts. *Concedo* is often used by Cicero for the

<sup>8</sup>pudor a turpitudine, aut metus a periculo, aut ratio a furore unquam revocarit. Quamobrem, ut sæpe jam dixi, proficiscere: ac, si mihi inimico, ut prædicas, tuo conflare vis invidiam; <sup>9</sup>recta perge in exsilium: vix feram <sup>10</sup>sermones hominum, si id feceris: vix <sup>11</sup>molem istius invidiæ, si in exsilium jussu consulis ieris, sustinebo: sin autem <sup>12</sup>servire meæ laudi et gloriæ mavis, egredere <sup>13</sup>cum importuna sceleratorum manu: confer te ad Manlium: concita perditos cives: secerne te a bonis: infer patriæ bellum: exulta <sup>14</sup>impio latrocinio, ut a me non ejectus ad alienos, sed

simple cedo. Compare *Ep. ad Fam.* 4, 3: *ad Att.* 14, 18: *Verr.* 2, 44: *Rosc. Am.* 40. Hence Anthon here reads *concedas*.

<sup>8</sup>Pudor. "A sense of shame."—*Unquam*. This word does not appear in the common text. Quintilian, (9, 3, 62,) in quoting the passage inserts it after *pudor*, a reading which Schütz and Matthiæ adopt. We have removed it to its present place as giving a fuller sound to the sentence.

<sup>9</sup>Recta. Supply *via*. Thus TERENCE, *Andr.* 3, 4, 21: "Quin hinc recta in pistrinum proficiscar via."

<sup>10</sup>Sermones hominum. "The remarks of men," i. e. the censures that will be heaped upon me for my tyrannical conduct. Compare CIC. *Verr.* 4, 7: "In sermonem hominum atque vituperationem venire," and *Ep. ad Att.* 2, 14: "Vapulare sermonibus."

<sup>11</sup>Molem istius invidiæ. "The weight of that odium" which you will thus bring upon me. The student will mark the force of the pronoun *istius*, and consult note 3, page 3.

<sup>12</sup>Servire meæ laudi et gloriæ. "To second the purposes of my praise and my glory," i. e. to advance my reputation and glory.—Cicero resorts to an artful dilemma. Catiline may entertain either hostile or friendly feelings towards Cicero, just as he pleases, for the purpose either of exposing him to odium, or contributing to his renown, but in either event he must leave the city.

<sup>13</sup>Cum importuna sceleratorum manu. "With thy restless band of miscreants." *Importunus* here denotes a total disregard for what time, place, circumstance, and person demand. Hence it obtains the signification of "unbridled," "outrageous," "intolerable," &c. Compare *Verr.* 6, 50: "Importunissimæ libidines," "the most unbridled desires," and *Cat.* 2, 6: "Importunissimus hostis," "a most intolerable enemy."

<sup>14</sup>Impio latricinio. "In your impious scheme of robbery." It is called "impious," or unhallowed, because directed against his native country. *Latrocinium*, in its earliest acceptance, meant merely the service of a soldier, and the primitive meaning of *latro* itself was the same as *miles*. The idea of robbery and plunder was associated with it at a later period, from the plundering habits of disbanded soldiers. Festus derives *latro* from the Greek λατρεία, "service," where others, however, by a change of reading, make λάτρον, "pay," the root. Latro's derivation of the term from *latus*, because the *latrones*, at first,

invitatus ad tuos esse videaris. <sup>1</sup> Quamquam quid ego te  
invitem, a quo jam sciām esse p̄missos, <sup>2</sup> qui tibi ad  
Forum Aurelium p̄stolarentur armati? <sup>3</sup> Cui sciām pac-  
tam et constitutam esse cum Manlio diem? A quo etiam  
<sup>4</sup> aquilam illam argenteam, quam tibi ac tuis omnibus, per-  
niciōsam esse confido et funestam futuram, <sup>5</sup> cui domi tūs  
sacrarium scelerum tuorum constitutum fuit, sciām esse  
p̄missam? <sup>6</sup> Tu ut illa carere diutius possis, quam vene-  
rari, ad cædem proficiscens, solebas? A cujus altaribus  
enī istam impian dexteram ad necem civium transtulisti?

X. Ibis tandem aliquando quo te iampridem tua ista

like a kind of body-guard, protected the side of the king or commander, ("circum latera erant regi,") or, because they ~~were~~ swords by their sides, ("ad latera habebant ferrum !") is now decisively rejected.

<sup>1</sup> *Quamquam.* "And yet." Compare note 1, page 30.

\* *Qui tibi ad Forum Aurelium, &c.* "To wait for thee in or near Forum Aurelium." The preposition *ad*, with the name of a place, denotes immediate proximity, but not the being in the place itself. CROMBIE, *Gymnasium*, vol. i p. 56. Towns were called *Forum* by the Romans, where the praetor held what we would term his circuits, administering justice, and where also markets were established [*Forum Aurelium*, now *Monte Alto*, was a small town of Etruria situate between the rivers *Arcanata* (Flora) and *Maria*, not far from the sea. It seems to have derived its name and origin from that Aurelius who raised the *Via Aurelia* extending from Rome to *Pisa*. —*Gregorius*. The *Aurelian Way* was continued from this latter place, A.C. 9, by the consul *Emilius Scaurus*, under the name of *Via Flaminia*, as far as *Dertona*, (now *Tortona*,) and at a later period was carried from *Via Sabata* (where it had left the coast for *Dertona*) to *Mantua*, and even beyond them into Gaul as far as *Lyon*. Consult CRAMER'S *Ant. Italy*, vol. i p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Cui sciam.* The common  
sciam. We have inserted  
gratia."

*Agudan* is  
army in the C  
ended the ex  
proper arm  
humbles di  
wings, on  
shaws, w  
having  
ADAM  
KIRK

is, confitatam improborum manum. <sup>9</sup>Hic tu qua  
perfruere? quibus gaudiis exultabis? quanta in  
te bacchabere, cum in tanto numero tuorum neque  
virum bonum quemquam neque videbis? <sup>10</sup>Ad hujus  
udium meditati illi sunt, qui feruntur, labores tui:

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cause, in the time of Marius, the best troops began to be placed

domi tace, &c. ["To which a shrine of guilt has been erected house." *Sacrarium* was the shrine where dedicated offerings assured.] It has been stated in the previous note, that the the legion was sometimes placed in a kind of chapel, or and at other times was represented either without any such as having it above the wings. Dio Cassius (40, 18) is very respecting the first of these: *τότε τὸν μηρὸν, καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ* *αετὸν λιθόπτωτον.* So Catiline, in the figurative language of by keeping the Marian eagle at his own home, established a kind of sanctuary for it; and, as the Roman soldiers seemed to pay adoration to their standards, so he, according might be said to have adored the one in his possession, invoked it as the tutelary deity of intended violence and

etc. "It is to be believed that you can any legion," *καὶ τὸν πάντας λογισμὸν,* and consult note 2, page 30.—*At* right hand of thine."

*et patriam, hunc circum ostendit.* By Catiline's forced departure from the  
"It was for this mad ~~error~~ of

jacere humi. non modo <sup>1</sup>ad obsidendum stuprum, verum etiam ad facinus obeundum: vigilare, non solum insidiante somno maritorum, verum etiam bonis otiosorum. <sup>2</sup>Habes ubi ostentes illam præclaram tuam patientiam famis, frigoris, inopiæ rerum omnium; quibus te brevi tempore <sup>3</sup>confectum esse senties. Tantum profeci [tum,] cum te a consulatu reppuli, ut <sup>4</sup>*exul* potius tentare, quam *consul* vexare rem publicam posses, atque ut id, quod esset abs te scelerate susceptum, *latrocinium* potius quam *bellum* nominaretur.

XI. <sup>5</sup>NUNC, ut a me, patres conscripti, quandam prope justam patriæ querimoniam detester ac deprecer: <sup>6</sup>percipite,

full of irony and bitter scorn.—[*Labores*. Compare SALL. ch. 5. *Corpus patiens inediæ, algoris, vigiliæ, supra quam cuiquam credibile est.*—*Qui feruntur*. “Which are so extolled,” “spoken of.” Cf. *Omnis ille terror ex Autronii improbitate pendebut, ejus voces, ejus minæ ferebantur.*]

<sup>1</sup> *Ad obsidendum stuprum*. “To watch for an opportunity of debauchery.” The literal meaning is, “to lie in wait for debauchery.” Compare VERR. 1, 2: “*Qui meum tempus obsideret.*”—*Ad facinus obeundum*. “For the execution of some daring and wicked enterprise.”

<sup>2</sup> *Habes ubi ostentes*. “You have now a field for displaying” Ironical.—*Patientiam famis*, &c. Compare SALLUST, *Cat.* 5, and *Or. pro Cœl.* 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Confectum*. “Undone.”—*Cum te a consulatu reppuli*. Cicero means, when his influence prevented Catiline from being elected to the consulship, a few days previous to this. [Three measures were adopted by Cicero specially aimed against Catiline; 1. A law to increase the penalty of corruption (*ambitus*); 2. By deferring the *Comitia*, thus disarranging the plans of Catiline; 3. His coming into the *Campus Martius* in armour: this showed the populace that he apprehended danger.]

<sup>4</sup> *Exul*. We have given this, and also *consul*, in Italics, to mark the *paronomasia*. So likewise *latrocinium* and *bellum*.

<sup>5</sup> *Nunc, ut a me*, &c. “Now, conscript fathers, that I may, in the most earnest manner, remove from me what seems, as it were, an almost well-grounded complaint on the part of my country.” *Quandam* (literally, “a certain”) is purposely employed to qualify *prope justam*.—The verb *detestari* here denotes, “to seek to remove anything from one, such as blame, accusation, &c., by the utmost earnestness of manner, adjuring, calling to witness all that one holds dear;” while *deprecari* rises upon it in meaning, “to pray in the most solemn manner, to entreat fervently, to supplicate, that one may be freed from certain consequences.” Compare ERNESTI, *Clav. Cic.* a. v.

<sup>6</sup> *Percipite, queso, quæ dicam*, &c. The oratorical skill with which Cicero brings this oration to a close, is admirable. He had, already, in the earlier part of the discourse, repeatedly asserted, that it was fully in his power to put Catiline to death if he felt inclined. In order to

uæso, diligenter, quæ dicam, et ea penitus animis vestris  
mentibusque mandate. Etenim, si mecum patria, quæ mihi  
ita mea multo est carior, si cuncta Italia, si omnis res pub-  
ica sic loquatur: <sup>7</sup> M. Tulli, quid agis? tune eum, quem  
esse hostem comperisti: quem ducem belli futurum vides:  
quem exspectari imperatorem in castris hostium sentis, auc-  
torem sceleris, principem conjurationis, <sup>8</sup> evocatorem servo-  
rum et civium perditorum, exire patiere, ut abs te <sup>9</sup> non  
emissus ex urbe, sed immissus in urbem esse videatur?  
Nonne hunc in vincula duci, non ad mortem rapi, non  
summo supplicio <sup>10</sup> mactari imperabis? Quid tandem te

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support this assertion once more in the strongest manner, he introduces the striking personification of his own country, complaining that he had not removed Catiline from existence, when it was his duty to have done so. The three grounds of excuse, which might have exonerated him from censure in the case of an ordinary offender, his country here pronounces utterly insufficient to excuse his inaction. 1. *The custom of early days.*—Why, in early days, replies his country, even individuals uninvested with magistracy, as, for example, Scipio Nasica, put to death with their own hands the disturbers of the public repose. 2. *The law which forbade any Roman citizen's being put to death.*—But, replies his country, no man who fails in his duty as a citizen, can claim the privileges of one. 3. *The dread of public odium for what might seem too harsh an exercise of authority.*—A man, like Cicero, whom the republic had elevated, in so extraordinary a manner, to the highest office in her gift, is bound, when the safety of that republic is at stake, to consider personal odium or danger as of only secondary importance.—All this forms, as Muretus remarks, “*orationem moratam.*”

<sup>7</sup> *M. Tulli, quid agis?* Compare the address of his country to Socrates, in the Criton of Plato (§ 11), εἰπέ μοι ὡ Σώκρατες, τί ἐν νῷ  
ἴχες ποιεῖν; κ.τ.λ.

<sup>8</sup> *Evocatorem servorum.* Those soldiers who had served out their time, (*emeriti*), and those who, from Sylla's time downward, had received, instead of a military pension, a piece of ground to cultivate and dwell on, were always, in case of any sudden and dangerous emergency, compelled again to enter the ranks and perform military service. When this was to be done, persons were sent to summon them, called *conquisitores* or *evocatores*. We see from this, with what bitter scorn Catiline is called evocator *servorum*, as if he had gone into their very workshops, and summoned them forth to insurrection and deeds of blood.

<sup>9</sup> *Non emissus ex urbe, &c.* On the principle that, if allowed to escape, he will only return with surer means of destruction.

<sup>10</sup> *Mactari.* “To be immolated.” The verb *mactare* is the official term, properly, for slaying a victim at a sacrifice, after the salted meal had been sprinkled between the horns, and all the other ceremonies

impedit? <sup>1</sup> Mosne majorum? At persæpe etiam privati in hac re publica perniciosos cives morte multarunt. <sup>2</sup> An leges, quæ de civium Romanorum suppicio <sup>3</sup> rogatæ sunt? At nunquam in hac urbe ii, qui a re publica defecerunt, civium jura <sup>4</sup> tenuerunt. An invidiam posteritatis times? <sup>5</sup> Præclaram vero populo Romano refers gratiam, qui te, hominem per te cognitum, nulla commendatione majorum, <sup>6</sup> tam mature ad summum imperium per omnes honorum

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performed. In its primitive sense, however, it is equivalent merely to *magis augere*, and hence, when applied to a sacrifice, means in strictness, to go on and consummate what has been already begun, i.e. to slay the victim. It is in this way only we can explain such phrases as the following: “*mactant honoribus*,” “they advance with honours,” i.e. heap fresh honours upon: (Cic. *de Repub. ap. Non.* c. 4, n. 291.) “*Liberum patrem fanorum consecratione mactatis*.” “Ye do honour to father Bacchus,” &c. (Arnob. 1, p. 24.) Compare also the forms *macte virtute*, *macte ingenio*, &c.—The propriety of Cicero’s phrase will now be fully apparent. His country tells him that something more must be done; the last act, the finishing blow to the conspiracy, must now be attended to, in putting Catiline to death.

<sup>1</sup> *Mosne majorum?* Their forefathers would not put a Roman citizen to death without the order of the Roman people.—*At persæpe etiam privati*, &c. Cicero alludes particularly to the case of P. Scipio Nasica, who headed the party of the nobility when Tiberius Gracchus was slain. The expression *persæpe* falls under the head of oratorical exaggeration, since instances of this nature were by no means frequent.

<sup>2</sup> *An leges?* The Porcian and Sempronian laws in particular. The former ordained, that no Roman citizen should be bound, scourged, or put to death. (*Pro Rab.* 4.—*VERR.* 5, 63.—*Liv.* 10, 9.) The latter enjoined that no Roman citizen should be put to death without the express order of the Roman people; which was only reviving one of the provisions of the twelve tables. It was intended, however, in fact, as a revival of the Porcian law, which had grown in some degree obsolete. [There were three Valerian laws. 1. Passed by Valerius Publicola, A. 243, ordaining that no magistrate should scourge or put to death a Roman citizen in opposition to the right of appeal. 2. Of Luc. Valerius Potitus, that no magistrate should be elected without the right of appeal. 3. That of M. Valerius Corvus, which merely gave a stronger sanction to the preceding laws. The Porcian laws altogether took from the magistrate the power of scourging a Roman citizen, sentencing to heavy punishment any magistrate who violated its provisions.]

<sup>3</sup> *Rogatæ sunt.* “Have been enacted.” The people, at the comitia, were asked their pleasure respecting the enactment of laws. The usual form of application, on the part of the presiding magistrate, was, *velitis, jubeatis, Quirites?* Hence *rogare legem*, which would strictly mean “to ask the people about the passing a law,” gets the meaning of “to enact a law,” and so also *rogare magistratus*, “to elect magis-

gradus extulit, si propter invidiam, aut alicujus periculi metum, salutem civium tuorum negligis. Sed, si quis est invidiae metus, num est vehementius <sup>7</sup> severitatis ac fortitudinis invidia quam inertiae ac nequitiae pertimescenda? An, cum bello vastabitur Italia, vexabuntur urbes, tecta ardebunt: <sup>8</sup> tum te non existimas invidiae incendio conflagraturum?

trates." On the same principle, before a law was carried through, and while it was still pending, it was termed *rogatio*, "a bill." Hence, too, when the people were to vote about a law, two ballots were given them, on one of which were the letters U. R. (i. e. *uti rogas*,) and on the other A. (i. e. *antiquo, antiqua probo*.) The former was the affirmative ballot, and was equivalent to "*volo legem esse uti rogas*." (ADAM, *Rom. Antiq.* pp. 76—78.)

<sup>4</sup> *Tenuerunt.* "Have retained," i. e. have been allowed to retain.—*Invidiam posteritatis.* "The reproaches of posterity." Literally, "the odium," or "dislike."

<sup>5</sup> *Præclarum vero, &c.* "You are making a glorious return, indeed, to the Roman people." Ironical.—*Hominem per te cognitum.* "A person brought into notice by your own exertions merely," i. e. what the Romans were accustomed to call "a new man," *novus homo*; meaning one who had been the first of his family to raise himself to any curule office, or, in other words, to enrol himself by his personal merits among the nobility. Cicero was fond of alluding to this feature in his history, and it was certainly a most pardonable kind of pride. (ADAM, *Rom. Antiq.* p. 25.)

<sup>6</sup> *Tam mature.* Cicero was elected consul the very year he was first permitted, by law, to offer himself as a candidate. No one could present himself as an aspirant for the consulship until he had completed his 43rd year. The orator boasts of having obtained all the inferior offices in the same way; each in the year when he was first allowed to apply for it. Hence the expression in the present passage, *per omnes honorum gradus*, "through all the gradations of office." [This is the oft-recurring boast of Cicero. Cf. *De Offic.* ii. 17. *Nobis quoque licet in hoc quodam modo gloriari.* *Nam pro amplitudine honorum, quos cunctis suffragiis adepti sumus, nostro quidem anno, &c.*—AGR. xi. 2. *Reperietis, me esse unum ex omnibus novis hominibus, qui consulatum petierim cum primum licitum sit: consul factus sim, cum primum petierim.]*

<sup>7</sup> *Severitatis ac fortitudinis invidia.* "The odium arising from a strict and firm discharge of duty."—*Quam inertiae ac nequitiae.* "Than that which is attendant upon indolence and remissness." Compare note 1, page 10.

<sup>8</sup> *Tum te non existimas, &c.* A beautiful figure, best expressed by a paraphrase: "Do you not imagine that you yourself will be then enveloped amidst the flames which the indignation of your country shall have kindled against you?" Literally, "Do you not think that you will then *blaze amid the conflagration of odium?*"—The figure arises *very naturally from the previous expression*, "tecta ardebunt."

XII. <sup>1</sup> His ego sanctissimis rei publicæ vocibus, et eorum hominum, qui idem sentiunt, mentibus pauca respondebo. Ego, <sup>2</sup> si hoc optimum factu judicarem, patres conscripti, Catilinam morte multari; <sup>3</sup> unius usuram horæ gladiatori isti ad vivendum non dedissem. Etenim, si summi viri, et clarissimi cives, Saturnini, et Gracchorum, et Flacci, et superiorum complurium sanguine non modo se non contaminarunt, sed etiam <sup>4</sup> honestarunt: certe mihi verendum non erat, ne quid, hoc <sup>5</sup> parricida civium imperfecto, invidis mihi in posteritatem redundaret. Quod si ea mihi maxime impenderet: tamen hoc animo semper fui, ut invidiam virtute partam, gloriam, non invidiam putarem. Quamquam non nulli sunt in hoc ordine, qui aut ea, quæ imminent, non videant; aut ea, quæ vident, dissimulent; <sup>6</sup> qui spem Catilinæ mollibus sententiis aluerunt, conjurationemque

<sup>1</sup> *His ego sanctissimis vocibus.* “To these most revered expositions on the part of my country.” *Sanctissimis* is here equivalent to *sanctissime colendis*.—*Mentibus.* “To the secret thoughts.”

<sup>2</sup> *Si judicarem.* “Could I have thought.” In conditional propositions it is not uncommon for the consequent clause to contain the pluperfect subjunctive, while the conditional clause contains the imperfect subjunctive with *si* or *nisi*. Thus in the present instance we have *judicarem* and *dedissem*. The probability is thus spoken of generally, without being strictly referred to the time at which it existed. (ZUMPT, *L. G.* p. 331.)

<sup>3</sup> *Unius usuram horæ ad vivendum.* “The enjoyment of a single hour for existence.”—*Gladiatori isti.* Compare note 7, p. 22.—*Etenim.* “And well may I make this assertion, for.” Compare the Greek form of expression, *kai γάρ*.

<sup>4</sup> *Honestarunt.* “Graced.” Equivalent to *decorarunt*.—*Certe mihi,* &c. Ernesti suspects *mihi* of being unnecessary here. But it is needed to mark a kind of opposition to *summi viri, et clarissimi cives*.

<sup>5</sup> *Parricida civium.* Consult note 10, page 25.

<sup>6</sup> *Qui spem Catilinæ, &c.* “Who have fostered the hopes of Catiline, by their feeble votes.”—*Non credendo.* “By not believing its existence.”

<sup>7</sup> *Si in hunc animadvertissem.* “If I had punished him.” Understand *supplorio*. The verb *animadvertere*, when used with an ellipsis of *supplio*, in the sense of punishing, denotes to punish by authority, and then refers to the vigilance of the magistrate, in marking offences committed. The use of the preposition *in*, on such occasions, before the name of the culprits, intimates more strongly the steady attention directed towards the conduct found to be reprehensible. (HILL’s *Synonymes*, p. 89, 4to. ed.)

<sup>8</sup> *Regie.* “Tyrannically.” After the expulsion of Tarquin, nothing was more hateful to a Roman than the name of “king,” *rex*, and hence

n non credendo corroboraverunt. Quorum auctorati<sup>7</sup> secuti multi, non solum improbi, verum etiam si in hunc animadvertissem, crudeliter et regio se dicerent. Nunc intelligo, si iste, quo intendit, na castra pervenerit, neminem tam stultum fore, videat conjurationem esse factam; neminem tam, qui non fateatur. Hoc autem uno imperfecto, ianc rei publicæ pestem paulisper reprimi, non in comprimi posse. Quod si se ejecerit, secumque erit, et eodem ceteros undique collectos naufragos rit; exstinguetur, atque delebitur non modo hæc a rei publicæ pestis, verum etiam stirps ac semen omnium.

ETENIM <sup>12</sup>jamdiu, patres conscripti, in his periculis insidiisque versamur: sed, nescio <sup>13</sup>quo pacto,

sted with the expressions *regnare*, *regie aliquid facere* and *dea* of tyrannical and oppressive conduct, and such as was eedom. (ADAM, *Rom. Antiq.* p. 90.) Compare CIC. *Agrar.*, in order to excite the hatred of the people against the he Agrarian law, he calls them “*decem reges aerarii vectigiarum omnium*,” &c.

*er reprimi, non in perpetuum comprimi posse.* “May be rea season, but cannot be for ever suppressed.” Compare the Ernestus Antonius: “*Qui reprimitur, ad tempus tantum qui comprimitur, plane conficitur.*”

*rit.* Equivalent in effect to *præceps ex urbe exierit*.—Ceteros “The rest of his shipwrecked band of followers.” Ernesti at *naufragos* is a mere interpolation, which has found its e text from having been mentioned in the second oration iline, c. 11. He mistakes, however, a very forcible figure. Cicero means those who are shipwrecked in character and reason of their flagitious excesses. Compare *Pro Sull.* c. 14, e who have lost their private patrimony are called *patriragi*.

*m adulta rei publicæ pestis.* “This so ripe a plague of the As if he had said: “*Hic Catilina, tam robustus et corroborat publicæ eversor, tantum roboris et virium jam in evertanda actus.*”

*u.* For the space of three years, i. e. from the consulship of Tullus. [Comp. *Pro Murena*, § 81. *Omnia, quæ per hoc agitata sunt, jam ab eo tempore, quo a L. Catilina et Cn. Pisone lium senatus interficiendi scitis esse, in hos dies, in hos menses, us erumpunt.*]

*icto.* “By what means,” i. e. by what fatality.—*Omnium* “The maturity of all these crimes, and of this long con- liness and audacity.”—*Erupit.* The metaphor appears to

omnium scelerum, ac veteris furoris et audacissimae maturitas in nostri consulatus tempus erupit. Quod si <sup>1</sup> ex tanto latrocinio iste unus tolletur; videbimus fortasse ad breve quoddam tempus cura et metu esse relevati: periculum autem residebit, et erit inclusum penitus <sup>2</sup> in venis atque in visceribus rei publicæ. Ut sæpe homines ægri morbo gravi, cum <sup>3</sup> æstu febrique jactantur, si aquam gelidam biberint, primo relevari videntur; deinde multo gravius vehementiusque afflictantur: sic hic morbus, <sup>4</sup> qui est in re publica, relevatus istius poena, vehementius vivis reliquis ingravescet. Quare, secedant improbi, secernant se a bonis, unum in locum congregentur, muro denique, id quod sæpe jam dixi, secernantur a nobis, desinant insidiari domi suæ consuli, <sup>5</sup> circumstare tribunal prætoris urbani, <sup>6</sup> obsidere cum gladiis curiam, <sup>7</sup> malleolos et faces ad inflammandam

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be borrowed from an ulcer, breaking when ripe. Compare PLINI, *H. N.* 22, 23, 49: "ulcera maturescentia," and (22, 10, 12) "ulcera erumpentia."

<sup>1</sup> *Ex tanto latrocinio.* "From so numerous a band of robbers." *Latrocinium* is here used for *latrones*, as *servitium* often is for *servi*, *conjuratio* for *conjurati*.—WEISKE.

<sup>2</sup> *In venis atque in visceribus rei publicæ.* "In the veins and vitals of the republic." The *viscera* are the upper entrails or vitals, including the lungs, heart, liver, &c. The *intestina* are the lower entrails. Compare the language of Celsus, "a visceribus ad intestina veniendum est," "From the viscera we come to the intestines," (4, 11;) and, again, "septum id quod transversum a superioribus visceribus intestina discernit," "The transverse septum which separates the intestines from the viscera above." (7, 4, 2, p. 354, ed. Targa.) The corresponding word in Greek is *σπλάγχνα*, which were the parts always examined by the soothsayers.

<sup>3</sup> *Æstu febrique.* "With heat and fever."

<sup>4</sup> *Qui est.* "Which exists."—*Relevatus.* "After being mitigated in some degree."—*Vivis reliquis.* "While the other conspirators remain alive." We have adopted this reading in place of the common one, *civibus reliquis*, which does not suit the context. Cicero means, that the death of Catiline will not suffice for crushing the evil engendered by the conspiracy, as long as his accomplices are allowed to remain alive.

<sup>5</sup> *Circumstare tribunal prætoris urbani.* L. Valerius Flaccus was *Prætor Urbanus* at this time, and the partisans of Catiline appear to have placed themselves, at different times, around his tribunal, to deter him, if possible, from administering justice; [i. e. regarding debts contracted by Roman citizens. The partisans of Catiline were encumbered with debts; in order to prevent their creditors from obtaining justice

rbem comparare. Sit denique inscriptum in fronte unius-  
ujusque civis, <sup>8</sup> quid de re publica sentiat. Polliceor hoc  
obis, patres conscripti, tantam in nobis consulibus fore  
lilgentiam, tantam in vobis auctoritatem, tantam in equi-  
bus Romanis virtutem, tantam in omnibus bonis consen-  
sionem, ut Catilinæ profectione omnia patefacta, illustrata,  
<sup>9</sup> oppressa, vindicata esse videatis.

Hisce omnibus, Catilina, <sup>10</sup> cum summa rei publicæ salute,  
et cum tua peste ac pernicie, cumque eorum exitio, qui se  
tecum omni scelere parricidioque junxerunt, proficiscere ad  
impium bellum ac nefarium. Tum tu, Jupiter, qui iisdem,  
quibus hæc urbs, <sup>11</sup> auspiciis a Romulo es constitutus; quem  
Statorem hujus urbis atque imperii vere nominamus: hunc,  
et hujus socios a tuis aris ceterisque templis, a tectis urbis  
ac mœnibus, a vita fortunisque civium [omnium] arcebis:  
et omnes inimicos bonorum, hostes patriæ, latrones Italæ,

they resort to the prætor's tribunal, and by violence and outrage prevent his giving his decisions. MANUTIUS.]

<sup>8</sup> *Obsidere.* "To beset." A verb of the third conjugation, *obsido*, *·ere*.

<sup>9</sup> *Malleolos.* "Fiery arrows." A description of this species of missile is given by Ammianus Marcellinus (23, 3), from which it appears that they were a kind of arrow with an iron grating below the head, swelling out like a clew in spinning. This iron receptacle was filled with combustibles, which, on being ignited, burnt fiercely, and could only be extinguished by dust thrown upon the flame. Water merely served to increase its vehemence. The name *malleolos* ("little mallet") was given to this missile, from the resemblance which the projecting or swelling part bore to the head of a mallet. Compare LIPS. *Poliorc.* 5, 5, and the authorities cited by him.

<sup>10</sup> *Quid de re publica sentiat.* "What his sentiments are respecting the republic."

<sup>11</sup> *Oppressa, vindicata.* "Crushed, punished."—*Omnibus.* [Many books read *omnibus*, which arose merely from compendious writing.]

<sup>10</sup> *Cum summa rei publicæ salute, &c.* "With the best interests of the republic firmly established, and with your own calamity and ruin fully assured, and with the destruction of those who have joined themselves with you in every act of wickedness and parricide, now reduced to absolute certainty, go forth to your impious and unhallowed war." We have introduced a partial paraphrase, in order to convey the orator's meaning more clearly. The idea, more briefly expressed, would be as follows: "Go forth, for the safety of the republic, for your own ruin, and for the destruction of your accomplices."

<sup>11</sup> *Auspiciis.* Matthiae well remarks, that not only temples, but also statues were consecrated by taking the auspices.—*Statorem.* "The stay." Consult note 9, page 17.

<sup>1</sup> scelerum fœdere inter se ac nefaria societate conjunct æternis suppliciis vivos mortuosque mactabis.

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<sup>1</sup> *Scelerum fœdere.* “By a compact of wickedness.”—*Mactabis.* “v visit.” Compare note 10, page 35.

[The effect of this speech on Catiline is stated by SALLUST, *Cat.* He denied the charges of Cicero, boasted of his patrician blood, & upbraided Cicero with the meanness of his birth. He was replied by a simultaneous shout of “Traitor” from the senators; upon wh he flung himself out of the senate, and, at midnight, set out for camp of Mallius.—MACKAY.]

M. TULLII CICERONIS  
 ORATIO IN L. CATILINAM  
 SECUNDA,  
 AD QUIRITES.

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I. <sup>1</sup>TANDEM aliquando, <sup>2</sup>Quirites, L. Catilinam, furentem  
 udacia, <sup>3</sup>scelus anhelantem, pestem patriæ nefarie molien-  
 em, vobis atque huic urbi ferrum flammamque 'minitantem,

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<sup>1</sup> *Tandem aliquando*, &c. “At length, then, Romans, we have either  
 st out, or allowed to depart, or accompanied with our compliments  
 n his voluntary departure from our city, Lucius Catiline, raging with  
 udacity, breathing forth crime, unnaturally plotting the ruin of his  
 ountry, every instant threatening you and this city with fire and sword.”  
 he commencement of this oration makes a kind of opposition to the  
 ‘ousque tandem with which the first begins. [ *Verbis prosecuti sumus*,  
 by some erroneously rendered “accompanied by our maledictions;”  
 ad so Anthon and Mackay; but *verbis*, thus nakedly put, cannot mean  
 imprecations;” and *prosequor* is specially used to denote the com-  
 plimentary escort given to friends on their departure. Comp. CAT. I,  
 iii. *ad fin.* “ *Eosdem facile adducam, ut te hæc, quæ jampridem vastare  
 uides, relinquentem, usque ad portas prosecuantur.* And PHILIP. ix. 4,  
*Quem exequi mandata vestra properantem mane postridie prosecuti-  
 mus.*” Those who render the passage otherwise, forget that there is  
 evidently intended to be an anti-climax; *ejecimus*, the strong word  
 first,—*prosecuti*: and then a climax in *abiit*, &c.—*erupit.* ]

<sup>2</sup> *Quirites*. [The Romans thus addressed in the capacity of “citizens.”  
 The name is of the same root as *cour* in *cour-land*, and points to the Lithu-  
 nian origin of one element of the Roman people. Others deduce the  
 name from *quiris*, “a spear.” Others from *Quirium*, the mystical name  
 of Rome, whence *Quirinus*. Mr. Winning derives it from κύρος, “the  
 sun;” whence the proper name Cyrus, and maintains that the ancient  
 Romans were fire, or sun, worshippers.]

<sup>3</sup> *Scelus anhelantem*. One who is deeply agitated, breathes deeply  
 (anhelat); and Catiline is thus said to send forth crime with every  
 inspiration from his troubled bosom. [Comp. Hom. Il., μένεα πνείοντες  
 ξαῖοι. Act. Apost. ix. 1, Σαῦλος ἐτι ἐμπνέων ἀπειλῆς καὶ φόνου.]

<sup>4</sup> *Minitantem*. The student will mark the singular propriety and  
 force of the frequentative.

ex urbe<sup>1</sup> vel ejecimus, vel emisimus, vel ipsum egrediente<sup>2</sup> verbis prosecuti sumus. <sup>3</sup>Abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit Nulla jam pernicies<sup>4</sup> a monstro illo atque prodigo mœnibus ipsis intra mœnia comparabitur. Atque hunc quidem unum hujus belli domestici ducem, sine controversia vicimus. Non enim jam inter latera nostra<sup>5</sup> sica illa versabitur: <sup>6</sup>non in campo, <sup>7</sup>non in foro, non in curia, non denique intra domesticos parietes pertimescemos. <sup>8</sup>Loco ille motus est, cum est ex urbe depulsus. Palam jam cum hoste, nullo impidente, <sup>9</sup>bellum justum geremus. Sine dubio perdidimus hominem, magnificeque vicimus, cum illum ex occultis insidiis in apertum latrocinium conjecimus. <sup>10</sup>Quod vero non cruentum mucronem, ut voluit, extulit, quod vivi nobis egressus est, quod ei ferrum e manibus extorsimus, quod incolumes cives, quod stantem urbem reliquit: quanto

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<sup>1</sup> *Vel ejecimus*, i. e. by consular authority. Cicero perhaps alludes by the use of this word (*ejicio*), to some complaints on the part of Catiline's friends, of his having been dealt with too harshly.—*Vel emisimus*. Implying permission to depart.—*Ipsum*. “Of his own accord.”

<sup>2</sup> *Verbis*. Referring particularly to the expressions used at the close of the previous oration, but see note 1, page 43.

<sup>3</sup> *Abiit, excessit, &c.* “He has gone, he has left us, he has escaped, he has broken away.” This climax appears to be couched in terms borrowed from the operations of the chase. *Abiit* applies to the wild beast, when he has left his usual haunts and retired to another part of the forest; *excessit*, when, after having been tracked out, he leaves the spot before the nets can be prepared for him; *evasit*, when he has been surrounded by the toils, but escapes by springing forth; and *erupit*, when he bursts his way through every intervening obstacle.

<sup>4</sup> *A monstro illo atque prodigo*. “By that monster and prodigy of wickedness.” Compare *Pro Cœl.* 3, 12, seq.

<sup>5</sup> *Sica illa*. Compare chapter 6 of the first oration: “*Quoties jam tui extorta est sica ista de manibus*,” &c.

<sup>6</sup> *Non in campo*. Consult note 2, page 18.

<sup>7</sup> *Non in foro*. The forum being the place where much public business was transacted, the magistrates were here more exposed to the murderous designs of Catiline.—*Intra domesticos parietes*. Referring to the attempt made by the two Roman knights to assassinate him at his own house.

<sup>8</sup> *Loco ille motus est*. An expression taken from the movements of gladiators, “He was driven from his vantage-ground.”

<sup>9</sup> *Bellum justum*. “A regular,” and consequently, “open warfare.” Opposed to *latrocinium occultum* below, and denoting a formal and regular war.

dem illum mœrore esse afflictum et profligatum putatis? et ille nunc, prostratusque est, et se <sup>11</sup>perculsum atque ectum esse sentit, et retorquet oculos profecto saepe ad ic urbem; quam e suis faucibus erectam esse luget: sed quidem lætari mihi videtur, quod tantam pestem evanuerit forasque projecerit.

II. At si quis est talis, <sup>12</sup>quales esse omnes oportebat, qui hoc ipso, in quo exultat et triumphat oratio mea, me nementer accuset, quod tam capitalem hostem non comprehendenderim potius, quam emiserim: non est ista mea culpa, urites, sed temporum. Interfectum esse L. Catilinam, t gravissimo supplicio affectum, jampridem oportebat: que a me et mos majorum, et hujus imperii severitas, et publica, postulabat. Sed quam multos fuisse putatis, ui, quæ ego deferrem, non crederent? [quam multos, <sup>13</sup>qui

<sup>10</sup> Quod non extulit. "That he did not carry out with him."—*affictum et profligatum*. "Dashed down, and prostrated."

<sup>11</sup> *Perculsum atque abjectum*. "A stricken and a worthless thing."—*retorquet oculos, &c.* A figure borrowed from the movements of savage animals. Catiline is compared to some wild beast looking back at the prey which has just been torn from its grasp.—[*Evomuerit*, "disgorged." *taphora sumpta de ægrotis, vel nimio cibo refertis, qui vomitu recreare ebant.* TER. *Adelph.* iii. 2, 14; *ut ego iram hanc in eos evomam nem.*—STEINM.]

<sup>12</sup> *Quales esse omnes oportebat*. All good citizens thought that Catiline ought to have been put to death. Cicero here says, that this should have been the opinion of all citizens indiscriminately.—*Triumphat*: if over a common foe to all.—*Tam capitalem hostem*. "So deadly a foe." *Capitalis* is here used for *perniciosus*, or, in other words, "omnium bonorum capitibus quasi insidians."

<sup>13</sup> *Et affectum*. "And to have been visited."—*Hujus imperii severitas*. The strict discharge of the duties of my magistracy." With *imperii* supply *consularis*. [Special reference, however, is made to the unlimited power placed in his hands by the decree *darent consules, &c.*] *-Res publica*. "The interests of the republic."

<sup>14</sup> *Qui, quæ ego deferrem, &c.* "Who would not have believed what might have alleged against him?" The student will observe in this clause, and in several that follow, the use of the imperfect subjunctive or the pluperfect. This is done, in order to state the probability in general terms, without any strict reference to the time at which it actually existed. (ZUMPT, *L. G.* p. 331.) [Compare *Archias* 7; *Milo*, 39; and *L. Manil.* § 50.] The pronoun *ego* is emphatic. Cicero means that many would not have believed the accusation against Catiline, because he, Catiline's private foe, as was supposed, had seen fit to make it.

<sup>15</sup> *Qui propter stultitiam non putarent?* "Who, from want of judgment, would not have thought the charges true?" Equivalent to

propter stultitiam non putarent?] quam multos, qui etiam defenderent? [quam multos, qui propter improbitatem faverent?] <sup>1</sup> Ac si, sublato illo, depelli a vobis omne periculum judicare; jampridem ego L. Catilinam non modi invidiae meae, verum etiam vitae periculo sustulisse. Sed cum viderem, <sup>2</sup> ne vobis quidem omnibus re etiam tu probata, si illum, ut erat meritus, morte multassem, forut ejus socios invidia oppressus persequi non possem: re huc deduxi, ut tum palam pugnare possetis, cum hoste aperte videretis. Quem quidem ego hostem, Quirites <sup>3</sup> quam vehementer foris esse timendum putem, licet hi

*putarent non vera esse quae ego deferrem.—Defenderent.* Supply as scil. *Catilinam.*—*Quam multos, qui propter improbitatem faverent* “How many, who, from their own guilt, would have favoured I cause?”

<sup>1</sup> *Ac si*, &c. “And yet, could I have supposed, that, if he were taken off, all danger would have been driven away from you, long since would I,” &c. *Ilio sublato* is here equivalent to *morte Catilinae*.—*Invidiae meae.* “Of odium against myself.” The same in effect as *mihi suscipiendi*.—[*Invidiae meae.* Cf. Tusc. iv. 7. *Invidia non in qui invidet solum dicitur, sed etiam in eo, cui invidetur.*]”

<sup>2</sup> *Ne vobis quidem omnibus*, &c. “That, if I should punish him with death, as he deserved, while the affair was still as yet not clearly ascertained even by you all.” The term *re* refers to the existence of the conspiracy, and the guilt of Catiline.

<sup>3</sup> *Quam vehementer.* Ironically meant.—*Parum comitatis.* “Accompanied by so few.” Lit. “Slightly attended.”—[*Comitatus*, passive, frequently found. The old verb *comito* is found in *Propert.* ii. 6, 1. According to Plutarch (*Vit. Cic.* c. 16), he was accompanied by three hundred armed followers, ἐξελθών μετὰ τριακοσίων ὀπλοφόρων, &c. He also had with him the fasces and other badges of authority. (Compare SALLUST, *Cat.* c. 37.—APPIAN, *B. C.* 2, 3.—DIO CASSIUS, 37, 33.)

<sup>4</sup> *Tongilium mihi eduxit.* “He has led out with him my friend Tongilius.” The pronoun *mihi* is here the *datus ethicus*, and expresses bitter irony. Tongilius was, as may readily be inferred from the context, an infamous character, and a bosom-friend of Catiline. [We know nothing whatever of Tongilius, Publicius, and Munatius he mentioned.]

<sup>5</sup> *Quem amare in praetexta cœperat.* [This passage is the subject of much dispute. Many editors omit the word *calumnia*. Odinus proposes to read *armare* for *amare*, with this meaning:—“Whom from his tender youth he had commenced to arm with all powers for future accusation.” *Calumnia armare* being a similar construction to *façarmare* and *calumnia, = lis, quam alicui sine causa intendimus.*” (Ex In support of Odinus Weiske cites SALL. xvi. “*Juventutem . . . mal modis mala facinora edocebat. Ex illis testes signatoresque falsos commendare,*” &c. Others again take *calumnia* as a parenthetical expression]

itelligatis, quod etiam illud moleste fero, quod ex urbe arum comitatus exierit. Utinam ille omnes secum suas opias eduxisset! <sup>4</sup>Tongilium mihi eduxit, <sup>5</sup>quem amare a prætexta [calumnia] cœperat: <sup>6</sup>Publicum et Munacium, quorum æs alienum contractum in popina nullum rei publicæ notum afferre poterat: <sup>7</sup>reliquit quos viros? quanto alieno erat, quam valentes, quam nobiles?

III. ITAQUE ego illum exercitum, <sup>8</sup>et Gallicanis legionibus, et hoc delectu, quem, in agro Piceno et Gallico, Q. Metellus, habuit, et his copiis, quæ a nobis quotidie comparantur, magnopere contemno; <sup>10</sup>collectum ex senibus

'a mere calumny!' which is not Latin. The explanation of Ernestius is curious, "Calumnia, i. e. *simulatio*, Cat. ii. 2, *amare calumnia cœperat*, i. e. *simulato amore*." Three of Steinmetz' MSS. have *calumpnia* or *kalumpnia*. What if this be a proper name, denoting some lady famous for her debauchery at the time?]

<sup>4</sup> *Publicum et Munacium*. Supply *pariter eduxit*.—*Quorum æs alienum*, &c. "Whose debts contracted in a tavern." *Æs meum*, money belonging to myself; *æs alienum*, money belonging to another, owed to another, debt; *æs alienum facere*, *suscipere*, *contrahere*, *conlare*, to contract debt. *Popina* is a tavern, or eating-house, the resort of intemperate persons. Compare the language of PLAUTUS (*Pœn.* 4, 2, 13), "*Bibitur, estur, quasi in popina*." Cicero stigmatizes them as mere tavern-brawlers, and in no respect dangerous to the state.

<sup>7</sup> *Reliquit quos viros*, &c. Cicero means, that the persons left behind by Catiline were much more to be dreaded than those whom he had carried forth with him, since they possessed great influence, were men, in general, of good families, and by reason of the pressure of debt were reckless of consequences.

<sup>8</sup> *Et Gallicanis legionibus*. "Since we have our Gallic legions." Abl. ab *ea*. The orator refers to the regular forces in Transalpine Gaul, which, as Muretus thinks, were, at that time in winter-quarters. The usual reading is *et Gallicanis legionibus*: but in place of *et*, many editions have *præ*, the emendation of Lambinus.—*In agro Piceno et Gallico*. Consult Geographical Index. The Gallic territory meant here, is that of Cisalpine Gaul. As regards Q. Metellus, whose full name was Q. Metellus Celer, and who was one of the prætors of this year, consult Historical Index, and also the 12th chapter of this oration, and SALLUST, *Cat.* 80.

<sup>9</sup> [Metellus. Q. Metellus Celer, prætor this year, was sent by the senate to the Picenian region. Cf. SALL. xxx. Cicero (*pro Sulla*) speaks of the wide-spread participation in this conspiracy. *Agrum Cameritem Picenum, Gallicum maxime quasi morbus quidam illius furoris pervaserat*."

<sup>10</sup> *Collectum ex senibus desperatis*, &c. "An army composed of old men past all hope, of debauched rustics, of bankrupt farmers." The *seni desperati* consisted principally of the veterans of Sylla. By

desperatis, ex agresti luxuria, ex rusticis decoctoribus, ex iis, qui <sup>1</sup> vadimonia deserere, quam illum exercitum, maluerunt: quibus ego non modo si <sup>2</sup> aciem exercitus nostri, verum etiam si edictum prætoris ostendero, concident. <sup>3</sup> Hos, quos video volitare in foro, quos stare ad curiam, quos etiam <sup>4</sup> in senatum venire: <sup>5</sup> qui nitent unguentis, <sup>6</sup> qui fulgent purpura, mallem secum <sup>7</sup> suos milites eduxisset: qui si hic permanent, mementote non tam exercitum illum esse nobis, quam hos, qui exercitum deseruerunt, pertinendos. Atque hoc etiam sunt timendi magis, quod, quid cogitent, me scire sentiunt, neque tamen permoventur. <sup>8</sup> Video, cui Apulia sit attributa, quis habeat Etruriam, quis agrum Picenum, quis Gallicum, quis sibi has urbanas insidias <sup>9</sup> cædis atque incendiorum deposcerit. Omnia<sup>10</sup> superioris

*decoctor* is properly meant one who has run through his property and become bankrupt; or, in other words, a ruined spendthrift.

<sup>1</sup> *Vadimonia deserere.* “To forfeit their recognizance.” [If the Prætor granted liberty to a plaintiff to bring an action, the latter required the defendant to give security for his appearance. The defendant on doing so was said *vades dare*. If he appeared on the day of trial, this was called *vadimonium purum*, and the defendant was said *vadimonium sistere*. If he did not appear, he was said *vadimonium deseruisse*, and the Prætor granted an execution upon his goods. See next note.]

<sup>2</sup> *Aciem exercitus nostri.* “The array of our army,” i. e. our army drawn up in array against them. *Exercitus* is usually omitted, which standing alone signifies a *disciplined* army; *agmen*, an army on march; *copiae*, forces in general.—*Edictum prætoris.* “The mere edict of the prætor.” [The *edictum* here meant is a writ of execution upon the defendant’s goods. Cf. Ulpian (fr. 2) *Prætor*, in bona ejus, qui judicio sistendi causa fide-jussorum dedit: *si neque potestatem sui faciat, neque defendantur, ire jubebo.*]

<sup>3</sup> *Hos, quos video, &c.* These are thought to be the same whom Sallust calls “*filiī familiarū.*” (*Cat.* c. 43.) — *Volitare in foro* “Flitting about in the forum.” [Abramius says of the verb *volitare*, *ostendit hoc verbum impunitatem et ostentationem*. See *pro Mur.* 37.]

<sup>4</sup> *In senatum venire.* There were eleven senators implicated in the conspiracy.

<sup>5</sup> *Qui nitent unguentis.* “Who are sleek with perfumes.” The Roman, like the Grecian, perfumes, were generally unguents, not oils as with us. Perfuming the hair and person was regarded as a mark of great effeminacy.

<sup>6</sup> *Qui fulgent purpura.* Another allusion to the senators who were implicated in the conspiracy. The senatorian tunic, called *latus clavus*, had a broad purple border (*clavus*), whence its name. The tunic of the *Equites* had a narrow border, and was called *angustus clavus*, or *tunica angusticlavia*.

ctis consilia ad me perlata esse sentiunt: patefeci in senatu sterno die: Catilina ipse pertimuit, profugit: hi quid spectant? <sup>11</sup>Næ illi vehementer errant, si illam meam istinam lenitatem perpetuam sperant futuram.

IV. QUOD exspectavi, jam sum assecutus, ut vos omnes tam esse aperte conjurationem contra rem publicam videatis. <sup>12</sup>Nisi vero si quis est, qui <sup>13</sup>Catilinæ similes cum tilina sentire non putet. Non est jam lenitati locus: veritatem res ipse flagitat. Unum etiam nunc concedam: eant, proficiscantur, ne patientur <sup>14</sup>desiderio sui Catilinani serum tabescere: demonstrabo iter: Aurelia via profectus si accelerare volent, ad vesperam consequentur. O tunatam rem publicam, <sup>15</sup>si quidem hanc sentinam hujus bis ejecerit! Uno mehercule Catilina <sup>16</sup>exhausto, relevata

*Suos milites.* [“These, his favourite soldiers.” Anthon renders, “As soldiers.”]

<sup>1</sup> *Video, cui Apulia sit attributa.* Compare SALLUST, *Cat.* 27, who informs us, that Apulia was “assigned” to Caius Julius, Etruria to Ilius, the Picene district to one Septimius, a Camertian. The name of the individual to whom the Gallic district was assigned, is not given him.

<sup>2</sup> [Cœdis, &c., SALL. ch. 43. “Statilius et Gabinius uti cum magna inu duodecim simul opportuna loca urbis incenderent . . . Cethagus xronis januam obsideret eumque vi aggredetur.]

<sup>10</sup> *Superioris noctis.* Not the night which had just gone by, but the one on which the conspirators met at the house of Læca, or, in other words, the last night but two. [See note on *Cat.* 1 chap. 1.]

<sup>11</sup> *Næ illi vehementer errant.* “They are indeed much mistaken.” from the Greek *vai*. [*Næ*, denoting strong affirmation is in the best writers joined only with pronouns. It is only in the comedians, and inferior writers, found attached to other words.]

<sup>12</sup> *Nisi vero si quis est.* “Unless in truth there be any one.” The use of *si* after *nisi* often occurs. Compare DRAKENBORCH, *ad Liv.* 6, 26, vol. p. 376. *Si quis* in general implies the impossibility of a fact not existing.

<sup>13</sup> *Catilinæ similes.* “Are like Catiline in character.” *Catilinæ* is here in the genitive. *Similis*, as has already been remarked, is used with a sense of external resemblance, but with a genitive of resemblance in nature or internal constitution (ZUMPT, *L. G.* § 411.)

<sup>14</sup> *Desiderio sui tabescere.* “To pine away through regret for their absence.”—*Aurelia via.* [PHIL. xii. 9. “Tres viæ sunt ad Mutinam, supero mare Flaminia, ab infero Aurelia, media Cassia.” Cited by REILL.]

<sup>15</sup> *Si quidem hanc sentinam, &c.* “If it shall have cast forth this malice in our city.” Compare note 12 above.

<sup>16</sup> *Exhausto.* “Being removed.” *Exhausto* is here employed signifi-

mihi et recreata res publica videtur. Quid enim mali aut sceleris fingi aut excogitari potest, quod non ille conceperit? Quis tota Italia <sup>1</sup> veneficus, quis gladiator, quis latro, quis sicarius, quis parricida, <sup>2</sup> quis testamentorum subjector, <sup>3</sup> quis circumscriptor, quis ganeo, <sup>4</sup> quis nepos, quis adulter, quæ mulier infamis, quis corruptor juventutis, quis corruptus, quis perditus inveniri potest, qui se cum Catilina non familiarissime vixisse fateatur? <sup>5</sup> Quæ cædes per hosce annos sine illo facta est? Quod nefarium stuprum non per illum? <sup>6</sup> Jam vero quæ tanta in ullo unquam homine juventutis illecebra fuit, quanta in illo? qui alios ipse amabat turpissime, aliorum amori flagitosissime serviebat, qui aliis fructum libidinum, aliis mortem parentum, non modo impellendo, verum etiam adjuvando, pollicebatur. Nunc vero quam subito, non solum ex urbe, verum etiam ex agris, ingentem numerum perditorum hominum collegerat? Nemo, non

rationally in allusion to *sentina*. So, OR. in Cat. 1, c. 5. “*Exhauster ex urbe*,” &c.

<sup>1</sup> *Veneficus*. “Poisoner.” Secret poisoning was much practised at Rome. Consult BECKMANN’s *History of Inventions*, vol. i. 74, seqq. There was a special law against this practice, and other modes of assassination, entitled *Lex Cornelia*. (*Pro Cluent. 56.*) [The first enactment against poisoning at Rome was framed, Css. M. Claud. Marcello, C. Valerio, u.c. 423, on the discovery of a conspiracy among numerous matrons to destroy their husbands.]

<sup>2</sup> *Quis testamentorum subiector*. “What substitutor of wills.” “*Qui testamentum subjicit*.” [That is, who substitutes a false will in place of a true one, or who inserts in a genuine will false clauses. The punishment for this offence was *deportatio* and loss of property.] Such an offender is called by Cicero, *testamentarius* (*Off. 3, 17.—Pro Sca. 17*); by Sallust and by Suetonius, *falsarius* (*Vit. Ner. c. 16*). There was a law against this practice also, entitled *Lex Cornelia Testamentaria*.

<sup>3</sup> *Quis circumscriptor*. “What fraudulent person.” *Circumscriptor* is properly one who, under cover of the law, defrauds another by any artfully-worded writing. Compare the words of SENeca (*Excerpt. 6, controv. 3*), “*Circumscriptio semper crimen sub specie legis involvit*.” It is then taken generally for any fraudulent person, or cheat. The *Lex Lectoria* was enacted against such offenders. [Some have erroneously compared with this word the Greek περιγραφεῖς; but περιγράφειν is *e medio tollere*, “to remove,” “banish.” See WESSELING DIOD. p. 51. ERN. *Clar. under circumscriptus*.]

<sup>4</sup> *Quis nepos*. “What spendthrift.” This meaning of *nepos* appears to have arisen from the circumstance of grandchildren, when brought up by their grandparents, being generally spoiled, either from too much indulgence, or else from too little care being taken of them. [*Nepos luxuriosus dicitur a Tuscis*: FEST. Laur. Lyd. de Magist. says, the title of the law against extravagance was “*de nepotibus*;” οἰοντι ἡ ἀηδία

modo Romæ, sed nec ullo in angulo totius Italiæ, oppressus  
et alieno fuit, quem non ad hoc incredibile sceleris fœdus  
desciverit.

V. ATQUE, ut ejus diversa studia <sup>7</sup> in dissimili ratione  
despicere possitis, nemo est <sup>8</sup> in ludo gladiatorio paullo ad  
acinus audacior, qui se non intimum Catilinæ esse fateatur :  
nemo in scena levior et nequior, qui se non ejusdem prope  
modalem fuisse commemoret. Atque idem tamen, <sup>10</sup>stuprorum  
et scelerum exercitatione assuefactus <sup>9</sup>frigori, et fami, et  
sati, ac vigiliis perferendis, fortis ab istis prædicabatur;<sup>11</sup>cum  
industriæ subsidia, atque instrumenta virtutis, in libidine  
sudaciaque consumerentur. Hunc vero si secuti erunt sui  
comites ; si ex urbe exierint desperatorum hominum flagitiosi  
greges ; O nos beatos, O rem publicam fortunatam, O præ-  
claram laudem consulatus mei ! Non enim jam sunt medio-

τοῦ δινόματος τουτέστι παρὰ 'Ρωμαιίους' νέπωντας γάρ καὶ τοὺς ἀγγόνοντας  
καὶ τοὺς ἀσώτους δύμανύμως καλοῦσιν.—STEINMETZ.]

<sup>8</sup> Quæ cœdes, &c. “What deed of murder has been committed  
during these latter years, without his participation ? What act of  
abandoned lewdness has not been perpetrated by him ?”

<sup>9</sup> Jam vero. “Nay, too.” Equivalent to *immo vero etiam*.—Quæ tanta  
juventutis illecebra. “What so great talent for alluring the young to  
their ruin.” Compare OR. in Cat. 1, 6 : “Cui tu adolescentulo, quem  
corruptelarum illecebris irretisses,” &c.

<sup>7</sup> In dissimili ratione. [“In very different spheres of life.” WEISKE.]

<sup>8</sup> In ludo gladiatorio. “In any school of gladiators.” These schools  
were each under the charge of a person called *lanista*, who purchased  
and trained up slaves for this employment. Consult ADAM, *Rom. Antq.* p. 280, seqq.

<sup>9</sup> Nemo in scena, &c. “No one on the stage, more worthless and  
profligate than ordinary.” Compare AULUS GELLIUS (7, 9), “Veterum  
hominum, qui proprie atque integre locuti sunt, leres dixerunt, quos vulgo  
viles et nullo pretio dignos dicimus.” Players, unless very eminent,  
were not much respected among the Romans. The Greeks held them  
in higher estimation. Among the Athenians, they were not unfre-  
quently sent, as the representatives of the republic, on embassies and  
legations.

<sup>10</sup> Stuprorum et scelerum, &c. “Trained in the exercise of lewdness  
and crime.” *Assuefactus* occurs, in like manner, with the ablative, in  
IAC. de Orat. 3, 10, and frequently in Livy. Cf. Liv. 24, 48, and 48, 31.

<sup>11</sup> Frigori, et fami, &c. Compare SALLUST, Cat. 5 : “Corpus patiens  
seccæ, vigiliae, algoris, supra quam cuique credibile est.”

<sup>12</sup> Cum industrie subsidia, &c. “While the aids of industry, and the  
means of virtue, were being wasted by him in debauchery and daring.”  
The *subsidia industrie* are his powers of patient endurance, which, if  
properly directed, would have enabled their possessor to lead a life of

eres hominum<sup>1</sup> libidines, non humanæ ac tolerandæ audaciæ: nihil cogitant, nisi cædes, nisi incendia, nisi rapinas: patri monia sua profuderunt: <sup>2</sup> fortunas suas abligurierunt: res eos jampridem, <sup>3</sup> fides deficere nuper cœpit: eadem tamen illa, quæ erat in abundantia, libido permanet. Quod si in vino et <sup>4</sup> alea <sup>5</sup> comissiones solum quærerent, essent illi quidem desperandi, sed tamen essent ferendi. Hoc vero quis ferre possit, inertes homines fortissimis viris insidiari, stultissimos prudentissimis, <sup>6</sup> ebriosos sobriis, dormientes vigilantibus? Qui <sup>7</sup> mihi <sup>8</sup> accubantes in conviviis, vino languidi, <sup>9</sup> conferti cibo, <sup>10</sup> sertis redimiti, unguentis obliti,

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active utility. Muretus, Lambinus, Grævius, and Schütz read *consumcret* for *consumerentur*.

<sup>1</sup> *Lividines*. “The impure desires.”—*Audaciæ*. “The daring excesses.”

<sup>2</sup> *Fortunas suas abligurierunt*. “Have wasted their fortunes in luxurious living.” *Ligurire* is said of those who eat nicely, pick out the choicest bits, feed delicately, &c. TERENCE (*Eunuch.* 5, 4, 14), says, “*Quæ cum amatore suo quum cœnant, liguriunt*,” which is the same as if he had said, “suaviora et deliciora tantummodo degustant.” Donatus has the following remark on this passage of Terence, “*Liguriunt, ἀπὸ τοῦ λιγυροῦ, quod secundum Græcos suave intelligitur. Ligurire dicitur, qui el-ganter et more senum multo fastidio suatione quirque degustat.*” [For *abligurierunt* Steinmetz reads *obligaverunt*, that is, “have mortgaged,” “pawned,” *pignori se, vel pignoris nomine*. He asserts this to be the reading of very many MSS.]

<sup>3</sup> *Fides*. “Credit.”—*In abundantia*. “In the days of their abundance,” i.e. while their property still remained.

[<sup>4</sup> *Alea*. Gambling was prohibited by law. Cf. chap. ii. § 23, and HOR. iii. Od. 24, 54, *Ingenuus puer . . . ludere doctior, seu Græco judeo trocho, s.u. ritita legibus alea.*]

<sup>5</sup> *Comissiones solum quærerent*. “They had merely revellings in view.” *Comissatio* properly denotes a making merry after supper, a nocturnal revel. Compare the Greek *κῶμος*. (*Convivium*, revellings at supper.)

<sup>6</sup> *Ebriosos*. “The intemperate.” Some manuscripts give *ebrios*, which Grævius prefers. But the habitually intemperate are here referred to, not merely the intoxicated.—*Dormientes*. “The drowsy.” *Dormientes* is here equivalent to *negligentes*, or *incuriosi*.

<sup>7</sup> *Mihi*. Redundant. Comp. MANUTIUS: “*Mihi, quod ad sententiam attinet, abundat: sed ornatum quendam et vim habet, a contemnente pronunciatum.*”

<sup>8</sup> *Accubantes*. “Lolling.” The term refers in strictness to the Roman mode of “reclining” at banquets. Our word “lolling” conveys its meaning better to an English ear. Compare the Greek forms *ἀνάκειμαι* and *κατάκειμαι*. “On each couch there were commonly three. They lay with the upper part of the body reclined on the left

ilitati stupris<sup>11</sup> eructant sermonibus suis cædem bonorum, &c urbis incendia. Quibus ego confido impendere<sup>12</sup> fatum uod: et pœnas jamdiu improbitati, nequitiæ, sceleri, libi- i debitas, aut instare jam plane, aut certe appropinquare. os si meus consulatus, quoniam<sup>13</sup> sanare non potest. tulerit: <sup>14</sup> non breve nescio quod tempus, sed multa uila propagarit rei publicæ. Nulla est enim natio, quam timescamus: nullus rex, qui bellum populo Romano e're possit. Omnia sunt externa<sup>15</sup> unius virtute terra rique pacata: domesticum bellum manet: intus insidiæ sit: intus inclusum periculum est: intus est hostis: cum

, the head a little raised, the back supported by cushions, and the legs stretched out at full length, or a little bent; the feet of the first under the back of the second, and his feet behind the back of the third, with a pillow between each. When they ate they raised themselves on their elbow, and made use of the right hand, sometimes of both hands, for we do not read of their using knives or forks."—ADAM, *Rom. Antiq.* p. 372.

*Conferti cibo.* "Overloaded with food." *Confecti* is the reading DÖRING: "*Confecti cibo ita dicuntur, qui tanta ciborum se ingurgitent copia, ut neque corpore liberi uti possint.*" Muretus prefers *conferti*, "gorged," [which is adopted by ORELLI.]

*Sertis redimiti.* The Romans were accustomed, like the Greeks, to wear garlands of flowers at their festive meetings. They were thought to be preventives against intoxication.—*Unguentis oblixi.* "Perfumes," in the shape of unguents, were profusely used at the great entertainments. Consult ADAM, *Rom. Antiq.* p. 381. See HO... i. 36, 38.

*Eructant.* "Hiccup forth." This term is purposely used in reference to *vino languidi, conferti cibo.*

*Fatum aliquod.* "Some dreadful fatality."—*Improbabiliti, nequitiae.* "Their worthlessness, their abandonment of all duty."

*Sanare.* "Bring back to a sound mind."

*Non breve nescio quod, &c.* "It will add, not some short period or hour, but many ages of duration, to the republic." *Propagarit* is here equivalent to *prorogaverit, continuarerit.* Thus LIV. 23, 25: "*Imperio consuli propagari in annum imperium.*"—[*Propagarit.* *Propagare* is properly "to make a layer," "to propagate by layers," and *se*, "to continue," "to cause to remain," *Prov. Cons.* 8, *propagatur unitas, Attic. viii. 3.* *Propagator prorincer* is one who causes that another may hold his province longer. We have *sæcula propagent*, LUCR.; and *propagare vitam*, "to prolong life," in *De Fin.* v. 11, 32.]

*Vulnus rex.* For Mithridates had by his son's treason been poisoned a time before.]

*Unius.* Referring to Cn. Pompeius, who had very recently condemned Mithridates.

Luxuria nobis, cum amentia, cum scelere certandum est. Huic ego me bello, Quirites, profiteor ducem: suscipio inimicitias hominum perditorum. <sup>1</sup> Quæ sanari poterunt, quacunque ratione sanabo: quæ resecanda erunt, non patiar ad perniciem civitatis manare. Proinde aut exeant, aut quiescant; aut, si et in urbe, et in eadem mente permanent; ea, quæ merentur, exspectent.

VI. At etiam sunt, Quirites, qui dicant, <sup>2</sup>a me in exsilium ejectum esse Catilinam. Quod ego si verbo assequi possem, istos ipsos ejicerem, qui hæc loquuntur. <sup>3</sup> Homo videlicet timidus aut etiam permodestus vocem consulis ferre non potuit: simul atque ire in exsilium jussus est, paruit, <sup>4</sup> ivit. Hesterno die, cum domi meæ pæne imperfectus essem, senatum in ædem Jovis Statoris convocavi: rem omnem ad patres conscriptos detuli. <sup>5</sup> Quo cum Catilina venisset, quis eum

<sup>1</sup> Quæ sanari poterunt, &c. "Whatever shall be capable of being healed, I will heal by all possible means: what ought to be cut off, I will not suffer to spread for the ruin of the state." A similar passage occurs in the Eighth Philippic, c. 5; "In corpore si quid ejusmodi sit, quod reliquo corpori noceat, uri secarique patimur, ut membrorum aliquad potius, quam totum corpus intereat; sic in rei publicæ corpore, ut totum salrum sit, quicquid est pestiferum amputetur." [For manare many books have manere, which Orelli and Steinmetz prefer as forming a better antithesis to resecanda. This might be true if Cicero were speaking of the members, but he alludes to ulcers. Again Steinmetz argues that manare always has some adverb, accusative or additional notion attached, as manaret indies latius, permanat in venas, in provincias manant. Granted: but is not the phrase, manere ad perniciem quite as good? Surely it fulfils his own condition.]

<sup>2</sup> A me. "By me individually," i. e. by my threats.—Quod ego si verbo, &c. "If I could, indeed, effect this by a mere word." Quod, beginning the clause, is to be rendered as if written *hoc*.

<sup>3</sup> Homo videlicet, &c. "The timid and very modest man, to be sure, could not endure the mere expressions of the consul." Videlicet is ironical.

<sup>4</sup> Ivit. This reading is adopted by Grævius, Ernesti, and many other editors, instead of the common quievit, which is here entirely out of place. The MSS. and early editions vary in this part to a considerable degree. For *ivit* some read *quid*, others *quod* and *quievit*. So, also, after *hesterno die*, Grævius and many other editors insert *Quirites*.—[Hesterno die. "Hæc conciliari cum orationis, 1, § i. 9, 10., omnino non possunt. Nam ex sinceris illis locis necessario colligitur habitatione primam, orat. VI. id. Novembr. (8th Nov.): ex hoc autem loco VII. id. Novemb. (7th Nov.): de tali autem re personatus Cicero facile errare poterat; non item verus."—ORELLI. Muretus had foreseen this difficulty, and thought to avoid it by joining *hesterno die* with *convocavi*, i. e.,

nator appellavit? quis salutavit? quis denique ita pexit, ut perditum civem, ac non potius ut importunum hostem? Quin etiam principes ejus ordinis partem subselliorum, ad quam ille accesserat, nudam atque anem reliquerunt. Hic ego? vehemens ille consul, qui rbo cives in exsilium ejicio, quæsivi a Catilina, an nocturno conventu apud M. Læcam fuisse, necne. Cum ille homo audacissimus, conscientia convictus, primo reticuisse; istefeci cetera. Quid ea nocte egisset, quid<sup>10</sup> in proximam instituisse, quemadmodum esset ei ratio totius belli scripta, edocui. Cum hæsitaret, cum teneretur; quæsivi, uid dubitaret eo proficiisci, quo jampridem pararet: cum ma,<sup>12</sup> cum secures, cum fasces, cum tubas, cum signa ilitaria, cum aquilam illam argenteam, cui ille etiam crarium scelerum domi suæ fecerat, scirem esse præmissam.

[On yesterday I convened the Senate, seeing that I had previously been nearly murdered at my home." See MADVIG, *Opusc.* p. 194.]

<sup>5</sup> Quo cum Catilina venisset. Compare 1, 7, 16.

<sup>6</sup> Quis denique, &c. "Who in fine regarded him as an abandoned tisen, and not rather as a most restless enemy?" Compare 1, 9, 23: *Egredere cum importuna scelerorum manu.*"

<sup>7</sup> Vehemens ille consul. "That violent consul." So he was called by partisans of Catiline.—Verbo. "By a single word."

<sup>8</sup> Homo audacissimus. "Although a man of consummate effrontry."

<sup>9</sup> Quid ea nocte egisset. After these words the common text has *ubique*, which Muretus did not find in his best MS. and which is here ot needed, being comprehended under the words "*an nocturno conventu apud M. Læcam fuisse, necne.*" The expression appears to have reapt in from the first oration.

<sup>10</sup> In proximam. "For the next." Understand *noctem*. This reading adopted by Ernesti, Beck, Schütz, and others. The common text as in *proxima*.—Ratio totius belli. "The plan of the whole war."

<sup>11</sup> Cum hæsitaret, cum teneretur. "On his appearing disconcerted, on is remaining silent." Compare as regards *teneretur*, the explanation f DÖRING: "Teneri eleganter dicuntur, qui tam claris argumentis convicti sunt criminis cuiusdam, ut ne verbum quidem contra ea proferre possint." [Ernesti's interpretation is much better, "When he faltered, when he was convicted," "teneri dicuntur, qui in aliqua re, crimine comprehenduntur; qui quoniam rem negare non possunt, adeo convicti sunt." Cf. VER. 11, 73, *manifestis in rebus hominem teneri videbitis.* Voiske thinks there is here a metaphor from those "qui laqueo capti, i.e., non possunt expedire." See MIL. § 76.]

<sup>12</sup> Cum secures, cum fasces. The *secures* and *fasces* are here badges of military authority. Catiline intended by these as it were legally to assume the rank of *imperator*. Compare SALLUST, Cat. 36.—Aquilam

<sup>1</sup>In exilium ejiciebam, quem jam ingressum esse in bellum videbam? Etenim, credo, Mallius iste centurio, <sup>2</sup>qui in agro Fesulano castra posuit, bellum populo Romano suo nomine indixit: et illa castra nunc non Catilinam ducem exspectant: et ille, ejectus in exsilium, se <sup>3</sup>Massiliam, ut aiunt, non in hæc castra conferet.

VII. O CONDITIONEM miseram, non modo administranda, verum etiam conservandæ rei publicæ! Nunc, si L. Catilina, consiliis, laboribus, periculis meis <sup>4</sup>circumclusus ac debilitatus, subito pertimuerit, sententiam mutaverit, deseruerit suos, consilium bellum faciundi abjecerit, ex hoc cursu sceleris et belli, iter ad fugam atque in exsilium converterit: non ille a me <sup>5</sup>spoliatus armis audaciæ, non obstupefactus ac perterritus mea diligentia, non de spe conatuque depulsus, sed <sup>6</sup>indemnatus, innocens, in exsilium ejectus a consule vi et minis, esse dicetur: et erunt, qui illum, si hoc fecerit, non improbum, sed miserum; me non diligentissimum consulem, sed crudelissimum tyrannum existimari

*illam argenteam.* Consult note 4, page 32.—*Cui ille etiam sacrarium,* &c. Consult note 5, page 33.

<sup>1</sup> *In exilium ejicubam*, &c. “Did I attempt to cast him out into exile, who, I plainly perceived, had already entered upon open war?” The student will mark the elegant use of the imperfect *ejiciebam*, as marking an action begun or contemplated, but not yet completed at the time spoken of. Compare MATTHIE, *G. G.* § 497; *Obs. c.* vol. ii p. 834, 5th ed.

<sup>2</sup> *Qui in agro Fesulano*, &c. Compare note 2, page 10, and consult Geogr. Ind.—*Suo nomine.* “In his own name,” and not in that of Catiline.

<sup>3</sup> *Massiliam.* The modern *Marseilles*. Consult Geogr. Ind. On his journey, Catiline wrote several letters to persons of distinction, stating that he was the victim of wrongful accusations, and was then proceeding, a voluntary exile, to reside at *Massilia*. SALL. *Cat.* 34. [In the imperfect state of the means for conveying intelligence, &c., the report of Catiline’s having gone to Marseilles might have been believed at Rome for a considerable period: long enough, at all events, to allow him to concentrate his forces.]

<sup>4</sup> *Circumclusus ac debilitatus.* “Hemmed in, and crippled in resources.”—*Sententiam.* “His purpose,” i. e. of making war on his country.—*Ex hoc cursu*, &c. “Shall have turned away his steps from this career of guilt and war, to flight and voluntary exile.”

<sup>5</sup> *Spoliatus armis audacie.* “Stripped of the arms of his audacity.” i. e. deprived of the means of effecting his daring designs against his country.—*Obstupfuctus ac perterritus.* “Astounded and dismayed.”

<sup>6</sup> *Indemnatus.* [*ἀκρί-ος, ἀνευ κρισίως.*] “Without the formality

. <sup>7</sup>Est mihi tanti, Quirites, hujus invidiæ falsæ atque e tempestatem subire, dummodo a vobis hujus horribelli ac nefarii periculum depellatur. Dicatur sane s esse a me, dummodo eat in exsilium. Sed mihi e, non est iturus. Numquam ego a diis immortalibus o, Quirites, invidiæ meæ levandæ causa, ut L. Catilinam e exercitum hostium, <sup>8</sup>atque in armis volitare audiatis: riduo tamen audietis: multoque magis illud timeo, ne sit <sup>9</sup>invidiosum aliquando, quod illum emiserim potius, quod ejecerim. Sed cum sint homines, qui illum, prefectus sit, ejectum esse dicant, iidem, si imperfectus quid dicerent? Quamquam isti, qui Catilinam Massire dictitant, non tamen hoc queruntur, quam verentur. est istorum <sup>11</sup>tam misericors, qui illum non ad Mal- quam ad Massilienses ire malit. Ille autem, si cule <sup>12</sup>hoc, quod agit, nunquam ante cogitasset, tamen inantem se interfici mallet, quam exsulē vivere. vero, cum ei nihil adhuc præter ipsius voluntatem

ial," i. e. condemned unheard. Cicero, at a subsequent period, full force of this remark, when Clodius brought in his law, hoever had condemned unheard a Roman citizen should be cted from fire and water, i. e. sent into exile. The orator was led to bend to the storm, and go into banishment. Compare *Domo*, 18, seqq. and *VELL. Paterc.* 2, 45.

: *michi tanti*, &c. "It is worth the sacrifice for me to encounter form of this unmerited and unjust odium." Consult note 8, l.—*Falsæ* is here equivalent to *immerita*, i. e. *ex falsis causis*

*que in armis volitare*. "And is moving to and fro in arms," i. e. versing with an armed force the territories of the republic. *Iuo, per ellipsis pro "intra triduum," STEINM.]*

*vidiosum*. "A ground of much censure."—*Quod illum emiserim.* I allowed him to escape."

*um prefectus sit*. "Seeing that he has gone forth." [The student mark the paronomasia in *prefectus* and *interfectus*.]

*in misericors*. "So compassionate on his account." Equivalent *tilincæ, tanquam injuria ejectedi, ita affectus misericordia.*"—*Malit.* ll their pretended compassion for Catiline, as an injured man, ould be sorry to hear of his going to Massilia, [for had he gone seilles he would have shown his desertion of their cause and

*oc, quod agit*. Alluding to his making war on his country,— "Against." From its general sense of exclusion, this preposition easily comes to signify *beyond* or *above*; and from signifying , it obtains the meaning of *contrary to* and *against*. [Cf. *Pis.* 20, *præter optatum meum.*]

cogitationemque acciderit, nisi quod <sup>1</sup>vivis nobis Roma profectus est: optemus potius, ut eat in exilium, quam queramur.

VIII. SED cur tamdiu de uno hoste loquimur: et de eo hoste, qui jam fatetur se esse hostem; et quem, quia, quod semper volui, murus <sup>2</sup>interest, non timeo: de his, qui dissimulant, qui Romæ remanent, qui nobiscum sunt, nihil dicimus? Quos quidem ego, si ullo modo fieri possit <sup>3</sup>non tam ulcisci studeo, quam sanare sibi ipsos, placare rei publicæ; neque, id quare fieri non possit, si me audire volent, intelligo. Exponam enim vobis, Quirites, <sup>4</sup>ex quibus generibus hominum istæ copiæ comparentur: <sup>5</sup>deinde singulis medi-

<sup>1</sup> *Vivis nobis.* "Whilst I remain alive." Alluding to the failure of the intended assassination of Cicero, as well as to that of the numerous other plots formed against him.—[*Et de*, "and that too regarding." Cf. VERR. 11, 21, *Mithridates hostis, et hostis in ceteris rebus nimis feruus.*]

<sup>2</sup> *Interest.* "Intervenes between him and us."—*Dissimulant.* "Dissimulate their real intentions." Alluding to those who were secretly implicated in the conspiracy.

<sup>3</sup> *Non tam ulcisci studio, &c.* "Do not so much desire to inflict vengeance upon, as to restore to peace with themselves, and reconcile to their country." *Placare* is equivalent to "*placato eorum furore et conciliare sibi et rei publicæ.*"

<sup>4</sup> *Ex quibus generibus hominum.* "Of what classes of persons"—*Comparentur.* "Are made up."

<sup>5</sup> *Deinde singulis, &c.* "Then will I apply to each the remedy of my advice and exhortation, whatsoever I can offer." Grævius conjectures *rationis* for *orationis*, but Ernesti very satisfactorily defends the latter reading; "*Medicinam consilii atque orationis meæ*, i. e. *Consilii oratione explicandi et ad animum admovendi.*"

<sup>6</sup> *Magno in ære alieno, &c.* "Although involved in great debt, have still greater possessions, influenced by the love of which they can in no way be free themselves from debt." Commentators differ in opinion respecting the meaning of *dissolvi* in this passage. Muretus explains it as we have done by *liberari ære alieno*, "be freed from their debts," i. e. by the sale of their beloved possessions. This explanation is adopted by Ernesti. Scheller, on the other hand, condemns this mode of interpreting the word in question, as not in accordance either with the context or the idiom of the Latin tongue. He makes *dissolvi* equivalent merely to *separari*. Cicero in his view means, that the individuals alluded to, although deeply involved in debt, and although owners of extensive possessions, are unwilling to sell the latter (*be separated from them, be loosened from the ties that bind them to these objects*) and in this way pay their debts. The following passage of Cicero is cited to confirm this explanation: he is speaking of this same class of persons: "*Illud erat genus hominum horribile et pertinacendum, qui tanto amore suas possessiones amplexi tenebant, ut ab his membra divella essent.*

cinam consilii atque orationis meæ, si quam potero, afferam. Unum genus est eorum, qui, <sup>6</sup> magno in ære alieno, majores etiam possessiones habent: quarum amore adducti, dissolvi nullo modo possunt. <sup>7</sup> Horum hominum species est honestissima; (sunt enim locupletes:) <sup>8</sup> voluntas vero, et causa impudentissima. <sup>9</sup> Tu agris, tu ædificiis, tu argento, tu familia, tu rebus omnibus ornatus et copiosus sis: et dubites de possessione <sup>10</sup> detrahere, acquirere ad fidem? quid enim exspectas? bellum? quid? Ergo, in vastatione omnium, tuas possessiones <sup>11</sup> sacrosanctas futuras putas? <sup>12</sup> An tabulas novas? errant, qui istas a Catilina exspectant. <sup>13</sup> Meo beneficio tabulae novæ proferentur, verum auctionariæ. Neque enim

*ac distrahi posse diceres.*" (Pro Sull. 20.) [Cf. DONATUS, Ter. Phorm. iv. 3. 50. "Dicuntur etiam servi illi solvi, qui quum debitores præriorum fuerint, pecuniam redditum debitam, nam quasi ligati sunt a quibus debetur aliquid.]

<sup>7</sup> *Horum hominum, &c.* "This in appearance is the most honourable class." Literally, "The appearance of this class of persons is the most honourable," i. e. they enjoy, by their expensive mode of living, and their rank in society, no small degree of consideration in the eyes of the world.

<sup>8</sup> *Voluntas vero, &c.* "Their intention, however, and the cause in which they have embarked, are most shameless in their character."

<sup>9</sup> *Tu.* The orator now apostrophizes one of this class. — *Agris.* "In landed property." — *Argento.* "In plate." Understand *cælato*. — *Familia.* "In a retinue of slaves." *Familia* here, as frequently elsewhere, denote all the household servants of a master.

<sup>10</sup> *Detrahere.* "To take away," i. e. to sell some portion of. — *Acquirere ad fidem.* "To add to thy credit." The full expression would be, "*acquirere pecuniam e venditis possessionibus ad fidem solvendam.*"

<sup>11</sup> *Sacrosanctas.* "Inviolate."

<sup>12</sup> *An tabulas novas?* "Or an abolition of debts?" By *tabulae novæ* is meant a compulsory arrangement by law, forcing the creditor either to accept a part of his debt in full for the whole, or, as in the present case, to receive no part of the debt whatever. This latter measure Catiline had promised to adopt. (SALLUST, Cat. 21.) The phrase refers to the Roman mode of writing on tablets, (*tabulae*), covered over with wax, the characters being marked on the wax by means of a stylus. Hence, when the old score was obliterated, and the wax smoothed over, the tablets were called *nova*, and were ready for a new score. — An entire abolition of debts was never granted to the people. At one time, however, by a law of Valerius Flaccus, a fourth part of the debt was allowed to be paid for the whole. (SALLUST, Cat. 33.)

<sup>13</sup> *Meo beneficio, &c.* "An abolition of debts shall be proposed, but it shall be the result of sales at auction." Literally, "new bills shall be brought forward, but they shall be auction bills," i. e. auction-lists, containing an account of their property as offered for sale. Cicero means

isti, qui possessiones habent, alia ratione ulla salvi esse possunt. <sup>1</sup>Quod si maturius facere voluissent, <sup>2</sup>neque, (id quod stultissimum est,) certare cum usuris fructibus prædi-orum; <sup>3</sup>et locupletioribus his et melioribus civibus uteremur. Sed hosce homines minime puto pertimescendos, quod aut deduci de sententia possunt; aut, si permanebunt, <sup>4</sup>magis mihi videntur vota facturi contra rem publicam, quam arma-laturi.

IX. ALTERUM genus est eorum, qui, quamquam premuntur ære alieno, <sup>5</sup>dominationem tamen exspectant: rerum potiri volunt: honores, quos quieta re publica desperant, pertur-bata consequi se posse arbitrantur. <sup>6</sup>Quibus hoc præcipi-cendum videtur, unum scilicet et idem, quod ceteris omnibus, <sup>7</sup>ut desperent, se id, quod conantur, consequi posse: <sup>8</sup>fri-

that their property, or a sufficient portion of it, will be exposed to sale, and their debts paid with the proceeds.—Ernesti objects to the presence of *novæ* in the text, as not proper to be connected with *auctionariae tabulæ*, remarking, “*auctionariae tabulæ nullo modo ac sensu novæ dicti possunt, ut opinor.*” He appears, however, to forget that Cicero is here indulging in a piece of pleasantry, or what may be denominated a species of pun. The tables, which he promises, are to be *new*, in another sense, and one for which they were not prepared. It is what the grammarians term an unexpected witticism, a “*lusus παρὰ προσδοκίαν.*”

<sup>1</sup> *Quod si maturius facere voluissent.* “Had they been willing to pursue this course sooner.” *Quod* is here to be rendered by *hoc*, as it commences a clause.

<sup>2</sup> *Neque, (id quod stultissimum est,) &c.* “And not, what is most foolish, to struggle against heavy payments of interest by the rents and profits of their estates.” Cicero means, that they ought to sell a portion of their landed property, and pay their debts at once, and not adopt the ruinous measure of paying the interest of the large sums they had bor-rowed with the revenue of their estates. This latter course would keep them always poor. In other words, they must not let heavy mortgages eat up their estates.

<sup>3</sup> *Et locupletioribus, &c.* “We would find in them both wealthier and better citizens.”—[Uteremur. Steinmetz compares DEMOSTHENES, *Olynth.* i. § 11, *ράονι καὶ πυλὺ ταπεινότερω νῦν ἀν ἔχμωμεθα τῷ Φιλίππῳ.*]

<sup>4</sup> *Magis mihi videntur, &c.* They appear to Cicero more likely to entertain hostile sentiments against their country, than to carry out those sentiments into action.

<sup>5</sup> *Dominationem exspectant, &c.* “Hope for rule, wish to become pos-sessed of the management of affairs,” i. e. to get the government in *their hands*, and exercise unlimited authority. (“Potiri, with the genitive *rerum*, — to possess supreme power; but ‘potiri, with ablat. *rerum*,

im omnium, me ipsum vigilare, adesse, providere rei blicæ: deinde <sup>9</sup>magnos animos esse in bonis viris, magnam concordiam, maximam multitudinem, magnas præterea copias militum: deos denique immortales huic invicto populo, clausimo imperio, pulcherrimæ urbi, contra <sup>10</sup>tantam vim sceleris, præsentes auxilium esse laturos. Quod si jam sint id, quod cum summo furore cupiunt, adepti; num illa in cinere bis, et sanguine civium, <sup>11</sup>quæ mente conscelerata ac neria concupierunt, consules se, aut dictatores, aut etiam ges sperant futuros? Non vident id se cupere, quod si septi sint, fugitivo alicui aut gladiatori <sup>12</sup>concedi sit neesse? Tertium genus <sup>13</sup>est ætate jam affectum, sed tamen excitatione robustum: quo ex genere iste est Mallius, cuius Catilina succedit. Hi sunt homines ex iis coloniis,

obtain or enjoy, &c. So SALL. Cat. 48, ‘*Potiri urbis.*’ Three constructions are usual with this verb; *Potior illius rei, et illam rem, et illa*. Cicero has the accusative in *Tusc.* i. 38.”

<sup>4</sup> *Quibus hoc præcipiendum videtur.* “To this class the following piece of warning seems proper to be given.” *Quibus* to be rendered as *his*.—*et ceteris omnibus.* Supply *præcipiendum est.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ut desperent, &c.* “To give over hoping that they can accomplish what they are endeavouring to effect.”

<sup>6</sup> *Primum omnium me ipsum, &c.* One MS. inserts *sciant* before *me*, but there is no need of this, as the clause depends on the general idea of earning implied in *præcipiendum*.

<sup>7</sup> *Magnos animos.* “Great courage.”—*Maximam multitudinem.* Under *and eorum.* There appears to be something wrong in this part of the sentence, since neither *maximam multitudinem* nor *magnas copias militum* can well be referred back to *bonis viris*. Schütz suggests the placing of a semicolon after *concordiam*, and the reading *maximam equitum multitudinem, &c.* the *equites* being numbered by Cicero among the safeguards of the republic in the fourth oration against Catiline, c. 7.

<sup>8</sup> *Tantam vim sceleris.* “Such daring wickedness.”—*Præsentes.* “By their immediate interposition.” Equivalent to “*præsenti auxilio præntiam suam declarantes.*” Compare the Greek ἐπιφανεῖς.

<sup>9</sup> *Quæ.* “A state of things, which.” Literally, “things which.”—*consules se.* We have altered the arrangement of these words with Lammas. The common text has *se consules*.

<sup>10</sup> *Concedi necesse sit.* The orator means, that, if the conspiracy succeeded, the more active partisans would drive into the back ground those who had merely aided them by their wishes, and not by their personal operation.

<sup>11</sup> *Est ætate jam affectum.* “Is by this time somewhat advanced in years.” Several MSS. and early editions have *confectum*, which is too strong.

<sup>1</sup> quas Fæsulis Sulla constituit; <sup>2</sup> quas ego universas civit esse optimorum et fortissimorum virorum sentio: sed tam hi sunt coloni, qui se in insperatis ac repentinis pecun sumptuosius insolentiusque jactarunt. Hi, dum ædifica <sup>3</sup> tamquam beati; <sup>4</sup> dum prædiis, lecticis, familiis magn conviviis apparatis delectantur; in tantum æs alienum in derunt, ut, si <sup>5</sup> salvi esse velint, Sulla sit iis ab inferis citandus: qui etiam nonnullos agrestes, <sup>6</sup> homines tenu atque egentes, in eandem illam <sup>7</sup> spem rapinarum veteru impulerunt. Quos ego, Quirites, in eodem genere præd

<sup>1</sup> *Quas Sulla constituit.* The common text has *Fæsulis* inserted after *quas*, but it appears to have crept in from the sixth chapter of the third oration. Upon the conclusion of the civil contest between my own and the party of Marius, Sylla settled many of his officers and soldiers in different parts of Italy, on lands which had belonged to the opposite faction. Not a few of these colonists soon squandered all their ill-gotten property, and hence were anxious for another civil war in which to enrich themselves anew. [*Fæsulis* is found in all MSS.; I have therefore, with Orellius, retained it, still it is evidently out of place. It has been proposed to read *ex iis colonis quos Fæsulis Sulla constituit* but this would limit the partizans of Catiline to but a few.]

<sup>2</sup> [ *Quas ego universas, &c.* "Which colonies, in their general character I know to consist of the most loyal citizens and most valiant men; but still, these particular colonists, are persons who," &c. The pronoun is opposed to *universas*.]

<sup>3</sup> *Tamquam beati.* "As if they were possessed of opulence." *Beatus* frequently has the signification of *dives* in the Latin writers, especially in Horace, and the other poets. Compare the remark of VARRO, *L.* 4, 17, "*Beatus, qui multa bona possidet.*"

<sup>4</sup> *Dum prædiis, &c.* "While they take delight in extensive domains in litters, in large households of slaves, in sumptuous entertainment—The *lectica* was a species of litter, or sedan, supported on the shoulders of slaves. The use of this conveyance is said to have come in from Bithynia. (*Schol. ad Juv.* 1, 121.) [Cf. VERR. v. 11. *Ut a fuit Bithyniae regibus, lectica octophoro ferebatur, in qua pulvinus et perlucidus, Militensi rosa farctus.*]—Muretus, in place of *lecticis*, reads *lectis*, to be joined in construction with *prædiis*; others propose *lecticis*—[*Conviviis apparatis.* "Splendid banquets" (PLIN. Ep. 1, 15.) *Prae apparatus cœnare apud multos; nunquam hilarius.*]"

<sup>5</sup> *Salvi.* "Saved from ruin."—*Sit excitandus.* "Must be evoked" <sup>6</sup> *Homines tenues atque egentes.* "Indigent and needy men." [This refers to the small amount of their property; *egentes* to their having squandered even that.]

<sup>7</sup> *Spem rapinarum veterum.* They hoped to see, under Catiline, a revival of those scenes of plunder and misrule which had prevailed during the ascendancy of the party of Sylla.—*In eodem genere.* "In one and the same class."

<sup>8</sup> *Proscriptiones et dictaturas.* Cicero warns them to give up all hope

im direptorumque pono. Sed eos hoc moneo : desinant  
ire et <sup>8</sup>proscriptiones et dictaturas cogitare. <sup>9</sup>Tantus  
n illorum temporum dolor inustus est civitati, ut jam  
non modo homines, sed <sup>10</sup>ne pecudes quidem mihi  
suræ esse videantur.

L. <sup>11</sup>QUARTUM genus est sane varium et mixtum et tur-  
entum : <sup>12</sup>qui jampridem premuntur ; qui nunquam emer-  
it : qui partim inertia, <sup>13</sup>partim male gerendo negotio,  
tim etiam sumtibus <sup>14</sup>in vetere ære alieno vacillant : qui  
admoniis, judiciis, proscriptionibus bonorum defatigati,

ever seeing those scenes renewed which marked the career of Sylla,  
proscription namely of the estates of all who had taken the opposite  
, and a perpetual dictator and second Sylla appearing once more in  
person of Catiline.

*Tantus enim illorum temporum, &c.* “For such deep indignation,  
he excesses of those times, has been burnt into the very state.” The  
burning involves an allusion to the process of enamelling, or painting  
means of fire, which serves to fix the colours. The ancients called  
encaustica, ἐγκαυστική.

<sup>10</sup> *Ne pecudes quidem.* “Not even the very beasts.” Strongly figura-  
tive. Weiske offends against good taste, in supposing that the orator  
refers to some incident during Sylla’s proscriptions, where great  
bounty was practised towards animals!

<sup>11</sup> *Quartum genus est, &c.* “The fourth class is varied, and mixed,  
turbulent in its character.” *Varium* alludes to the various causes  
which had reduced them to ruin ; and *turbulentum* to their being no  
better than a mere noisy mob.

<sup>12</sup> *Qui jampridem premuntur, &c.* “Who have long since been sunk  
down in ruin, who will never emerge from it.” There is commonly  
supposed to be an ellipsis here of *ære alieno*, (“by debt,”) but we have  
an allusion to debt immediately after. It is better to suppose *malo*, or  
some other equivalent term, to be understood.

<sup>13</sup> *Partim male gerendo negotio.* “Partly through the ill management  
of their private affairs.” *Negotio* is here a general term for business or  
employment of any kind. Compare the remark of DÖRING: “Male  
gerendum gerere dicuntur, qui in re familiari et domestica admini-  
stranda negligentiores sunt.”

<sup>14</sup> *In vetere ære alieno vacillant.* “Stagger under a load of long-con-  
tracted debts.”

<sup>15</sup> *Vadimonii, judiciis, &c.* “Wearied out with the giving of bail,  
with judgments, with confiscations of their property.” The regular  
and usual order of proceeding against debtors, in Rome, is here observed.  
A debtor is summoned and compelled to give bail for his appearance  
(*vadimonium dare*). The case comes on, and judgment (*judicium*) is  
then against him. The creditor is next put in possession of his prop-  
erty as security for the judgment rendered ; and after he has thus  
had possession for thirty days, the property is sold and the debt paid  
on it.

permulti, et ex urbe et ex agris, se in illa castra conser-  
dicuntur. Hosce ego non tam milites acres, quam<sup>1</sup> infitatores lento-  
res esse arbitror. Qui homines<sup>2</sup> primum<sup>3</sup> si stet  
non possunt, corruant: sed ita, ut non modo civitas sed  
vicini quidem proximi sentiant. Nam illud non intelli-  
quamobrem,<sup>4</sup> si vivere honeste non possunt, perire turpi-  
velint: aut cur minore dolore perituros se cum multis, qu  
si soli pereant, arbitrentur. Quintum genus est par-  
darum, sicariorum, denique omnium facinorosorum: q  
ego a Catilina<sup>5</sup> non revoco. Nam neque divelli ab eo po-  
sunt: et pereant sane in latrocinio, quoniam sunt ita mu-  
ut eos capere carcer non possit. <sup>6</sup> Postremum autem ger-

<sup>1</sup> *Infitatores lento*s. "Procrastinating debtors who dispute their debts." *Infitator* means one who denies a just debt.—*Lento* is here equivalent to *tardos*. Compare the explanation of ERN. ANTONI: "Lentus de eo dici, qui non facile possit adigi ut solvat pecunia debitam, docet Casaubonus. Infinitatores vocantur, qui, cum debet pecuniam, negant hoc tamen, nec volunt solvere." Schütz, without necessity, recalls the old reading *insidiatores*, for *infitatores*. [Cf. JU-  
NAL, xiii. 60:—

Nunc si depositum non infinitetur amicus,  
Si reddat veterem cum tota ærugine follem,  
Prodigiosa fides, &c.]

<sup>2</sup> *Primum*. We have here an anacoluthon, since, after *primum*, we have not *deinde*. Some editors recommend that *corruant* be changed to *corrueant*, and *primum* joined with it in construction: *primum corrueant*, "will be the first to fall;" but then the rest of the sentence comes in very tamely.

<sup>3</sup> *Si stare non possunt*. Alluding to what has just preceded, "retere ære alieno vacillant."

<sup>4</sup> *Si vivere honeste non possunt*. "If they cannot live with honor, i. e. by reason of their debts. Compare the explanation of MANUT: "In urbe, propter æs alienum, quo nunquam emergent."

<sup>5</sup> *Non revoco*. "Seek not to recall."—[Neque—et: neque is resolved into et non, then et is the regular apodosis. Thus pro Sull. 5, Neque homines fuisse putantur hujus affines suspicionis, et locus est in &c.]—*In latrocinio*. "In their career of robbery."

<sup>6</sup> *Postremum autem, &c.* "The last class, however, is so, in fact, regards not only number," &c. Cicero uses the word *postremum* in first clause, as merely numerical, while in the latter part of the sentence it has the force of lowest, vilest, &c. This last class is the feeblest number, and the vilest in character and mode of life. The full construction will be "postremum autem genus est postremum, non so numero," &c.

<sup>7</sup> *Quod proprium est Catilinæ*. "These are Catiline's own." Literally "this is Catiline's own," i. e. his chosen class.

<sup>8</sup> *De complexu ejus ac sinu*. "Of his very embrace and bosom,"

t, non solum numero, verum etiam genere ipso atque vita: quod proprium est Catilinæ, de ejus delectu, immo vero le complexu ejus ac sinu: quos pexo capillo, nitidos, aut iherbes, aut<sup>9</sup> bene barbatos videtis: <sup>10</sup>manicatis et talaribus tunicis; <sup>11</sup>velis amictos, non togis: quorum omnis industria itæ et vigilandi labor, in <sup>12</sup>antelucanis cœnis expromitur. a his gregibus omnes aleatores, omnes adulteri, omnes im- trii impudicique versantur; hi pueri tam lepidi ac delicati, on solum amare et amari cantare et saltare, sed etiam sicas librare, et spargere venena didicerunt: qui nisi exeunt, nisi ereunt, etiamsi Catilina perierit, scitote hoc in re publica seminarium Catilinarium futurum. Verumtamen quid sibi

consisting of his most intimate friends, and the companions of his bawdry. [Complexu ac sinu: "sensu nefario, ut in Phil. 11, 25."—TRINM.]

<sup>9</sup> *Bene barbatos.* "With beards elegantly trimmed." By this expression are to be understood the younger class of persons, who had already a tolerably-sized beard, which they were fond of dressing. Until A.U.C. 454, all the Romans wore beards, but from this period, which marks the time when P. Ticinius Menas first brought barbers (*touros*) from Sicily, they began to remove the hair from the chin. PLIN. *H. N.* 7, 59.—VARRO, *R. R.* 2, 2.) The young, however, still retained their beards until they reached the age of twenty-one, MACROB. *in Somn. Scip.* 1, 6,) sometimes merely until they assumed the *toga virilis* at the age of seventeen. And the day on which they first shaved was regarded as a festival by the members of the family. (JUV. 3, 186.) The first growth of the beard was consecrated to some god. (Vide ADAM, *Rom. Antiq.* pp. 367, 368.) [Some render *bene barbatos*, "with full-sized beards," "with large beards." But it seems to refer to the care and attention paid to the cut of the beard. These persons are elsewhere called *barbatuli*. Cf. *Ep. Att.* i. 14. *Cum dies natus rogationi ex s. c. ferendæ, concursabant barbatuli juvenes, totus ille grex Catilinæ.]*

<sup>10</sup> *Manicatis et talaribus tunicis.* "With tunics having long sleeves, and reaching to the ankles." Tunics of this kind were deemed effeminate by the Romans, and seemed better suited for women than men. The ordinary tunic had no sleeves, and came down a little below the knees before, and to the middle of the legs behind. Compare VIRG. *Aen.* 9, 616. [*Et tunicae manicas, et habent redimicula mitrae.*]

<sup>11</sup> *Velis amictos, non togis.* "Covered with veils, not with togas." The allusion is to togas made so full, and of so fine and transparent a texture, as to resemble veils wrapped around the person.

<sup>12</sup> *Antelucanis cœnis.* "Suppers protracted till the dawn."

<sup>13</sup> *Seminarium Catilinarium.* "A nursery of Catilines." Some read *Catilinarum*, on the ground that *seminarium Catilinarium* would rather signify "a nursery established by Catiline." [Orelli defends *Catilinarium* by citing CAT. 48, *Pomarium seminarium atque degineum.*]

isti miseri volunt? Num suas secum mulierculas sunt in castra ducturi? quemadmodum autem illis carere poterunt, his presertim noctibus. Quo pacto illi<sup>1</sup> Apenninum, atque illas pruinias ac nives perferent? Nisi idcirco se facilis hiemem toleraturos putant, quod<sup>2</sup> nudi in conviviis saltare didicerunt.

XI. O BELLUM<sup>3</sup> magnopere pertimescendum, cum hanc sit habiturus Catilina scortorum cohortem prætoriam! Instruite nunc, Quirites, contra has tam præclaras Catilina copias vestra præsidia, vestrosque exercitus: et primum gladiatori illi<sup>4</sup> confecto et saucio consules imperatoresque vestros opponite: deinde, contra<sup>5</sup> illam naufragorum ejectum ac debilitatam manum, florem totius Italæ ac robur educite.<sup>6</sup> Jam vero urbes coloniarum ac municipiorum respondebunt

<sup>1</sup> *Apenninum*, &c. “The Apennine range, and the frost and snow, they will find there.” The student will note the force of *illæ*. Will *Apenninum* understand *montem*.—This oration was delivered on the sixth day before the ides of November, or the eighth of the month.

<sup>2</sup> *Nudi in conviviis*, &c. Dancing itself was deemed dishonourable among the Romans, much more so the dancing in a state of nudity. Compare *Or. pro Deiot.* c. 9.—(“Nobody,” says Cicero, “ever dances even in solitude, or at a private meeting of friends, who is not either drunk or mad. Dancing is always the last act of riotous banquets, gay places, and much jollity.”)

<sup>3</sup> *Magnopere pertimescendum*. Ironical.—*Hanc scortorum cohortem prætoriam*. “This body-guard of infamous wretches.” Among the Romans, the general was usually attended by a select band, called *cohors prætoria*. This differs essentially, however, from the *prætorum* cohort in the history of the empire. [The *prætoria cohors* was first regularly constituted by Scipio Africanus, but in very early times a selected band specially attended the general. Cf. Liv. 11, 20. *Dictator Posthumius A. c. 255, cohorti suæ, quam delectam manum præsidit causa circa se habebat, dat signum.*]

<sup>4</sup> *Confecto et saucio*. “Worn-out and wounded.” The allusion is to Catiline. Compare note 3, page 38.

<sup>5</sup> *Illam naufragorum*, &c. “That outcast and enfeebled band of shipwrecked wretches.”

<sup>6</sup> *Jam vero*, &c. “Nay, indeed, the very cities of your colonies, and municipal districts, will prove a sufficient match for the woodland raths of Catiline.” The general reading here is very much disputed. The text has *urbes coloniarum ac municipiorum respondebunt Catilinæ tumulis silvestribus*. For *municipiorum* some have given, on conjecture, *municipia*, and *cumulis* for *tumulis*. Muretus conjectures *viles* for *urbes*, which makes a harsh alliteration with *vero*. Garaton gives *erexit*. *Tumulis silvestribus* refers to the “woody heights,” in which alone Catiline’s adherents could find shelter. *Cumulis*, which is found in some MSS., would apply to Catiline’s forces as being composed in

atilinæ tumulis silvestribus. Neque vero ceteras copias, r̄namenta, præsidia vestra, cum illius latronis inopia atque estate conferre deboe. Sed si, omissis his rebus omnibus, quibus nos suppeditamur, eget ille, senatu, equitibus Romanis, populo, urbe, ærario, <sup>9</sup> vectigalibus, cuncta Italia, rovinciis omnibus, exteris nationibus: si his rebus omissis, susas ipsas, quæ inter se configunt, <sup>10</sup> contendere velimus; & eo ipso, quam valde illi jaceant, intelligere possumus. Ex sc̄ enim parte pudor pugnat, illinc <sup>11</sup> petulantia: hinc pudicitia, illinc stuprum: hinc fides, illinc fraudatio: hinc pietas, hinc scelus; hinc <sup>12</sup> constantia, illinc furor: hinc honestas, illinc turpitudo: hinc <sup>13</sup> continentia, illinc libido: denique æquitas, temperantia, fortitudo, prudentia, virtutes omnes erant cum iniuitate, luxuria, ignavia, temeritate, cum

general of ill-armed rustics, and being, in fact, rude masses, or *heaps*, as it were, of men, rather than well organized and disciplined troops. *Tumuli* are frequently mentioned in war, Liv. x. 29, xxvii. 26. *Tumulus erat silvestris inter Punica et Romana castra.* Cicero alludes to these *tumuli* in PISON. 5. *Neque unquam Catilina, cum e pruina spanni atque e nivibus illis emersisset, atque æstatem integrum nactus Italæ calles et pastorum stabula præclara cepisset, sine multo sanguine et sine totius Italæ vastitate miserrima concidisset.]* Compare Sallust's account of the same army. Cat. c. 56.

<sup>7</sup> *Ornamenta, præsidia restra.* "Your preparations, your defences." *Ornamenta* is here equivalent to *apparatum bellicum*.

<sup>8</sup> *Quibus nos suppeditamur, &c.* "With which we are supplied, of which he stands in need." We have adopted *suppeditamur*, the reading of several MSS. and editions, instead of the common lection *suppeditamus*. They who give this latter form make it equivalent to *abundamus*, for which they have no good authority. [Yet it is preferred by MADVIG, *Opusc.* p. 176.]

<sup>9</sup> *Vectigalibus.* "Public revenues."

<sup>10</sup> *Contendere.* "To compare." Equivalent to *comparare* or *conferre*. Thus we have (*Pro Rosc.* c. 33), "Quidquid contra dixeris id cum defensione nostra contendito." So also HORACE (*Ep.* 1, 10, 26), "Qui Sidonio contendere callidus ostro Nescit Aquinatem potentia vellera fucum." And again, TACITUS (*Ann.* 13, 3), "Vetera et præsentia contendere; and AULUS GELLIUS (2, 23), "Graeca comparare et contendere."

<sup>11</sup> *Petulantia.* "Effrontery."—*Stuprum.* "Pollution."

<sup>12</sup> *Constantia.* "Consistency." Compare the explanation of ERNESTI: "Est recta ratio ejusque usus, cui opponitur furor, in quo homines capti mente sibi non constant." (Clav. Cic. s. v.) So, too, in the oration *Pro Rosc.* c. 14, the *vir constans* is opposed to the *amens*.

<sup>13</sup> *Continentia.* "Moderation."—*Libido.* "Licentiousness." *Denique æquitas, &c.* The four primary Platonic virtues, are here enumerated, *temperance, prudence, fortitude, and justice*, though in a different

vitiis omnibus: postremo <sup>1</sup>copiæ cum egestate, <sup>2</sup>bona ratio cum perdita, mens sana cum amentia, bona denique spes cum omnium rerum desperatione confligit. In hujusmodi certamine ac prælio, nonne, etiamsi <sup>3</sup>hominum studia deficient, dii ipsi immortales cogent ab his præclarissimis virtutibus tot et tanta vitia superari?

XII. Quæ cum ita sint, Quirites, vos <sup>4</sup>quemadmodum jam antea, vestra tecta custodiis vigiliisque defendite: mihi ut <sup>5</sup>urbi sine vestro motu, ac sine ullo tumultu, ~~satis~~ esset præsidii, consultum ac provisum est. Coloni omnes <sup>6</sup>municipesque vestri, certiores a me facti <sup>7</sup>de hac nocturna excursione Catilinæ, facile urbes suas finesque defendent. Gladiatores, quam sibi ille maximam manum et certissimam

order. Compare Cic. *de Off.* 1, 5, and STOBÆUS, *Eccl. Eth.* p. 166. The Greek names are: σωφροσύνη, φρόνησις, (σοφία, νοῦς.) ἀνδρία, διάσύνη.

<sup>1</sup> *Copiæ.* "Abundant resources." Compare *De Inv.* 2, 1, "Crotoneum quum florerent omnibus copiis," and *Pro Rosc. Am.* 15, "Copiæ rei familiaris locupletes et pecuniosi."

<sup>2</sup> *Bona ratio cum perdita.* "Judgment with folly." With ~~perdita~~ supply ratione.—*Bona denique spes*, &c. "In fine, well-grounded hope with utter despair."

<sup>3</sup> *Hominum studia.* "The zealous efforts of men," i. e. their zeal and co-operation in the cause of virtue.

<sup>4</sup> *Quemadmodum jam antea.* The common text has *dixi* after *antea*, which is erroneous, as he has nowhere before said so in the course of the oration. Ernesti and others consequently throw it out.—[*Custodiis vigiliisque.* "With guards both by day and night."]

<sup>5</sup> *Urbi.* The city collectively (*urbs*) is here opposed to the individual dwellings composing it (*singula tecta*). The latter their respective possessors are to guard, the former will be watched over by the consul himself. The emendation of Grævius is therefore unnecessary, *mihi et urbi*.

<sup>6</sup> *Municipesque vestri.* "And the inhabitants of your municipal towns." [Municipes. There were altogether three classes of Municipia:—1. Those whose people were not Roman citizens, but possessed all the rights of Roman citizens, except the *suffragium* and *honores*: these were originally conquered states. 2. A *Municipium* whose people formed a *civitas* completely incorporated with the Roman state, and who consequently had no internal administration of their own cities. 3. Those who had the full privileges of Roman citizens, and besides the entire regulation of their own cities. See SMITH, *Dict. Antiq.* p. 318 b.]

<sup>7</sup> *De hac nocturna excursione.* Referring to the departure of Catilina on the previous night.

<sup>8</sup> *Quamquam meliore animo sunt*, &c. "Although they are, in fact, better disposed towards the state than a part of the patricians, still

tavit <sup>8</sup>quamquam meliore animo sunt, quam pars  
rum, potestate tamen nostra continebuntur. <sup>9</sup>Q.  
s, quem ego, prospiciens hoc, in agrum Gallicanum  
iisque præmisi, <sup>10</sup>aut opprimet hominem, aut omnes  
stus conatusque prohibebit. <sup>11</sup>Reliquis autem de  
constituendis, maturandis, agendis, jam ad senatum  
is, quem vocari videtis. <sup>12</sup>Nunc illos, qui in urbe  
runt, <sup>13</sup>atque adeo qui contra urbis salutem, omni-  
nostrum, in urbe a Catilina relict i sunt, quamquam  
stes, tamen, quia nati sunt cives, <sup>14</sup>monitos eos etiam  
jam volo. Mea lenitas adhuc si cui <sup>15</sup>solutior visa  
exspectavit, ut id, quod latebat, erumperet. <sup>16</sup>Quod  
n est, jam non possum oblivisci, meam hanc esse

kept in check by our power." The very gladiators, according  
, are better affected than some of the nobility. Ernesti thinks  
reading should be *quamquam non meliore animo sunt*, the  
being required in his opinion by the presence of *tamen* in the  
use of the sentence. From the explanation we have given, it  
ly appear that the emendation is unnecessary. The gladiators  
tributed by Cicero throughout the municipal towns. (SALL.

*Setellus*. Mentioned already in the third chapter. Consult  
1 Index.—*Agrum Gallicanum Picenumque*. Consult Geo-  
Index.

*opprimet hominem*. "Will either crush the man." *Hominem*  
Catiline, and is purposely used, instead of *virum*, to denote  
—*Prohibebit*. "Will frustrate."

*quis autem de rebus*, &c. "While as regards the determining  
expediting, the performing of what remains to be done, we  
going to consult the senate, which you see is in the act of  
moned." The senators were seen passing along at the time  
lace of meeting.

*cillos*. "Now, as far as concerns those." Supply *quod ad*, or  
g equivalent. The *eos* after *monitos* has been restored to the  
leck, from several MSS. and editions. It is added in order to  
ter force to the clause. Consult the remarks of MANUTIUS, *ad*  
*m. 13, 28*. It is not inserted in the edition of Ernesti, and he  
ilent about it.

*e adeo*. "Or rather." Equivalent to *sive potius*. Consult  
*Clav. Cic. s. v. atque*.

*itos eos*, &c. "These I wish again and again to be reminded."  
note 12.

*Tior*. "Too remiss," i. e. to savour too much of remissness.—  
*extarit*. "It has had this in view," i. e. it has been only waiting  
—*Erumperet*. "Might burst forth into open day."

*i reliquum est*. "As to what remains."—*Jam non*, &c. "I can  
forget," &c.—[*Consulere sibi possunt*. "They may take their

patriam, me horum esse consulem: mihi aut cum his vivendum, aut pro his esse moriendum. Nullus est portæ custos: nullus insidiator viæ: si qui exire volunt, consulere sibi possunt. <sup>1</sup> Qui vero in urbe se commoverit, cuius ego non modo factum, sed incepsum ullum conatumve contra patriam deprehendero: sentiet in hac urbe esse consules vigilantes, esse egregios <sup>2</sup> magistratus, esse fortem senatum, esse armis, esse carcerem, quem vindicem nefariorum ac manifestorum scelerum majores nostri esse voluerunt.

XIII. ATQUE hæc omnia sic agentur, Quirites, ut res maximæ minimo motu, pericula summa nullo tumultu, bellum intestinum ac domesticum, post hominum memoriam crudelissimum ac maximum, <sup>3</sup> me uno togato duce et imperatore, sedetur. Quod ego sic administrabo, Quirites, si ullo modo fieri poterit, ne improbus quidem quisquam in hac urbe pœnam sui sceleris sufferat. Sed si vis manifesta audaciæ, si impendens patriæ periculum me necessario in hac animi lenitate deduxerit; illud profecto perficiam, quod in tanto et tam insidioso bello vix optandum videtur, ne quis bonus intereat, paucorumque pœna vos jam omnium salvi esse possitis. Quæ quidem ego neque mea prudentia

own measures for their safety;" *hujus phraseos indoles est, ut, cum ultimo veluti remedio cogetetur, consulere sibi quis dicatur.* FOBILLUS Steinmetz adopts the reading of one MS. *connivere possum*, "I am winking at it," i. e. pretend not to witness their departure. This reading is preferred by Orelli.]

<sup>1</sup> *Qui se commoverit.* "Who shall make the least stir?"—*Oportet.* "On whose part?"—*Factum.* "Any open act."—*Sentiet.* "Shall feel."

<sup>2</sup> *Magistratus.* Referring to the inferior magistrates, but especially to the tribunes.—*Fortem senatum.* "A resolute senate." *Majores nostri.* According to Livy, the first Roman prison was built by Ancus Martinus (1, 33). It was afterwards enlarged by Servius Tullius. Compare SALLUST, *Cat.* 55.

<sup>3</sup> *Me uno togato, &c.* "By me, your only leader and commander, arrayed in the robe of peace." When the consuls set out on any military expedition, they changed their gowns or *togas*, for the robe of war, *sigum*. This conspiracy, however, Cicero promises, shall be quelled whilst he wears the garb of peace.

<sup>4</sup> *Deduxerit.* This is undoubtedly the true reading, as given by Schiltz and others, instead of the common lection *deduxerint*. It is advocated also by Goerenz, *ad Cic. Acad.* 2, 1. The rule appears to be as follows: "When several nouns are employed for the purpose of expressing one and the same idea, the verb should be put in the singular number." Or, as Goerenz expresses it, "*Plura substantiva, ad unam velut notionem juncta, simplici verbi numero comprehenduntur.*" Instances of the applica-

neque humanis consiliis fretus polliceor vobis, Quirites; sed multis, et non dubiis deorum immortalium <sup>8</sup> significationibus, quibus ego ducibus in hanc spem sententiamque sum ingressus: qui jam non procul, ut quondam solebant, <sup>9</sup> ab externo hoste atque longinquo, sed hic <sup>10</sup> præsentes suo numine atque auxilio sua templa atque urbis tecta defendunt: <sup>11</sup> quos vos, Quirites, precari, venerari, atque implorare debetis, ut, quam urbem pulcherrimam, florentissimam, potentissimamque esse voluerunt, hanc omnibus hostium copiis terra marique superatis, a perditissimorum civium nefario scelere defendant.

ation of this rule would be more frequent in the ancient writers, were it not for the ill-judged corrections of editors.

<sup>8</sup> *Significationibus.* “Warnings.” Equivalent to *ominibus*, or *prognosticis.* Broukhusius (*ad Tibull. 2, 1, 10*) shows, that *significatio* and *prognosticare* are terms borrowed from the language of divination, and peculiar to the haruspices, &c. Compare the words of CICERO (*de Divinac. Resp. 12*), “*Quod igitur ex aliquo . . . monstro significatum erimus,*” &c.; and those of OVID (*Met. 15, 576*), “*Quod sibi significant, prædictio consulit extra.*”

<sup>9</sup> *Ab externo hoste.* The common reading is *extero.* We have given *externo* with Ernesti, who remarks, “*Hostis exterus nemine dicitur, at nationes exteræ, regna extera, recte dicuntur.*”—The allusion in *externo hoste* appears to be particularly to Mithridates.

<sup>10</sup> *Præsentes.* “As present deities.”—*Suo numine.* “By their express interposition.”

<sup>11</sup> *Quos.* Equivalent to *Et hos.* “And these.”—*Omnibus hostium copiis,* &c. “Now that all,” &c.—*A nefario scelere.* “From the execrable wickedness.”

M. TULLII CICERONIS  
 ORATIO IN L. CATILINAM  
 TERTIA,  
 AD QUIRITES.

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I. REM PUBLICAM, Quirites, vitamque omnium vestrum  
<sup>1</sup> bona, fortunas, conjuges, liberosque vestros, atque <sup>2</sup> hoc domicilium clarissimi imperii, fortunatissimam pulcherrimam que urbem, <sup>3</sup> hodierno die, deorum immortalium summo ergo vos amore, laboribus consiliis periculis meis, ex flamma atque ferro, ac pæne ex faucibus fati erectam et vobis conservatam ac restitutam videtis. <sup>4</sup> Et, si non minus nobis jucundi atque <sup>5</sup> illustres sunt ii dies, quibus conservamur, quam illi, quibus nascimur; quod salutis certa lætitia est, nascendi incertus.

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<sup>1</sup> *Bona, fortunas.* “Your property, your fortunes.” By *bona* are here meant possessions, by *fortune* personal property.

<sup>2</sup> *Hoc domicilium, &c.* “This seat of a most illustrious empire.” Compare the language of NEPOS (*Attic.* 3), “*Quod in ea potissimum urbe natus est, in qua domicilium orbis terrarum esset imperii.*” [*Pro Sull.* 11.]

<sup>3</sup> *Hodierno die.* On the day when this oration was delivered (3rd December), the disclosures of the Allobroges had been made in the Roman senate, and the conspirators implicated by them consigned to custody.—[*Fati*, simply “destruction,” “ruin”; = *exitii*. Cf. *Pro Dom.* 57. *In illo pæne fato rei publicæ objeci meum caput pro vestris cærimonias.*

<sup>4</sup> *Et, si, = quod si, &c.* *Et* is here more of an inceptive than a connecting particle. Compare TERENCE, *Phorm.* 1, 8, 19, and the remarks of DONATUS (*ad loc.*), “*Et modo non connexiva, sed inceptivativa particula est.*”

<sup>5</sup> *Illustres.* “Memorable.”—[*Quibus conservamur.* The old Romans celebrated not only their birth days, but those on which they were preserved from any danger. Comp. HOR. *Od.* iv. 11, 18, iii. 8, 7:

*Voveram dulces epulas, et album  
 Libero caprum, prope funeratus  
 Arboris ictu.]*

—*Salutis latitia.* “The joy attendant upon deliverance.”

conditio; et quod <sup>6</sup>sine sensu nascimur, cum voluptate servamur: profecto, quoniam <sup>7</sup>illum, qui hanc urbem condidit, Romulum, ad deos immortales <sup>8</sup>benevolentia famaque sustulimus; esse apud vos posterosque vestros in honore debebit <sup>9</sup>is, qui eandem hanc urbem conditam amplificatamque servavit. Nam toti urbi, <sup>10</sup>templis, delubris, tectis ac mœnibus subjectos prope jam ignes circumdatosque restinximus: iidemque gladios in rem publicam destrictos retudimus, mucronesque eorum a jugulis vestris dejecimus. <sup>11</sup>Quæ quoniam in senatu illustrata, patefacta, comperta sunt per me, vobis jam exponam breviter, Quirites, ut et quanta, et <sup>12</sup>quam manifesta, et qua ratione investigata et comprehensa sint, vos, qui ignoratis, <sup>13</sup>ex actis scire possitis.

<sup>6</sup> *Sine sensu.* "Without consciousness."—*Cum voluptate.* "With positive pleasure."

<sup>7</sup> *Illum.* After the words *urbem condidit*, Orelli, Steinmetz, &c., have inserted *Romulum*, which Anthon rejected as a gloss. It is not found in several of the best MSS., and is rejected by Manutius and Grevius.

<sup>8</sup> *Benevolentia famaque.* "By gratitude and tradition," i. e. our grateful forefathers deified him, and we their descendants, equally grateful, have confirmed the voice of tradition.

<sup>9</sup> *Ia.* Alluding to himself. We have a double comparison: one between the days on which we are born, and those on which we are preserved from danger; and the other between Romulus, the founder of Rome, and Cicero its preserver.

<sup>10</sup> *Templis, delubris.* "Its temples, its shrines." [In rhetorical periods *templa* and *delubra* are frequently united, like *arœ* and *foci*. *Delubra* properly is the shrine in which the statue of the Deity was placed. *Templa* (*τέμενος*), a building set apart and consecrated by the augurs (AUL. GELL. xiv. 7.)] Compare the words of NOLTENIUS (*Lex. Antibarb.* vol. i p. 901): "*Delubrum propriæ est ædicula, in qua stat dei cuiusdam simulacrum. Templum vero est ædificium Deo sacratum. Ita delubrum, et parvum templum, vel pars templi: ut Capitolium fuit templum in quo tria delubra communi pariete cludebantur, Jovis, Junonis, et Minervæ.*"

<sup>11</sup> *Quæ quoniam, &c.* "And since these things have been made manifest, exposed and ascertained, in the senate, through my means, I will now, Romans, unfold them briefly to you." The expressions *illustrata, patefacta, comperta sunt*, form what is called an inverted gradation; for Cicero first ascertained the deadly designs of the conspirators, then laid them open to the view of the senate, and by this means rendered them perfectly apparent and clear.

<sup>12</sup> *Quam manifesta.* "How palpable."—*Investigata et comprehensa sunt.* "They have been tracked out and completely detected."

<sup>13</sup> *Ex actis.* "From what has been done," i. e. on the part of the state, as about to be related by me. Considerable doubt exists with regard to the true reading here. The MSS. vary, some giving *et expec-*

II. PRINCIPIO,<sup>1</sup> ut Catilina paucis ante diebus erupit ex urbe, cum sceleris sui socios, hujusce nefarii belli acerrimos duces, Romæ reliquisset; semper vigilavi et providi, Quirites, quemadmodum in tantis et tam absconditis insidiis salvi esse possemus.

Nam tum,<sup>2</sup> cum ex urbe Catilinam ejiciebam, (non enim jam vercor hujus verbi invidiam, cum<sup>3</sup> illa magis sit timenda, quod vivus exierit,) sed tum, cum illum<sup>4</sup> exterminari volebam, aut reliquam conjuratorum manum simul exturam, aut eos, qui restitissent, infirmos sine illo ac debiles fore putabam. <sup>5</sup> Atque ego, ut vidi, quos maxime furore et

*tatis* in place of *ex actis*. We have adopted the latter, however, with all the early editions, and as approved of and received by Ernesti and Orelli. Weiske also regards *ex actis* as the true lection, but he alters the punctuation, placing a comma after *actis*, and removing the one before *ex*, so that *ignoratis ex actis* will be joined in construction, "you, who have not the means of ascertaining the facts, by reference to the senate's recorded proceedings." [Yet *expectatis* has some MSS. in its favour, and is supported by PLUTARCH, (*Cic.* 19) Ἡδε δὲ ἐσπέρας οὗτος, καὶ τοῦ δῆμου περιμένοντος ἀθρόου, προελθὼν ὁ Κυρίων, &c. The date for this oration is fixed by Cicero himself, *Ep. Att.* 11, 1, *Septimam (oratio consularis) qua Catilinam emisi; octava, quam habui ad populum postridie, quam Catilina profugit, nona in concione, quo die Allobroges involgarunt; decima in Senatu Nonis Decembribus.*]

<sup>1</sup> Ut. "Ever since." Twenty-four days had elapsed since Catiline's departure. [In that interval Cicero delivered his speech for Murena.]

<sup>2</sup> Cum ejiciebam. "When I was seeking to drive out." The student will note the force of the imperfect.—*Hujus verbi invidiam.* "The odium attendant upon this word," i. e. the odium into which I may fall with some, for openly avowing that I wished "to drive him out" from Rome.

<sup>3</sup> Illa. Understand *invidia*, and render the clause as follows: "Since that other is the more to be dreaded by me, namely, because he has gone forth alive," i. e. since I deserve more censure, I am afraid, for not having arrested and punished Catiline on the spot.

<sup>4</sup> Exterminari. "To be expelled from Rome." More literally, "from our borders." Compare, as regards the meaning of this verb, *Phil.* 13, 1: "Hunc ex finibus humanae naturæ exterminandum puto;" and *N.D.* 1, 23: "Protagoras . . . Atheniensium jussu urbe atque agri exterminatus est."—Nam tum—putabam. In the present sentence the remark may be pardoned, that eighteen words, more than a third of the whole, terminate with the letter *m*. In Greek, not one word terminating with that letter has been discovered. V.E. [In fact the letter *m* in Latin, like *v* in Greek, was but an *Anasrah*, and consequently is usually slurred over in metrical scanning, before vowels. The French pronunciation is very similar to that of the common language of the Romans. See DONALD, *Varron.* Chap. xiv.]

<sup>5</sup> Atque ego. Orelli's text has *Atque ego*, which Anthon changed to *et*

scelere esse inflammatos sciebam, eos nobiscum esse, et Romæ remansisse: in eo omnes dies noctesque consumpsi, ut, <sup>6</sup> quid agerent, quid molirentur, sentirem ac viderem: ut, quoniam auribus vestris, propter incredibilem magnitudinem sceleris, minorem fidem faceret oratio mea, <sup>7</sup> rem ita comprehendenderem, ut tum demum animis saluti vestræ provideretis, cum oculis maleficium ipsum videretis. Itaque <sup>8</sup> ut comperi, legatos Allobrogum, <sup>9</sup> belli Transalpini et tumultus Gallici excitandi causa, <sup>10</sup> a P. Lentulo esse sollicitatos, eosque in Galliam ad suos cives, <sup>11</sup> eodemque itinere, <sup>12</sup> cum literis man-

*ego*, as found in one of his MSS. by Grævius. Ernesti also considers *at ego* preferable, though he retains the common reading—*Ut vidi*. “When I saw.”

<sup>6</sup> *Quid agerent, quid molirentur.* “What they were doing, what they were planning.”—*Fidem faceret.* *Facere fidem* means, “to make a person, or thing, be believed;” *habere fidem*, “to give credit,” or “to believe;” *dare fidem*, “to give a pledge, an assurance, or solemn promise.”—CROMBIE, *Gym.* vol. ii. pp. 193, 194.

<sup>7</sup> *Rem ita comprehendenderem.* “I might get possession of the whole affair so clearly.”

<sup>8</sup> *Ut comperi.* “When I ascertained.” He received his information from Fabius Sanga, to whom the ambassadors of the Allobroges had communicated it. [As being their patron. SALL. 41. *Cujus patrocinio plurimum civitas Allobrogum utebatur.*]—*Legatos Allobrogum.* It appears from SALLUST (*Cat.* 40) that these ambassadors had come to Rome to complain of the oppression and exactions of their governors, which had brought upon them a heavy burden of debt. As regards the Allobroges, consult Geographical Index.

<sup>9</sup> *Belli Transalpini.* “Of a war beyond the Alps,” i. e. in Transalpine, or Farther Gaul. The country which was afterwards the scene of Julius Cæsar’s operations.—*Et tumultus Gallici.* “And also of a Gallic tumult,” i. e. in Cisalpine Gaul, or Gaul lying to the south of the Alps.—The Romans meant by *tumultus* any sudden and dangerous war, when the enemy were near at hand, and the safety of the capital at stake. Strictly speaking, this involved only two cases, a war in Italy, or one with the Gauls, their immediate neighbours. Compare *Phil.* 8, 1: “*Majores nostri tumultum Italicum, quod erat domesticus, tumultum Gallicum, quod erat Italice finitimus, præterea nullum tumultum nominabant.*” A tumult was regarded as of far more threatening character than a war, and, therefore, when one occurred, no excuses from serving were allowed to be valid.

<sup>10</sup> *A P. Lentulo.* He employed as his agent, in sounding the Allobroges, one P. Umbrenus, before he met them in person. (SALL. *Cat.* 48.)

<sup>11</sup> *Eodemque itinere.* “The ambassadors intended to return home through Etruria, and of course would meet with Catiline, who was with Mallius near Fæsulæ. (*Orat.* 1, *in Cat.* c. 2.)

<sup>12</sup> *Cum literis mandatisque.* “With letters and verbal instructions.”

datisque ad Catilinam esse missos, comitemque iis adjunctum T. Vulturium, atque huic esse ad Catilinam datas literas; facultatem mihi oblatam putavi, ut, quod erat difficillimum, quodque ego semper<sup>1</sup> optabam a diis immortalibus, ut tota res non solum a me, sed etiam a senatu, et a vobis manifesto deprehenderetur. Itaque hesterno die<sup>2</sup> L. Flaccum et C. Pomtinum praetores, fortissimos atque amantissimos rei publicæ viros, ad me vocavi: rem omnem exposui: quid fieri placeret, ostendi. Illi autem,<sup>3</sup> qui omnia de re publica præclara atque egregia sentirent, sine recusatione, ac sine ulla mora negotium suscepserunt, et,<sup>4</sup> cum advesperasceret, occulte ad<sup>5</sup> pontem Mulvium pervenerunt, atque, ibi, in proximis villis, ita<sup>6</sup> bipartito fuerunt, ut Tiberis inter eos, et

— *Vulturium.* Sallust calls him P. Vulturius, and makes him to have been an inhabitant of Crotona. (*Cat.* 44.)

<sup>1</sup> *Optabam.* Ernesti thinks *optaram* preferable. But *optabam* must be retained, as it expresses the action going on at the time specified, “I was accustomed to hope.” [*Ut tota*, Steinmetz and Orelli restore *ut* before *tota*. *Ut* is frequently repeated after a relative clause. Cf. *pro Planc.* 38. *Acad.* 11, 45.]

<sup>2</sup> *L. Flaccum et C. Pomtinum.* [L. Valerius Flaccus was defended by Cicero from the charge of mal-administration of his province of Asia (See *pro Scaur.* §. 102.) Caius Pomtinus was afterwards a legate of Cicero in Cilicia. Sallust calls both *viros militares*.]

<sup>3</sup> *Qui omnia, &c.* “Inasmuch as they entertained every noble and exalted sentiment respecting their country.” “The relative pronoun is joined to the subjunctive mood, when the relative clause expresses the reason, or cause, of the action, state, or event.” Consult *CREMSE*, *Gymnasium*, 4th edition, vol. ii. p. 21, *seqq.*

<sup>4</sup> *Cum advesperasceret.* “When it was beginning to draw towards evening.” This is not an impersonal verb, but a verb used impersonally. The nominative, in fact, is *dies*, which is understood. Compare *TACITUS*, *Hist.* 2, 49, 3: “*Vesperascente die, sitim haustu gelidae aquæ addavit*,” and *Cornelius Nepos*, 16, 3, 5: “*Ut, vesperascente cœlo, Thebas possent pervenire*.”

<sup>5</sup> *Pontem Mulvium.* Now *Ponte Molle*, one of the bridges over the Tiber, about three miles from Rome. It was built by M. Æmilius Scaurus [Censor, A.U.C. 643], from a corruption of whose *nomen* (Æmilius) the appellation of Mulvius is thought to have originated. At this bridge commenced the *Via Flaminia*, which led from Rome to Ariminum. Compare *AUREL. Vict. de Vir. Ill.* c. 72, and *ARNTZENIUS ad loc.* [The present bridge was built by Pope Pius VII. on his return from captivity.]—*Villis.* “Country houses.”

<sup>6</sup> *Bipartito.* The common text has *bipartiti*, which is not a Latin word, although *bipartiri* is inadvertently admitted into some dictionaries.”—[*Eos*, i. e. the Praetors and their soldiers.]

pons interesset. Eodem autem et ipsi, sine cuiusquam suspicione, multos fortes viros eduxerunt, et ego <sup>7</sup> ex præfectura Reatina complures delectos adolescentes, quorum operator assidue, in re publica, præsidio cum gladiis miseram. Interim <sup>8</sup> tertia fere vigilia exacta, cum jam pontem Mulvium <sup>9</sup> magno comitatu legati Allobrogum ingredi inciperent, unaque Vulturcius; fit in eos impetus: educuntur et ab illis gladii et a nostris: res erat prætoribus nota solis: ignorabatur a ceteris.

III. TUM, <sup>10</sup> interventu Pomptini atque Flacci, pugna, quæ erat commissa, sedatur. Literæ, quæcunque erant in eo comitatu, integris signis prætoribus traduntur: <sup>11</sup> ipsi, com-

<sup>7</sup> Ex præfectura Reatina. "From the præfecture of Reate." *Præfecturae* were those cities and territories in the Roman Jurisdiction, which had neither magistrates nor laws of their own, but were governed by a Roman prætor, or, in his stead, by a *præfector*. They did not enjoy the rights either of free towns or colonies, but differed little from the form of provinces. Their private rights depended on the edicts of the prætor or præfector, and their public rights on the senate, who imposed on them taxes and service in war at pleasure. Some *præfecturae*, however, possessed greater privileges than others. Towns were commonly reduced to this form, which had been ungrateful to the Romans, as for example Capua, after the second Punic war. [Reate (now Rieti), a town of the Sabines on the river Velinus. Cicero chose natives of this district because they were his clients. (*Scaur.* § 27).]

<sup>8</sup> Tertia fere vigilia exacta. "Nearly at the close of the third watch," i. e. near three o'clock in the morning. The Romans divided the night into four watches of three hours each, commencing at six o'clock in the evening. The third watch, therefore, would be from twelve to three.

<sup>9</sup> Magno comitatu. "With a large retinue." We have rejected *cum* with Ernesti and others. Matthiæ, however, adduces, in its support, *Pro Mil.* 10, 28. [The narrative given by Sallust differs somewhat, "*Utrumque clamor exortus est; Galli cito cognito consilio sine mora prætoribus se tradunt. Volturcius primo cohortatus suos, gladio se a multitudo defendit.*"]

<sup>10</sup> Interventu. "On the intervention."—*Integris signis.* "With the seals unbroken." "Letters, among the Romans, were tied round with a string, the knot of which was sealed. The seal was generally a head of the letter-writer, or of some one of his ancestors, impressed on wax or Asiatic gypsum. Hence the phrases for 'to open a letter,' are *incidere linum, vinculum solvere, epistolam solvere.*"—CROMBIE, *Gymnasium*, vol. i. p. 288.

<sup>11</sup> Ipsi. "The persons themselves composing it," i. e. the retinue, including of course the ambassadors themselves who had been thus escorted.

prehensi, ad me <sup>1</sup> cum jam dilucesceret deducuntur. Atque horum omnium scelerum <sup>2</sup> improbissimum machinatorem Cimbrum Gabinius, statim ad me, nihildum suspicantem, vocavi. Deinde item arcessitur L. Statilius, et post eum C. Cethegus; tardissime autem <sup>3</sup> Lentulus venit, <sup>4</sup> credo quod literis dandis, <sup>5</sup> præter consuetudinem, proxima nocte vigi-laverat. Cum vero summis ac clarissimis hujus civitatis viris, qui, audita re, frequentes ad me mane convenerant, litteras a me prius aperiri, quam ad senatum <sup>6</sup> deferri, placeret; ne, <sup>7</sup> si nihil esset inventum, temere a me tantus tumultus injectus civitati videretur; negavi me esse facturum, ut de periculo publico non ad consilium publicum rem integrum deferrem. Etenim, Quirites, si ea, <sup>8</sup> quæ erant ad me delata, reperta non essent; tamen ego non arbitrabar

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<sup>1</sup> *Cum jam dilucesceret.* "When it was now beginning to be dawn." Compare note 4, page 76, and PALAIRET'S *Latin Ellipses*, p. 69, ed. BARKER.

<sup>2</sup> *Improbissimum machinatorem.* "That most infamous contriver."—*Cimbrum Gabinius.* [No *Cimber Gabinius* is mentioned among the conspirators by Sallust, but he has *P. Gabinius Capito*. The other name is an error either of Cicero or his transcriber.]

<sup>3</sup> *Lentulus.* He was then prætor, and a man of slothful and luxurious habits.

<sup>4</sup> *Credo quod literis dandis, &c.* "I suppose, because he had been up late the previous night, contrary to his usual custom, for the purpose of giving the letters," i. e. for the purpose of making out and delivering the despatches. By *proxima nocte* is meant the night which has just gone by, and on the morning after which the arrest took place.

<sup>5</sup> *Præter consuetudinem.* Cicero speaks, in the seventh chapter of this oration, of the *somnum Lentuli*, "the drowsiness of Lentulus."

<sup>6</sup> *Deferriri.* The common text has *referri*, which is erroneous. There was no formal reference, but the letters were merely to be laid before the senate. Their opinion respecting them would be asked in a subsequent stage of the proceedings.

<sup>7</sup> *Si nihil esset inventum.* Understand *in illis*, referring to the letters. *Tantus tumultus.* "So great alarm."—*Negavi me esse facturum, &c.* With *facturum* supply *ita.* "I declared that I would not act in such a way as not to lay," &c.; i. e. I expressed my firm determination of laying, &c.

<sup>8</sup> *Quæ erant ad me delata.* "Which had been communicated to me."—*Reperta non essent.* "Had not been found in the letters."—*Nimiam diligentiam.* "That any excess of vigilance," i. e. the blame of having been over-vigilant.

<sup>9</sup> *Coëgi.* The senate was convened on this occasion in the temple of Concord (SALL. Cat. 26.) This building was situate on the lower

n tantis rei publicæ periculis mihi esse nimiam diligentiam pertimescendam. Senatum frequentem celeriter, ut vidistis, coëgi. Atque interea statim, admonitu Allobrogum, C. Sulpicium prætorem, fortē virum, misi, qui ex ædibus Cethagi, si quid telorum esset, efferret: ex quibus ille maximum sciarum numerum et gladiorum extulit.

IV. INTRODUXI Vulturcum sine Gallis: <sup>11</sup> fidem ei publicam, jussu senatus, dedi: hortatus sum, ut ea, quæ sciret, sine timore indicaret. Tum ille dixit, cum vix se ex magno timore <sup>12</sup> recreasset: a P. Lentulo se habere ad Catilinam mandata et literas, ut servorum præsidio <sup>13</sup> uteretur, et ad urbem quamprimum cum exercitu accederet: <sup>14</sup> id autem eo consilio, ut, cum urbem ex omnibus partibus, quemadmodum descriptum distributumque erat, incendissent, cædemque in-

slope (*in radicibus*) of the Capitoline hill, overlooking the forum, and was a place of great security from its natural situation. The Equites, moreover, stood guard around it. This Temple of Concord had been erected by the consul Opimius, after the death of Caius Gracchus. (PLUT. *C. Gracch.* 17.)

<sup>10</sup> *Si quid telorum esset.* "Whatever weapons might be there," i. e. might be found there on searching the building.

<sup>11</sup> *Fidem ei publicam dedi.* "I pledged to him the public faith for his safety," i. e. I assured him of impunity in the name of the senate and the people. [Without the consent of the senate, the consul could not give it.]—Vide note 6, p. 75.—*Ea quæ sciret.* "All that he knew."

<sup>12</sup> *Recreasset.* Gruter and some other early editors prefer *recepisset*, which occurs in one of the MSS. of Muretus. The present reading, however, is more forcible. *Recreare se*, "to regain courage;" *recipere* merely "to recover one's self."

<sup>13</sup> *Mandata et literas.* "A verbal message and a letter."

<sup>14</sup> *Uteretur.* "Should avail himself." As regards the circumstance mentioned, compare the language of SALLUST: "*Ad hoc mandata rbi dat: Quum ab senatu hostis judicatus sit, quo consilio servitia repudiat; in urbe parata esse quæ jusserrit; ne cuncte ipse propius acce- re.*" (Cat. 44.) [Catiline wished it to be thought that he was invested with a regular command; therefore he refused to admit slaves; if he admitted them, he would have been considered but as a second partacus, and would have deterred the old followers of Sylla from uniting with him.]

<sup>15</sup> *Id autem.* Supply *faceret.*—*Omnibus ex partibus.* According to ILLUST (Cat. 43,) the city was to be fired in twelve different quarters the same time. Plutarch, however, states that the conspirators had divided Rome into a hundred parts, and selected the same number of men, to each of whom was allotted his quarter to be set on fire. Others were to cut off the supply of water and kill all that went to seek it. (Cic. o. 18.)

finitam civium fecissent; <sup>1</sup> præsto esset ille, qui et fugientes exciperet, et se cum his urbanis ducibus conjungeret. Introducti autem Galli, <sup>2</sup> jusjurandum sibi et literas a Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio ad suam gentem datas esse dixerunt: atque ita sibi ab his, et a <sup>3</sup> L. Cassio esse præscriptum, ut equitatum in Italiam quamprimum mitterent: <sup>4</sup> pedestres sibi copias non defuturas: Lentulum autem <sup>5</sup> sibi confirmasse ex fatis Sibyllinis haruspicumque responsis, esse se <sup>6</sup> tertium

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<sup>1</sup> *Præsto esset ille.* “He might be near at hand.” Referring to Catiline.—*Qui et fugientes exciperet.* “Both to intercept those who fled,” i. e. from the city. *Excipere* is here borrowed from the movements of the chase, and is beautifully figurative. Compare the Greek ἐκδέχεσθαι. [Ad Att. viii. ii. “*A multis admoniti sumus ut caveremus, ne exciperemur a Cæsare.*” Hor. Od. iii. 12, 10. *Celer alto latitans fruticeto excipere aprum.*] ]

<sup>2</sup> *Jusjurandum.* This was in writing, and had the seals and signatures of the leading conspirators annexed. (SALL. Cat. 44.)

<sup>3</sup> *L. Cassio.* Competitor with Cicero for the consulship. As regards the proper names mentioned in this sentence, consult Historical Index.

<sup>4</sup> *Pedestres sibi copias, &c.* “That infantry forces would not be wanting to them,” i. e. that they would be joined, when they had crossed the Alps, by a sufficient number of infantry.

<sup>5</sup> *Sibi confirmasse, &c.* “Had assured them, that, in accordance with the Sibylline predictions, and the answers of the diviners, he was the third member of the Cornelian line, unto whom it was fated that the sovereignty of this city and the whole empire should come.” The Sibylline prediction alluded to was as follows, that “C C C would reign at Rome.” These three capitals were thought to denote three Cornelii. As regards the Sibylline oracles, consult Historical Index, a. v. *Sibyl.*

<sup>6</sup> *Tertium illum Cornelium.* The pronoun *illum* has here the force of the Greek article. The full name of Lentulus was Publius Cornelius Lentulus Sura. By this *nomen* therefore he belonged to the *gens Cornelia*, the Cornelian line, clan, or house. There appears to have been no relationship between the different members of a Roman house or *gens*. It bore this latter name only from its political union. The Cornelii, as a *gens*, had common religious rites; but we are not, on that account, to assume that an original kindred existed between, for example, the Scipios and the Syllas. The analogy of the Athenian constitution confirms this opinion. NIEBUHR, *Rom. Hist.* vol. i. pp. 270, 276, *Cambridge transl.*

<sup>7</sup> *Cinnam ante se et Sullam fuisse.* Both Cinna and Sylla were Cornelii. Consult Historical Index, and compare the words of PLUTARCH, (Vit. Cic. 17), εἰμαρμένους εἶναι τὴν Ρώμην τρεῖς τυράννους ὡν δύο μὲν ἡδη πεπληρωκένται τὸ χρεόν, Κινναν τε καὶ Σύλλαν, τρίτῳ δὲ λεπτῷ Κηρυνηλίῳ ἔκεινων. Consult also SALLUST (Cat. 47).

<sup>8</sup> *Fatalem esse.* “Was destined.” Compare TIBULLUS (1, 3, 53),

illum Cornelium, ad quem regnum hujus urbis atque imperium pervenire esset necesse: <sup>7</sup> Cinnam ante se et Sullam fuisse: eundemque dixisse, <sup>8</sup> fatalem hunc esse annum ad interitum hujus urbis atque imperii, qui esset decimus annus <sup>9</sup> post virginum absolutionem, <sup>10</sup> post Capitolii autem incensionem vicesimus. Hanc autem Cethego cum ceteris controversiam fuisse dixerunt, quod Lentulo et aliis, cædem <sup>11</sup> Sa-

*"Quod si fatales jam nunc explorimus annos." — Qui esset. "Since it was."* Compare note 3, page 76.

<sup>1</sup> *Post virginum absolutionem.* The names of the two Vestal virgins here alluded to were Marcia and Licinia. They were accused of having violated the vow by which the members of this order were bound to perpetual chastity, which in the case of Vestals was called *incestus*, or unhallowed intercourse. The whole matter is clearly set forth in the following comment of Asconius on the oration for Milo (c. 12, § 32), which Weiske first adduced in illustration of this passage: "*Ob sereritatem (quam Cassius in judicio ostenderat) quo tempore Sex. Perducœus, tribunus plebis, criminatus est L. Metellum, pontificem maximum, totumque collegium pontificum male judicasse de incestu virginum vestalium quod unam modo Emilianum damnaverat, absolverat autem duas, Marciam et Liciniam, populus hunc Cassium creavit, qui de eisdem virginibus querret: isque et utrasque illas et præterea complures alias, nimia, ut existimatio est, asperitate usus, damnavit.*" [This remarkable error of all preceding commentators is corrected by Orelli. The trial over which L. Cassius Longinus presided took place A.U.C. 640, and in it the virgins were condemned, not acquitted. The trial alluded to by Cicero happened in 681 (*decimus annus post absolutionem virginum*); it must then have been the trial mentioned in Brut. c. 67. M. Pupius Piso, *cum sati floruiset adolescens, nemo haberi est ceptus haberi postea. Deinde ex virginum judicio magnam laudem est adeptus.*]

<sup>10</sup> *Post Capitolii autem incensionem.* The burning of the capitol here alluded to took place A.U.C. 670, in the consulship of L. Scipio and C. Norbanus. The building had stood 415 years. (SIGON. *Fast. Cons.* p. 438, ed. OXON.) The conflagration was owing to the carelessness of the keepers, and was supposed to portend some great evil. The Roman capitol was burnt three several times. First, A.U.C. 670, when it was rebuilt by Sylla, and dedicated by Catulus, (A.U.C. 675). A second time, A.D. 70, by the soldiers of Vitellius, when it was rebuilt by Vespasian; and a third time, at the death of the latter. It was restored by Domitian, his son, with greater magnificence than ever.

<sup>11</sup> *Saturnalibus.* "During the Saturnalia." The Saturnalia or festival of Saturn was the most celebrated in the Roman Calendar. It took place in the month of December, beginning on the 17th, and lasting for several days. At first it was for one day, afterwards for three, (which was the case in Cicero's time,) and by the order of Caligula for five days. During its continuance, all orders were devoted to mirth and feasting, friends sent presents to one another, and the slaves were entertained, and even waited upon, by their masters. The licence allowed at this

turnalibus fieri, atque urbem incendi placeret; Cethego nimium id longum<sup>1</sup> videri.

V. Ac, <sup>2</sup>ne longum sit, Quirites, tabellas proferri jussimus, quæ a quoque dicebantur datæ. Primum ostendimus Cethego <sup>3</sup> signum: cognovit. Nos linum incidimus: legimus. Erat scriptum ipsius manu Allobrogum senatui et populo, sese, <sup>4</sup>quæ eorum legatis confirmasset, esse facturum: orare, ut item illi facerent, quæ sibi legati eorum recepissent. Tum Cethagus, qui paullo ante aliquid <sup>5</sup>tamen de gladiis ac siccis, quæ apud ipsum erant deprehensæ, respondisset, dixissetque, se semper <sup>6</sup>bonorum ferramentorum studiosum fuisse, <sup>7</sup>recitatis literis debilitatus atque abjectus, conscientia convictus, repente conticuit. Introductus est Statilius, <sup>8</sup>cognovit signum et manum suam. Recitatæ sunt tabellæ in eandem fere sententiam: confessus est. Tum ostendi tabellas Len-

festival seemed to the conspirators to afford a favourable opportunity for executing their murderous design. [Apud majores nostros *Saturnalia* die uno finiebantur, qui erat a. d. xiv. Kal. Jan. (19th Dec.) Sed post quam C. Cæsar huic mensi duos addidit dies, sexto decimo (17th Decr.) cœpta celebrari.—MACROB. *Saturn.* 1, 10].

<sup>1</sup> *Videri.* The construction is here slightly changed, which is not unusual in Cicero. Compare *Cat.* 4, 3. Some editions have *videretur*, to which Ernesti inclines. But the emendation is unnecessary.

<sup>2</sup> *Ne longum sit.* “Not to be tedious.”—*Tabellas.* “The letters.” The term *tabellæ* refers to the peculiar form and nature of these letters, they being written on “tablets” covered with wax. Compare note 10, page 77.

<sup>3</sup> *Signum.* “His seal.”—*Cognovit.* “He acknowledged it to be his”—*Nos linum incidimus.* “We cut the string,” i. e. open the letter. Compare note 2, page 78.—[*Ipsius manu.* For men of rank at Rome, on ordinary occasions, employed amanuenses.—MACKAY.]

<sup>4</sup> *Quæ eorum legatis confirmasset.* “What he had assured their ambassadors he would.”—*Recepissent.* “Had taken upon themselves to promise.” [This is undoubtedly the proper way to interpret *sit*. Mackay refers *sibi* to Cethagus.]

<sup>5</sup> *Tamen.* We have recalled this particle with Beck, Döring, and Schütz, as required by the context. It is omitted by Ernesti. [*Tamen* is often used although no adversative particle precedes. Cf. *de Off.* iii. 7, 33.]

<sup>6</sup> *Bonorum ferramentorum studiosum.* “Fond of good arms.” *Ferramentum* is properly any instrument of iron, a rod, tool, &c. The use of the term, on this occasion, by Cethagus, may have been intended as a species of witticism, paltry enough it must be confessed, for the purpose of hiding his agitation and assuming an air of composure.

<sup>7</sup> *Recitatis literis, &c.* “When the letter had been read, dispirited and confounded, convicted by the force of conscience, became all of a sudden silent.”

tulo; et quæsivi, <sup>9</sup> cognosceretne signum? Annuit. Est vero, inquam, signum notum, imago avi tui, <sup>10</sup> clarissimi viri, qui amavit <sup>11</sup> unice patriam et cives suos; quæ quidem te a tanto scelere etiam muta revocare debuit. <sup>12</sup> Leguntur eadem ratione ad senatum Allobrogum populumque literæ: si quid de his rebus dicere vellet, feci potestatem. Atque ille primo quidem <sup>13</sup> negavit: post autem aliquanto, toto jam indicio exposito atque edito, surrexit: quæsivit a Gallis, <sup>14</sup> quid sibi esset cum iis: quamobrem domum suam venissent; itemque a Vulturcio: qui cum illi breviter constanterque respondissent, per quem ad eum, quotiesque venissent, quæsissentque ab eo, <sup>15</sup> nihilne secum esset de fatis Sibyllinis locutus: tum ille subito, <sup>16</sup> scelere demens, quanta vis conscientiæ esset, ostendit. Nam, cum id posset inficiari, repente præter opinionem omnium confessus est. <sup>17</sup> Ita eum non modo in-

<sup>8</sup> *Cognovit signum et manum suam.* “Acknowledged his seal and hand-writing.”—*Tubella.* “His letter.”—*Sententiam.* “Purport.”—*Confessus est.* “He confessed that it was his.”

<sup>9</sup> *Cognosceretne signum.* “Whether he knew the seal.”—*Annuit.* “He made a sign with his head in the affirmative.”—*Est vero.* “It is indeed.” *Vero* is here equivalent to *sane*, or *profecto*.

<sup>10</sup> *Clarissimi viri.* The ancients had miniatures of themselves or ancestors on their seals. The grandfather of Lentulus, here alluded to, had been *princeps senatus* in his day, and had also received a wound, while combating on the side of the patricians against the followers of *Caius Gracchus*.

<sup>11</sup> *Unice.* “Dearly,” i. e. as the *one sole* object of all his affections.—*Mutam muta.* “Even though voiceless.”

<sup>12</sup> *Leguntur eadem ratione, &c.* “The letter itself, which was addressed to the senate and people of the Allobroges, and of the same snor with the other two, is then read.”

<sup>13</sup> *Negavit.* “Declined the offer.” Equivalent to *negavit se usurum se facta sibi dicendi potestate.*—*Surrexit.* All who addressed the senate ad to rise, unless they merely expressed their assent to a speaker who ad preceded them.

<sup>14</sup> *Quid sibi esset cum iis.* “What he ever had to do with them.”—*Qui cum illi, &c.* “And when they had told him briefly and firmly in eply.”—*Per quem.* Namely, Umbrenus. (SALL. *Cat.* 40.)

<sup>15</sup> *Nihilne secum, &c.* “Whether he had never spoken with them oncerning the Sibylline predictions.” Compare note 5, page 80.

<sup>16</sup> *Scelere demens.* “Deprived of all judgment by a sense of guilt.” *Imontia*, denotes the total and continued absence of reason; *dementia*, the want of judgment on particular occasions.

<sup>17</sup> *Ita.* “To such a degree.”—*Ingenium illud, &c.* “That ability of uia, and that experience in public speaking for which he was always istinguished.” Cicero (*Brut.* 64) ranks Lentulus among the equals of

genium illud, et dicendi exercitatio, qua semper valuit, sed etiam,<sup>1</sup> propter vim sceleris manifesti atque deprehensi, impudentia, qua superabat omnes, improbitasque defecit. Vulturcius vero subito proferri literas atque aperiri jussit, quas sibi a Lentulo ad Catilinam datas esse dicebat. Atque ibi<sup>2</sup> vehementissime perturbatus Lentulus, tamen et signum et manum suam cognovit. <sup>3</sup> Erant autem scriptæ sine nomine, sed ita : “ Qui sim, scies ex eo, quem ad te misi. Cura, ut vir sis, et cogita, <sup>4</sup> quem in locum sis progressus, et vide, quid jam tibi sit necesse. Et cura, ut omnium tibi auxilia adjungas, <sup>5</sup> etiam infimorum.” Gabinius deinde introduxerat, cum primo impudenter respondere cœpisset, ad extremum

Hortensius : and on another occasion (*ibid.* 66) says of him : “ *Negat multo secus P. Lentulus, cuius et excogitandi et loquendi tarditatem impedit formæ dignitas, corporis motus plenus artis et venustatis, vocis et suavitas et magnitudo. Sic in hoc nihil præter actionem fuit.* ”

<sup>1</sup> Propter vim sceleris, &c. “ From the enormity of his guilt.” Manifesti atque deprehensi, by hendiadys for *manifesto deprehensi*.—*Impudentia*. “ That effrontery.”

<sup>2</sup> *Vehementissime perturbatus*. “ Though very violently agitated.” As if *quamvis* were expressed ; and hence the presence of *tamen*, “ still,” in the succeeding clause.

<sup>3</sup> *Erant autem, &c.* “ Now it was written without any name, but to the following purport.” The terms in this letter do not exactly agree with SALLUST (*Cat.* 44). The one in the text probably is the more correct transcript. [The letter in Sallust runs thus : “ *Qui sim, ex eo quem ad te misi, cognosces. Fac cogites, in quanta calamitate sis et memineris te virum esse: consideres, quid tuæ rationes postulent; auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infimis.* ”]

<sup>4</sup> *Quem in locum sis progressus*. “ Into what a situation you have advanced,” i. e. how far by going to the camp of Mallius, you have declared your real intentions. [Rather, an allusion to his being declared a public enemy, and this corresponds to Sallust’s phrase, *in quanta calamitate sis*.]

<sup>5</sup> *Etiam infimorum*. “ Even of the lowest.” Meaning the slaves. Sallust has, “ *auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infimis.* ” [Cf. Cic. de Off. 1, 13. *Est autem infima fortuna servorum.*] ”

<sup>6</sup> *Insimulabant*. “ Alleged against him.” Donatus makes this verb have the meaning of to frame a charge against another, whether it be true or false. Thus, “ *Insimulare est crimen ingerere. Insimulatio est et falsi et veri criminis incusatio.* ” (*Ad Terent. Phorm.* 2, 3, 12.) See also Festus : “ *Insimulare, crimen in aliquem configere.* ”

<sup>7</sup> *Cum illa, &c.* “ Although the following appeared to be most manifest indications and proofs of guilt.”—*Tum multo, &c.* “ Still these seemed far more convincing, their changing colour, the expression of their eyes, their look, their silence.”

<sup>8</sup> *Sic enim obstupuerant*. “ For so astounded were they.”—*Sic fortis*

nihil ex iis, quæ Galli <sup>6</sup> insimulabant, negavit. Ac mihi quidem, Quirites, <sup>7</sup> cum illa certissima sunt visa argumenta atque indicia sceleris, tabellæ, signa, manus, denique uniuscujusque confessio; tum multo illa certiora, color, oculi, voltus, taciturnitas. <sup>8</sup> Sic enim obstupuerant, sic terrati intuebantur, sic furtim nonnunquam inter se adspiciebant, ut non jam ab aliis indicari, sed ipsi a se viderentur.

VI. INDICIIS <sup>9</sup> expositis atque <sup>10</sup> editis, Quirites, senatum consului, <sup>11</sup> de summa re publica quid fieri placeret. Dictæ sunt <sup>12</sup> a principibus <sup>13</sup> acerrimæ ac fortissimæ sententiæ, quas senatus sine ulla varietate est consecutus. Et quoniam nondum est <sup>14</sup> perscriptum senatus consultum, ex memoria vobis,

nonnunquam, &c. "They from time to time exchanged such stolen glances with each other, as to appear no longer to be informed against by others, but to be informing against themselves."

<sup>9</sup> Expositis atque editis. "Being unfolded and made known." *Expositis* is here used for *explicatis*. Compare *Orat. 11*: "Difficillimum est firmam exponere optimi."

<sup>10</sup> [Editis. Cicero had nominated four persons, Corconius (Prætor), Messala, Nigidius, and App. Claudius, to write down the interrogatories and answers. He also took care that true intelligence should be published. "Indicium in tabulas publicas relatum non continui domi, sed describi ab omnibus librariis, dividi passim et pervulgari, atque edi populo Romano imperavi, divisi toti Italice, emisi in omnes provincias."—SULLA, § 15.]

<sup>11</sup> De summa re publica. "For the safety of the republic at large." *Summus* is elegantly joined to nouns for the purpose of denoting that on which the whole thing indicated by the latter depends. Thus *summa res publica* is the public safety and every thing on which it depends. Compare *Cat. 1, 5*: "Summa salus periclitatur."

<sup>12</sup> A principibus. "By the leading men." The *princeps senatus* was always asked his opinion first, unless consuls elect were present, who had on such occasions the preference. After these had expressed their sentiments, the *consulares*, or men of consular rank, were asked, and after them the other senators, according to the offices they had filled, or were then filling. Sometimes, with the exception of the *princeps senatus*, and the consuls elect, no regular order was observed. The *principes*, on the present occasion, were they who had the right of expressing their opinion first, and who in that sense might be called leading men.

<sup>13</sup> Acerrimæ ac fortissimæ sententiæ. "Opinions full of spirit and firmness."—*Sine ulla varietate*. "Without a dissenting voice." Literally, "without any diversity of sentiment."

<sup>14</sup> Perscriptum. "Written out," or engrossed. The decrees of the senate were written; or, more correctly speaking, engraved on tablets of brass. So that *perscriptum* is here in fact equivalent to *cære incisum*. [When written out clearly, they were deposited in the Treasury.]

Quirites, quid senatus censuerit, exponam. Primum<sup>1</sup> gratiæ verbis amplissimis aguntur, quod virtute, co providentia mea, res publica periculis sit maximis libe deinde L. Flaccus et C. Pomtinus prætores, quod e opera fortí fidelique usus essem, merito ac jure laudatque etiam<sup>2</sup> viro fortí, collegæ meo, laus impertitur, eos, qui hujus conjurationis participes fuissent, <sup>3</sup>a st rei publicæ consiliis removisset. Atque ita censuerunt P. Lentulus, <sup>4</sup>cum se prætura abdicasset, <sup>5</sup>in custode traderetur: [itemque uti C. Cethegus, L. Statilius Gabinius, qui omnes præsentes erant, in custodiam transferuntur:] atque idem hoc decretum est in L. Cassium

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<sup>1</sup> *Mihi gratiæ, &c.* “Thanks are rendered me in the fullest measure.” — *Quod eorum opera, &c.* “Because I found in them vigorous and faithful co-operation.”

<sup>2</sup> *Viro fortí.* Referring to C. Antonius, his colleague in the conship, who had been on friendly terms with Catiline, but was given over by Cicero to the cause of the republic. [A difficulty is started by AHRENS: “A very curious compliment indeed to An for this species of praise would indicate not only that he was present at the whole conspiracy, but even a confederate; besides, from the words of this passage it would appear that Antony was present, yet it contradicts the fact, for he seems to have already left the city for the purpose of pursuing Catiline.” To this we reply, that Cicero is not mentioning the fact that the senate did command Antony, but only giving the precise words of their decree, the words *quod eos . . . visset* being Cicero’s own interpretation of the motives which gave rise to the decree.]

<sup>3</sup> *A suis et rei publicæ consiliis.* “From his own and the counsels of the republic.” Antonius is here praised for not having aided his friends, the conspirators, with his private advice, and for not having imparted to them any of the measures secretly taken by his colleagues and the senate for the suppression of the conspiracy.

<sup>4</sup> *Cum se prætura abdicasset.* “After he had abdicated the priesthood.” No person at Rome could be punished while holding any priesthood. This seems to have arisen from the sacred character imparted to greater or less degree, to all stations of magistracy, by the auspices having been taken, and the pleasure of the gods as it were constituted before they were conferred. Hence the persons of magistrates were deemed sacred, and they could not be given into custody until they had laid down their office and become private individuals.

<sup>5</sup> *In custodiam.* Not to prison, but into what was called *liberetodia*. This was resorted to in the case of individuals of rank accused of any crime. They were either, as in the present instance, given over to the care of distinguished persons, who thus became responsible for their appearance when it was required, or else

procurationem incendendæ urbis deposcerat : in M.  
rium, cui ad sollicitandos pastores Apuliam esse attri-  
ta, erat indicatum : in P. Furium, qui est <sup>7</sup> ex iis colonis,  
Fesulas L. Sulla deduxit : in Q. Manlium Chilonem,  
na cum hoc Furio semper erat <sup>8</sup> in hac Allobrogum sol-  
litione versatus : in P. Umbrenum, <sup>9</sup> libertinum hominem,  
primum Gallos ad Gabinium <sup>10</sup> perductos esse constabat.  
ue ea lenitate senatus est usus, Quirites, ut ex tanta  
ratione, tantaque vi ac multitudine domesticorum hos-  
<sup>12</sup> novem hominum perditissimorum pœna re publica  
rvata, reliquorum mentes sanari posse arbitraretur.  
e etiam <sup>13</sup> supplicatio diis immortalibus, pro singulari

ed in the dwellings of the magistrates. Compare SALLUST, *Cat.*  
The writer last referred to gives us the names of the individuals  
whose hands the conspirators were delivered. [The words from  
et down to *in custodiam traderentur* are omitted by Orelli from  
it ; they do not occur in the best MSS.—*In custodiam.* Cf. SALL.  
*Perlectis literis, cum prius omnes signa sua recognovissent, senatus*  
*et, uti abdicato magistratu Lentulus itemque ceteri in liberis cus-*  
(εἰς ἀδεσμον φυλακήν, PLUTARCH, *Cic.* 19) *habeantur. Itaque*  
*us Lentulo Spintheri, &c.]*

ocurationem. “The task.”—Cassius and the persons after-named  
probably not been then apprehended.

*iis colonis.* “One of those colonists.” The MSS. and early  
is read *coloniis* for *colonis*. This latter, however, is without any  
the true lection, and is given as such by Aldus, R. Stephens,  
i, Schütz, and others. In adopting it, *quas*, which follows  
, must of course be changed to *quos*.

*hac Allobrogum sollicitatione.* “In this tampering with the  
ages.”

*libertinum hominem.* “A freedman.” The Roman writers use the  
*libertinus* when designating a freedman generally, but *libertus*  
hey name the master to whom he stands in the relation of a  
an : thus, *libertus Cæsaris*, but *ille erat libertinus*.

*perductos.* Purposely used instead of *deductos*, to convey the idea  
r being brought to Gabinius for corrupt purposes, i.e. for the ruin  
state. “*Inest enim verbo perducere notio nequitiae, nam meretrices*  
*i dicuntur.*” (ERNESTI, *Clav. Cic.*)

*tque ea lenitate, &c.* “And, Romans, the senate exercised such  
as to think,” &c. *Atque* is here partly intensive.

*novenum hominum, &c.* [Of these nine but five were eventually put to

Cf. CIC. *Sull.* 11, 33, *meis consiliis . . . . Sine exercitu quinque*  
*bus comprehensis atque confossis, incensione urbem, internecione cives,*  
*te Italiam, interitu rem publicam liberavi.* The conspirators put  
ih were Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, and Cæparius.]  
*ri posse.* “Could be brought back to a sound state.”  
*placatio.* “A thanksgiving.” This took place, of course, in all

eorum merito, meo nomine decreta est, Quirites: quod mihi primum post hanc urbem conditam<sup>1</sup> togato contigit: et huius decreta verbis est, "QUOD URBEM INCENDIIS, CÆDE CIVIBUS ITALIAM BELLO LIBERASSEM." Quæ supplicatio si cum ceteris conferatur, Quirites,<sup>2</sup> hoc intersit, quod ceteræ belli gesta, hæc una, conservata re publica, constituta est. <sup>3</sup> Atque illud, quod faciendum primum fuit, <sup>4</sup> factum atque transactum est. Nam P. Lentulus, quamquam<sup>5</sup> patefactus indiciis et confessionibus suis, judicio senatus, non modo prætori ius, verum etiam civis amiserat, tamen magistratu se abscondit: <sup>6</sup> ut, quæ religio C. Mario, clarissimo viro, non fuerit quo minus C. Glauciam, de quo nihil nominatim erat dictum, prætorem occideret, ea nos religione in privato P. Lentulo puniendo liberaremur.

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the temples. Couches were spread in them for the gods, as if about a feast, and their images were taken down from their pedestals, and placed upon them around the altars, which were loaded with the richest dishes. This was called a *Lectisternium*, (i.e. *lecti sternebantur*.) The author of the decree ordaining a *supplicatio* in the present instance was L. Cotta. (Cic. *Phil.* 2, 6.—14, 8.) Vide *ADAM, Rom. Antiq.* p. 251.

<sup>1</sup> *Togato*. "Arrayed in the robe of peace." A *supplicatio* had now before this been decreed except for some success in war.—The military cloak of the Romans was the *sagum*, short, fastened in front by a clasp and of a red colour.

<sup>2</sup> *Hoc intersit*. "Will be found to differ in this." The use of the subjunctive must be here noted, as indicating modesty, and less positive than the indicative would have been. Compare the Greek form of expression, *τοῦτο σιαφέροι ἄν*.

<sup>3</sup> *Atque illud*. Compare the language of Ernesti: "Et forma concludendi loci bene Latina. Sic atque haec dicta sunt, et similia."

<sup>4</sup> *Factum atque transactum est*. A form borrowed either from the technicalities of the law, or from the language of the Roman sacra rites.

<sup>5</sup> *Patefactus*. "Fully detected," [here used in the sense of *accusatus*.]—*Tamen magistratu*, &c. Cicero commends the wise caution the senate in not punishing an individual while invested with an office of magistracy.

<sup>6</sup> *Ut quæ religio*, &c. "In order that we, in punishing Publius Lentulus as a private individual, might be free from that religious scruple, which, however, had not prevented Caius Marius from putting to death Caius Glaucia, concerning whom nothing had been decreed by name, while actually invested with the office of prætor." [Religio = *dubitatio, metus, STEINUM*.] The elegant construction of *non fuerit Mario quo minus occideret*, &c., must be noted by the student. Literal "had found no existence for C. Marius, (i.e. in the bosom of Marius) so that he might the less on that account put to death." Arnold acutely remarks that the situation of Antonius when ordered

VII. NUNC, quoniam, Quirites, sceleratissimi periculosissime belli nefarios duces <sup>7</sup> captos jam et comprehensos netis, existimare debetis omnes Catilinæ copias, omnes es atque opes, his depulsis urbis periculis, concidisse. quem quidem ego cum ex urbe pellebam, hoc providebam immo, Quirites, remoto Catilina, nec mihi esse P. Lentuli omnium, <sup>10</sup> nec L. Cassii adipes, nec Cethegi furiosam teritatem pertimescendam. <sup>11</sup> Ille erat unus timendus ex omnibus, sed tamdiu, dum mœnibus urbis continebatur. <sup>12</sup> Omnia norat, <sup>13</sup> omnium aditus tenebat; appellare, tentare, illicire poterat, audebat: <sup>14</sup> erat ei consilium ad facinus tum: consilio autem neque lingua, neque manus deerat. Jam ad certas res conficiendas certos homines delectos ac

inst Catiline, closely resembled that of Marius when forced by senate to crush Glaucias.]

<sup>7</sup> *Captos et comprehensos.* “Arrested and in custody.”—*Existimare debetis.* “You ought to rest assured.”—*His depulsis, &c.* “These dangers that threatened our city being now warded off.”

<sup>8</sup> *Quem quidem ego, &c.* “When I was endeavouring to drive that individual from the city.” *Quem,* commencing a clause, is here equivalent to *illum,* referring to Catiline.

<sup>9</sup> *Somnum.* “The drowsiness.” Equivalent to *somnolentiam.* Lentulus, although a man of talent, was remarkable for his indolent and luxurious habits. In principle he was a complete profligate. [For *nnum*, in several MSS. occurs the reading *somnium*, i.e. *somnium, quod sis Sibyllinis de Catilina et de suo imperio se comperisse dicebat.*]

<sup>10</sup> *Nec L. Cassii adipes.* “Nor the lazy corpulence of Lucius Cassius.” *Ieps* is literally “fat.” It is here equivalent to *corpus obesitate et inguetudine tardum et stolidum,* conveying the idea of laziness and idleness. The English expression, “fat-headed,” (if it be not from the French *fat*,) is somewhat analogous. [Orelli retains *adipes*, Ernesti reads *adipem*, but *numerus pluralis in hac formula usitator.*]”

<sup>11</sup> *Ille.* Referring to Catiline.—*Sed tamdiu.* “But so long only.”

<sup>12</sup> *Omnium aditus tenebat.* [“He knew the means of access to all.” *Tenebat, i.e. norat.* Cf. VIRG. *Æn.* iv. 291: *Sese interea. . . Tentaturum situs, et quæ mollissima fandi Tempora.*]—*Appellare, tentare, &c.* “He is able, he dared, to address, sound, tamper with.” Heumann expects *audebat* of being superfluous here, but it refers, in fact, to what comes immediately after, “*consilio neque lingua neque manus erat.*”

<sup>13</sup> *Erat ei consilium, &c.* “He had a cunning well fitted for theunning of crime, to that cunning neither tongue nor hand was wanting.” *Lingua* refers to Catiline’s powers of persuasion; *manus*, to laborious perseverance, and his daring execution of what he had unned.

<sup>14</sup> *Jam ad certas res, &c.* “Nay, too, he had particular persons selected and assigned for the accomplishment of particular objects, i.e.

descriptos habebat. [Neque vero, cum aliquid mandaverat, confectum putabat.] <sup>1</sup> Nihil erat, quod non ipse obiret, occurreret, vigilaret, laboraret: <sup>2</sup> frigus, sitim, famem ferre, poterat. Hunc ego hominem, <sup>3</sup> tam acrem, tam paratum, tam audacem, tam callidum, tam in scelere vigilantem, tam <sup>4</sup> in perditis rebus diligentem, nisi ex domesticis insidiis in castrense latrocinium compulisset, (dicam id, quod sentio, Quirites,) non facile hanc tantam molem mali a cervicibus vestris depulisset. <sup>5</sup> Non ille nobis Saturnalia constituisset, neque tanto ante exitii et fati diem rei publicae denuntiavisset, <sup>6</sup> nec commisisset, ut signum, ut literae suae testes manifesti sceleris deprehenderentur. Quae nunc, illo absente, <sup>7</sup> si gesta sunt, ut nullum in privata domo furtum unquam sit tam palam inventum, quam haec in tota re publica conjuratio

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each one had his distinct and allotted sphere of action. *Certos homines* in this passage is commonly rendered "trusty adherents," "men on whom he could rely," and this is certainly more in accordance with the general meaning of *certus*; but the presence of *certas res* in the same sentence seems naturally to call for the meaning we have given. Cicero, besides, elsewhere uses *certus* for the pronoun *quidam*. Thus *De Clar. Or. c. 16*: "*Habet certos sui studiosos, qui,*" &c., and *Pro Marcell. 6*: "*Insolentiam certorum hominum extimescere.*"

<sup>1</sup> *Nihil erat, quod, &c.* "There was nothing in which he himself did not engage, lend aid, watch, labour." *Occurro* here has the meaning of to hasten to lend aid, to arrive seasonably or in time, and rises in significance above *obeo*, which is employed in its primitive sense, "to come in contact with," (*ob*, "against," and *ire*, "to engage in.") Compare, as regards the meaning here assigned to *occurro*, *Plaut. Per. prol. 43*: *CIC. Phil. 1, 4, &c.*

<sup>2</sup> *Frigus, sitim, &c.* Compare the account which Sallust gives of Catiline (c. 5), "*Corpus patiens inediae, vigiliae, algoris, supra quam cuique credibile est.*"

<sup>3</sup> *Tam acrem.* "So vigorous," i.e. so active in what regarded his own interests. Compare the explanation of DÖRING, "*acrius, quod ad expiat, perspicientem.*"—*Tam paratum.* "So prepared," i.e. prepared to act on every emergency. *Paratus* is often put, as in the present instance, without any thing expressed to which it may directly refer. Compare *GRÆVIUS, ad loc.*

<sup>4</sup> *In perditis rebus.* "In a ruinous cause." Literally, "in the midst of ruined affairs."—*Domesticis insidiis.* "Secret plots," i.e. plots at home, or in the city, as opposed to the camp.

<sup>5</sup> *Non ille nobis Saturnalia, &c.* "He would not have fixed upon the festival of Saturn for us," i.e. for our destruction. He would not have put off so long the day of execution. Consult note 11, p. 81.

<sup>6</sup> *Nec commisisset, &c.* "Nor have risked, that his seal, his letters, such manifest proofs of guilt, should be seized."—[*In tota re publica*

nifesto inventa atque deprehensa est. Quod si Catilina in  
se ad hanc diem remansisset: quamquam, quoad fuit,  
nibus ejus consiliis <sup>7</sup> occurri atque obstiti, tamen, ut  
issime dicam, dimicandum nobis cum illo fuisset, neque  
unquam, dum ille in urbe hostis esset, tantis periculis  
publicam, tanta pace, tanto otio, tanto silentio, libera-  
tus.

VIII. QUAMQUAM hæc omnia, Quirites, ita sunt a me  
ministrata, ut deorum immortalium <sup>8</sup> nutu atque consilio  
gesta et provisa esse videantur. Idque cum <sup>9</sup> conjectura  
sequi possumus, quod vix videtur humani consilii tantarum  
gubernatio esse potuisse: tum vero <sup>10</sup> ita præsentes his  
sporibus opem et auxilium nobis tulerunt, ut eos pæne  
videre possemus. <sup>11</sup> Nam, ut illa omittam, <sup>12</sup> visas noc-

[Orelli, instead of the vulgar reading *tanta in re publica conjuratio*,  
*in tota re publica* is opposed to *in privata domo*.]

*Occurri atque obstiti.* "I met and obstructed." The meaning of  
i is here also, as in a previous passage, to arrive seasonably, and  
ime for action, but this action is now of an opposing character, as  
ther denoted by the presence of *obstiti*.

*Nutu atque consilio.* "By the very will and design." *Nutus* is  
equivalent to *voluntas*, and has a figurative reference to the  
ession of one's assent by *nodding* the head. Compare the well-  
vn passage in HOMER (*Il.* 1, 528, *seqq.*), and the verb *κατανεύσαι*.

*Conjectura consequi.* ["Arrive at by putting the incidents to-  
er," i. e. by comparing and examining the events].—*Quod vix  
er, &c.* "Because the direction of affairs so important in their  
acter, seems scarcely possible to have fallen within the range of  
an wisdom." By *tantarum rerum gubernatio* he means the piloting  
he vessel of the state amid the dangers by which it had just been  
ounded.—[*Idque cum—tum vero.* "And as well we may arrive at  
conclusion by putting the circumstances together, as also more  
cially because the guidance," &c. *Cum, tum* followed by *vero*, gives  
ter prominence and emphasis to the latter of two clauses. See  
PT, § 63.]

*Ita præsentes.* "So manifestly." So immediately present.—*His  
oribus.* "During the present crisis."

*Nam, ut illa omittam, &c.* "For, that I may omit the following  
mstances." Cicero passes over, with only a slight mention, these  
festations of the will of the gods, in order to dwell with more  
on the omen afforded by the erection of the statue.

*Visas nocturno tempore, &c.* These were meteoric appearances, con-  
d probably with the aurora borealis, and resembling burning  
sea.—*Ardoremque cœli.* "And the blazing of the sky." The  
omena here alluded to by Cicero displayed themselves during his  
alship, and were interpreted as portending the conspiracy of Catiline.

turno tempore ab occidente faces ardoremque cœli,<sup>1</sup> ut minum jactus,<sup>2</sup> ut terræ motus, cetera quæ, [quæ tam multæ nobis consulibus, facta sunt, ut hæc,] quæ nunc fiunt,<sup>3</sup> cancri immortales viderentur: hoc certe, Quirites, quod dicturus, neque prætermittendum, neque relinquendum est. Nam profecto memoria tenetis, <sup>4</sup>Cotta et Torquato consibus, <sup>5</sup>complures in Capitolio res <sup>6</sup>de cœlo esse percunctum <sup>7</sup>et simulacra deorum immortalium <sup>8</sup>depulsa sunt, statuæ veterum hominum dejectæ, et <sup>9</sup>legum æra liquefactæ.

The orator makes mention of them in his poem *De Consulatu*, a fragment of which has come down to us (*De Div. 1, 11*) :—

“Quid vero Phœbi fax tristis nuntia belli,  
Quæ magnum ad culmen flammato ardore volabat,  
Præcipites cœli partes, obitusque petisset,” &c.

Compare the account of DIO CASSIUS (37, 25) : λαμπάδες ἀνέβησαν τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπὸ τῶν δυσμῶν ἀνέδραμον. So also JULIUS OBSEQUENS (c. 122, p. 205, seqq. ed. Oudend.), in enumerating the prodigies made their appearance at this period, speaks of a “*trabs ardens occasu ad cœlum extenta*,” which suits very well one of the aspects of the aurora borealis.

<sup>1</sup> *Ut fulminum jactus.* “Not to mention the hurling of thunderbolts.” Supply *omittam*.—The allusion is to thunder heard from serene sky, which the ancients always regarded as a very special omen. Compare CIC. *de Div. 1. c.* :—

“Aut cum terribili percussus fulmine civis  
Luce serenanti vitalia lumina linquit.”

So DIO CASSIUS (l. c.), in alluding to this same occasion, remarks κεραυνοὶ ἐν αἰθρίᾳ πολλοὶ ἔπεσον; and JULIUS OBSEQUENS (l. c.), “*Fulmine pleraque decussa Sereno. Vargunteius Pompeius de cœlo extensus.*” Compare HORACE, *Od. 1, 34, 5.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ut terræ motus.* So DIO CASSIUS (l. c.) remarks : καὶ ἡ γῆ ἴσχυρὴ στείσθη, and JULIUS OBSEQUENS (l. c.), “*Terræ motu Spoleatum totum concussum, et quædam corruerunt.*”

<sup>3</sup> *Canere.* “To foretell;” a term borrowed from the language of prophecy, and deriving its meaning in the present instance from the early custom of predicting in verse.—*Prætermitt.*—*relinquend.* *Prætermittimus ea, quæ ne attingimus quidem: relinquimus jam susceptos.* MURET. [Comp. *de Off. iii. 2.* *Negant eum locum a Panæcio præmissum, sed consulto relictum.*]

<sup>4</sup> *Cotta et Torquato consulibus.* Two years previously.

<sup>5</sup> *Complures res.* The common text has *turres* in place of *res*, but this latter reading is adopted by Ernesti, Schütz, and others. Among the objects afterward enumerated as struck with lightning, towers are not named. Neither is there any mention made of them in the version of Cicero, where he describes the events of his consulship. There were, in fact, no towers in the Capitol. [Steinmetz retains *turres*;

est etiam ille, qui hanc urbem condidit, Romulus : inauratum in Capitolio parvum atque lactentem, us lupinis inhiantem, fuisse meministis. Quo quidem e, cum aruspices <sup>11</sup>ex tota Etruria convenissent, cædes incendia, et legum interitum, et bellum civile ac domum, et totius urbis atque imperii occasum appropin-dixerunt, nisi dii immortales, omni ratione placati, umine prope fata ipsa flexissent. Itaque illorum re-

*el arces etiam cedes magnificas in altum exstructas dici, pluribus docuerat Broukhous.]* Böttiger also assents to the propriety sti's emendation (which is sanctioned besides by several MSS.) *Magazin für öffentlichen Schulen und Schullehrer*, vol. ii. p. 2. elo. "From heaven," i. e., with lightning.

*lacra deorum, &c.* Compare Cic. l. c. "Et divum simulacra fulminis ardor." Not only the statue of Jupiter, but the also of other deities were struck on this occasion. Compare sius, καὶ ἀγάλμα τὰ ἄλλα τε, καὶ Διὸς, ἐπὶ κίονος ιδρυμένου. *Idea sunt.* "Were dislodged from their pedestals."—*Statuae hominum.* Cicero, in the verses already alluded to, makes of the statue of Natta, one of the Pinarii, a priest of Hercules. *um æra liquefacta.* "The brazen tables of the laws were

The laws were engraved on brazen tablets, which were kept apitol.—[*Tactus, afflatus leviter fulmine.*—STEIN.]

*n inauratum, &c.* "A gilded image of whom you remember ne Capitol, small of size, and sucking, opening its lips to the he wolf." This group was thrown down from its base. Com-language of CICERO, l. c. :—

"Hic silvestris erat, Romani nominis, altrix,  
Martia; quæ parvos Mavortis semine natos  
Überibus gravidis vitali rore rigabat;  
Quæ tum cum pueris flammato fulminis ictu  
Concidit, atque arulsa pedum vestigia liquit."

*n inauratum* very probably refers to a statue or image of bronze regards the mode of representing Romulus and Remus, here to, consult RASCHE, *Lex. Rei Num.* (vol. ii. pp. 1886—1890.) *tota Etruria.* The Romans derived all their knowledge of n from Etruria. This became, of course, a very useful engine with the patricians, as it augmented the subservience of the e to those who claimed the exclusive knowledge of the by which the gods might be propitiated. Compare Cic. de 1.

*numine prope fata, &c.* "Should by their interposition almost the fates themselves." According to the pagan creed, the fate were either conditional or unconditional. The former altered and softened down, the latter could not be changed, (En. 3, 76,) but merely delayed or put off for a season. (En. and 7, 315.)

sponsis tunc et <sup>1</sup> lndi per decem dies facti sunt, ne ulla, quæ <sup>2</sup> ad placandos deos pertineret, pretermis üdemque userunt, simulacrum Jovis facere <sup>3</sup> majus excenso collocare, et contra, atque ante fuerat, ad o convertere: ac se sperare dixerunt, si illud signum videtis, solis ortum, et forum curiamque consiperet, ea consilia, quæ clam essent inita contra salutem urbi imperii <sup>4</sup> illustrarentur, ut a senatu populoque Roma spici possent. Atque illud ita collocandum consu <sup>5</sup> locaverunt; sed tanta fuit operis tarditas, ut neque perioribus consulibus, neque a nobis ante hodierni collocaretur.

**IX.** Hic quis potest esse, Quirites, <sup>7</sup> tam aversus tam præceps, tam mente captus, qui neget, hæc omnividemus, præcipueque hanc urbem, deorum immo nutu atque potestate administrari? Etenim cum ei responsum, cædes, incendia, interitumque rei publici parari, <sup>8</sup> et ea per cives; quæ tum propter magnit

<sup>1</sup> *Ludi.* Public games and scenic exhibitions were the usuals of propitiating the gods. Compare Livy, 7, 2: "Ludi quoq*u* inter alia caelestis iræ placamina instituti dicuntur."

<sup>2</sup> *Ad placandos deos.* Most MSS. have *placandos*, some *pla* Ernesti and Orelli give the former the preference. The gerundive, however, is defended by Beck, and is more direct than the past participle or gerundive would have been.

<sup>3</sup> *Majus.* "Larger than the former one."—*Quod videtis.* you now see erected."

<sup>4</sup> *Illustrarentur.* "Would be brought so clearly to light" illud, &c. "Now the consuls of that year made arrangements this statue placed in the manner directed." *Locare* is "to for," or, "make arrangements," to have a thing done; *condic* contract to do a thing." The persons who undertook any such employment were called *redemptores*. The verbs *suscipere* and are also employed in the sense of *conducere*, especially the latter.

<sup>5</sup> *Locaverunt.* "Contracted for its being so placed." Some read *collocaverunt*, but incorrectly. The true lection was suggested by Gruter, and adopted by Grævius, whom Ernesti and follow.

<sup>6</sup> *Superioribus consulibus.* L. Cæsar and C. Figulus.—*A nol* ferring to himself and C. Antonius his colleague in the consuls

<sup>7</sup> *Tam aversus a vero.* "So great an enemy to the truth expression borrowed from the custom of showing aversion by away from an object.—*Tam præceps.* "So inconsiderate."—*Tam captus.* "So blind." So deprived of all mental vision.

<sup>8</sup> *Et ea.* "And that too." The Greek usage is similar.

lerum nonnullis incredibilia videbantur, ea non modo itata a nefariis civibus, verum etiam suscepta esse sensis. <sup>9</sup> Illud vero nonne ita præsens est, ut nutu Jovis tibi Maximi factum esse videatur, ut, cum hodierno die aene per forum meo jussu et conjurati, et <sup>11</sup> eorum indices, ædem Concordiæ ducerentur, eo ipso tempore signum ueretur? Quo collocato, atque ad vos senatumque concio, omnia et senatus et vos, quæ erant contra salutem ium cogitata, illustrata et patefacta vidistis. Quo etiam ore sunt isti odio supplicioque digni, qui non solum ris domiciliis atque tectis, sed etiam deorum <sup>12</sup> templis e delubris sunt funestos ac nefarios ignes inferre conati. ibus ego si me restitisse dicam, nimium mihi sumam, et sim ferendus. <sup>14</sup> Ille, ille Jupiter restitit: ille Capito- ille hæc templa, ille hanc urbem, ille vos omnes salvos voluit. Diis ego immortalibus ducibus <sup>15</sup> hanc mentem, ites, voluntatemque suscepi, atque ad hæc tanta indicia mi. <sup>16</sup> Jam vero illa Allobrogum sollicitatio sic a Len-

*Et ea per cives.* [This is the reading of the best MSS. Some *arditis civibus.*]

*verò, &c.* “Is not the following circumstance, however, so in its character as to seem,” &c. The repetition of *ut* in this is inelegant. Ernesti makes the first *ut* equivalent in some *o quod*, but it is more than probable, as Döring remarks, that words have fallen out between *videatur* and the second *ut*.

*fane per forum, &c.* This Boettiger concludes was all a matter of his arrangements on the part of Cicero, and intended to produce impression upon the superstitious feelings of the populace.

*orum indices.* The Allobroges and Vulturcius.—*In ædem Con-* *e.* This temple stood in the immediate vicinity of the forum, at end of the Capitoline hill. (DONAT. *de Rom. Vet.* lib. 2, c. 8, l.)

*templis atque delubris.* Consult note 10, page 73.—*Funestos ac* *ios ignes.* “Destructive and unhallowed fires.”

*hostibus ego, &c.* “Were I to say that it was I who successfully ed them,” i. e. who defeated their attempts.

*Ille, ille Jupiter restitit.* “Yon Jupiter, yon Jupiter defeated their ipts.” *Ille* denotes the gesture of the orator, pointing to the i-erected statue. The pronoun *ille*, in the rest of the sentence, is rendered by the simple pronoun “he,” with an emphasis resting it.

*Hanc mentem voluntatemque suscepi.* “Have I formed this design vill,” i. e. of exposing to view the plans of wicked men.

*Jam vero, &c.* The true reading of this passage is doubtful. on inserted *suscepta* after *hostibus*, on the suggestion of Ernesti, osing that otherwise *sollicitatio* would have no verb to which it

tulo ceterisque domesticis hostibus, tanta res [tam dementer] credita et ignotis et barbaris, commissæque litem nunquam essent profecto, nisi ab diis immortalibus hanc tantæ audaciæ consilium esset ereptum. Quid vero? <sup>1</sup> ut homines Galli, ex civitate male pacata, quæ gens una rem quæ populo Romano bellum facere et posse et non nolle videatur, <sup>2</sup> spem imperii et rerum amplissimarum ultro sibi patriciis hominibus oblatam negligerent, vestrarumque salutem <sup>3</sup> suis opibus anteponerent; id non divinitus factum esse putatis? <sup>4</sup> præsertim qui nos non pugnando, sed tacendo superarent?

X. QUAMOBREM, Quirites, quoniam <sup>5</sup> ad omnia pulvinaria supplicatio decreta est, <sup>6</sup> celebratote illos dies cum conjugi

can be referred. [But there is no occasion for any alteration in the text. We may simply supply *commissa esset* to the first clause from the second; the construction will then run thus, *Jam vero illa Allobrogum sollicitatio—tanta, res tam dementer credita et ignotis et barbaris nunquam esset commissa sic a Lentulo ceterisque domesticis hostibus, hanc que nunquam essent commissæ nisi, &c.*; i. e. That tampering with the Allobroges,—so important a matter so madly entrusted to those who were both strangers and enemies—would never have been risked by Lentulus and our other foes within the walls, &c.]

<sup>1</sup> *Ut homines Galli, &c.* Supply before *ut* the words *anne putandum est*, or something equivalent. “Is it not to be imagined that the facts of Gauls,” &c.—*Male pacata.* “Hardly brought to subjection.”

<sup>2</sup> *Spem imperii, &c.* “The hope of dominion and of the most extensive aggrandizement.”—*A patriciis hominibus.* Alluding to Lentulus Cethegus, and others of the conspirators.

<sup>3</sup> *Suis opibus.* “To their own interest.”—*Id non, &c.* The common text has *nonne*. We have given *non* with Grævius, on MS. authority.—*Divinitus.* “By the interposition of Heaven.”

<sup>4</sup> *Præsertim qui nos, &c.* “Especially since they might have over come us, not by fighting, but by remaining silent,” i. e. by keeping the secret of the conspiracy. *Superarent* is here equivalent to *superpotuissent*, and the subjunctive mood is required by the relative, which is here the same as *quum illi*. The common text has *superpotuerunt*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ad omnia pulvinaria.* “At all the shrines.” The primitive meaning of this term is “a cushion,” or “pillow,” for a couch. It is then taken to denote the couch itself: and finally it signifies, from peculiar custom among the Romans, a “shrine” of the gods. When thanksgiving was decreed by the senate, what was called a *Lectisternium* took place, couches being spread for the gods, as if about a feast, and their statues being taken down from their pedestals and placed upon these couches around the altars, which were loaded with the richest dishes. Hence the meaning attached to *pulvinaria* in the text. Compare ERNESTI, *Clav. Cic.* s. v. and SCHÜTZ, *Ind. Lat.* s. v.

bus ac liberis vestris. Nam multi s<sup>a</sup>pē honores diis immortalibus justi habiti sunt ac debiti, sed profecto justiores sumquam. Erepti enim estis ex crudelissimo ac miserrimo interitu, et erepti sine c<sup>a</sup>de, sine sanguine, sine exercitu, sine dimicazione,<sup>7</sup> togati, me uno togato duce et imperatore vicistis. Etenim recordamini, Quirites, omnes civiles dissensiones, non solum eas, quas audistis, sed has, quas vosmet ipsi meministis et vidistis. <sup>8</sup> L. Sulla P. Sulpicium oppressit: ex urbe ejecit C. Marius,<sup>9</sup> custodem hujus urbis, multosque fortis viros partim ejecit ex civitate, partim infermit. <sup>10</sup> Cn. Octavius, consul, armis expulit ex urbe collegam suum:<sup>11</sup> omnis hic locus acervis corporum et civium sanguine redundavit. Superavit postea Cinna cum Mario;

<sup>6</sup> *Celebratote.* Boys crowned with garlands, virgins, and matrons, moved in procession through the streets, singing hymns in honour of the gods.—*Illas dies.* A thanksgiving often, as in the present instance, lasted for several days.

<sup>7</sup> *Togati, me uno togato, &c.* “Wearing the toga, with me alone, likewise wearing it, for your leader and commander.” Consult note 1, page 88.

<sup>8</sup> *L. Sulla P. Sulpicium oppressit.* [Publius Sulpicius, *Trib. Pop.* when Sulla, who had been appointed to conduct the war in Asia against Mithridates, was delayed at Nola) proposed several laws; among others, 1. That all exiles should be restored. 2. That new citizens and the Libertini should be enrolled among all the tribes. And that Marius should be chosen to conduct the war against Mithridates. When the consuls opposed him, he resisted their attempts with violence. In the fray the son of the consul Q. Pompeius Rufus, and son-in-law of Sulla, was slain. At once Sulla hastened back to Rome, in whose streets a conflict ensued, which ended in the expulsion of the Marian party. Sulpicius was dragged from his villa and slain by the knights in the Laurentine marshes. Marius fled to Minturnae, A.U.C. 666.]

<sup>9</sup> *Custodem hujus urbis.* “The preserver of this city.” Alluding to his victories over the Cimbri and Teutones.

<sup>10</sup> *Cn. Octavius.* [In A.U.C. 667, when L. Cornelius Cinna proposed a law that all new citizens should give their votes in all the tribes, country as well as city, and endeavoured to carry the measure by force of arms, Cneius Octavius burst with a troop of men into the forum, expelled Cinna from the city, and deposed him from his office. In this affray not less than 10,000 of the newly enrolled citizens were slain.]

<sup>11</sup> *Omnis hic locus.* The forum, where the contending factions had met in conflict, and much blood had been spilt.—*Redundavit.* This verb has here two meanings, one for *acervis corporum*, (“was filled,”) and another for *sanguine civium*, (“flowed.”) Grammarians call this construction a *zeugma*.

tum vero, <sup>1</sup> clarissimis viris interfectis, lumina civitatis extincta sunt. Ultus est hujus victoriae crudelitatem postea Sulla: ne dici quidem opus est, <sup>2</sup> quanta deminutione civium, et quanta calamitate rei publicæ. Dissensit <sup>3</sup> M. Lepidus a clarissimo et fortissimo viro, Q. Catulo; attulit non tam ipsius interitus rei publicæ luctum, quam ceterorum. <sup>4</sup> Atque illæ tamen omnes dissensiones, erant hujusmodi Quirites, quæ non ad delendam, sed ad commutandam rem publicam <sup>5</sup> pertinerent: (non <sup>6</sup> illi nullam esse rem publicam, sed in ea, quæ esset, se esse principes: neque hanc urbem conflagrare, sed se in hac urbe florere voluerunt;) atque illæ tamen omnes dissensiones, quarum nulla exitium rei publicæ <sup>7</sup> quisivit, ejusmodi fuerunt, ut non reconciliatione concordia, sed internecione civium dijudicatae sint. In hoc autem uno

<sup>1</sup> *Clarissimis viris.* [When Cinna and Marius, accompanied by Carbo and Sertorius were received into Rome, they permitted their followers to plunder it as if it were taken by storm. Cn. Octavius, the consul, and many of the very highest nobility being slain, among them M. Antonius the celebrated orator and grandfather of the Triumvir, A.U.C. 667, 668.] Cicero refers to Q. Catulus, Scævola, and the orators Crassus, Antonius, and C. Cæsar.

<sup>2</sup> *Quanta deminutione civium.* If we may credit so declamatory a writer as Florus, the number slain on this occasion exceeded ~~several~~ thousand. (3, 21, 24.) [See *Pro Rosc.* 32.]

<sup>3</sup> *M. Lepidus.* Lepidus and his colleague Catulus had at first a warm contest about the interment of Sylla, the former endeavouring to prevent his being buried in the Campus Martius. Afterwards, placing himself at the head of the Marian faction, he strove to procure the abolition of all Sylla's public acts, and was driven out in consequence by Catulus, after the two parties had come into open and violent collision.

<sup>4</sup> *Atque illæ tamen omnes dissensiones, &c.* Matthiæ adopts the emendation proposed by Ernesti, throwing out the words *erant hujusmodi* before *Quirites*, introducing a parenthesis from *non illi* to *voluerunt*, and making *atque illæ tamen* a repetition from the first clause. *Tamen*, in such constructions, after a parenthesis, has the force of *inquam*, or *igitur*. Consult ERNESTI, *Clav. Cir.* s. v. [Anthon followed Matthiæ; we have restored the old reading with Steinmetz, Madvig, and Orelli.]

<sup>5</sup> *Pertinerent.* The subjunctive is here employed after the relative, as stating, not an assertion of Cicero's, but of the individual actors themselves, as it had come down to his times. Hence *quæ pertinerent* may be rendered, "which tended as was alleged." After this comes the declaration of the orator himself, based upon this allegation, when the indicative is employed.

<sup>6</sup> *Illi.* "The actors in those scenes."—*Esse principes.* "To be the leading men."—*Hanc urbem conflagrare.* "That this city should be wrapt in flames."—*Florere.* "Should rule." This meaning is derived

post hominum memoriam maximo crudelissimoque bello, quale bellum <sup>8</sup>nulla unquam barbaria <sup>9</sup>cum sua gente gessit, quo in bello lex hæc fuit a Lentulo, Catilina, Cethego, et Cassio, <sup>10</sup>constituta, ut omnes, qui salva urbe salvi esse possent, in hostium numero ducerentur; ita me gessi, Quirites, ut omnes salvi conservaremini: et cum hostes vestri <sup>11</sup>tantum civium superfuturum putassent, quantum infinitæ cædi restitisset, tantum autem urbis, quantum flamma <sup>12</sup>obire non potuisset: et urbem, et cives integros incolumesque servavi.

XI. QUIBUS <sup>13</sup>pro tantis rebus, Quirites, nullum ego a vobis præmium virtutis, nullum insigne honoris, nullum monumentum laudis postulabo, præterquam hujus diei memoriam sempiternam. In animis eorum vestris omnes triumphos

from the intermediate one of excelling, which *floreo* often has in Cicero and other writers.

<sup>7</sup> *Quæsivit.* "Had in view."—*Ut non reconciliatione concordie, &c.* "That they were terminated, not by the reconciliation which concord is wont to bring, but by the massacre of citizens," i. e. not by reconciliation and concord, but by the loss of many lives.—Cicero's meaning, as it is carried out in the succeeding clause, is this: that the civil dissensions enumerated by him, though they had in view merely a change of affairs, were nevertheless only terminated after much bloodshed; whereas the conspiracy of Catiline, which aimed at the total subversion of the government, and the destruction of all, had been brought to an end by him without the loss of any lives on the part of his fellow citizens.—[*Djudicatæ sint.* "Were decided." A word transferred from legal to military proceedings.]

<sup>8</sup> *Nulla barbaria.* "No barbarian land." *Barbaria* means any territory inhabited by barbarians. The Romans employed the term in general to denote any country except Greece and Italy. Compare Cic. *de Fin.* 2, 25: "*A quo non solum Græcia et Italia, sed etiam omnis barbaria commota est.*"

<sup>9</sup> *Cum sua gente.* "With its own race."

<sup>10</sup> *Constituta fuit.* "Was laid down."—*Salva urbe.* "In case the city were safe."

<sup>11</sup> *Tantum civium, &c.* "That only so many citizens would survive, as should remain after boundless massacre." Literally, "as many as should have withstood boundless massacre." Burmann, *ad Anthol. Lat.* vol. ii. p. 180, suggests *infinita e cæde* in place of *infinitæ cædi*. In this case, *restitisset* would come from *restare*, and the literal meaning would be the same with what we have first given, "should remain after," &c. The common reading, however, conveys the same sense and is better in point of Latinity.

<sup>12</sup> *Obire non potuisset.* "Might not have been able to reach."

<sup>13</sup> *Pro.* "In return for."—*Rebus.* "Services."—*Insigne honoris.*

meos, omnia<sup>1</sup> ornamenta honoris, monumenta gloriæ, laudis insignia, condi et collocari volo. <sup>2</sup>Nihil me mutum potest delectare, nihil tacitum, nihil denique ejusmodi, quod etiam minus digni assequi possint. Memoria vestra, Quirites, <sup>3</sup>nostræ res alentur, sermonibus crescent, literarum monumentis inveterascent et corroborabuntur: <sup>4</sup>eandemque diem intelligo, quam spero æternam fore, et ad salutem urbis, et ad memoriam consulatus mei propagatam: unoque tempore in hac re publica <sup>5</sup>duos cives exstisset, <sup>6</sup>quorum alter fines vestri imperii, non terræ, sed cœli regionibus terminaret; alter ejusdem imperii domicilium sedemque servaret.

XII. SED, quoniam earum rerum, quas ego gessi non

"Mark of honour." As, for example, a triumph. Thus, a little after, he remarks, "in animis vestris omnes triumphos meos," &c.

<sup>1</sup> Ornamenta honoris. "Badges of honour."—Laudis insignia. "The trophies of my renown."

<sup>2</sup> Nihil mutum. "No mute memorial," as, for example, a statue.

<sup>3</sup> Nostræ res alentur. "My actions will be fostered."—Sermonibus "In your daily converse."—Literarum monumentis, &c. "They will become identified, through lapse of time, with, and will be rendered more and more enduring by, your national annals." Inveterasco means literally, "to grow old in," "to gather strength by age or time," "to become deeply rooted," &c. Compare, as regards the force of *monumentis* in this passage, *Pro Sext. 48*: "Hæc monumentis annalium mandantur, posteritati propagantur."

<sup>4</sup> Eandemque diem, &c. [The whole difficulty of this passage depends on the meaning given to *propagatam*. From the notion of producing by layers, *propagare* takes that of "continuing" for a period. Thus we have *propagatur Provinciae* (*Att. viii. 3*) used of him who retains a person in the government of a province, and keeps him from giving it up at the usual time. Comp. *Cat. 2, § 11, non breve nescio quod tempus, sed multa sœcula propagarit rei publicæ*. Cicero wishes to impress on his auditory that a period of anarchy and confusion has been purposely continued by fate for two things; first, to save the republic; and, secondly, to record his consulship:—it has been continued to save the city, for had the conspiracy burst out sooner there would have remained still the *seminarium Catilinarium* in the city, but by being continued till their guilt had come to a head, and until Cicero was consul, it would be crushed at once and for ever. Compare *1 Cat. xiii. init.* *Etenim jamdiu in his periculis conjurationis et insidiis ver- samur; sed, nescio quo pacto, omnium scelerum ac veteris furoris et audacie maturitas in nostri consulatus tempus erupit.* *Etenim si P. Lentulus secum nomen, inductus a vatibus fatale ad perniciem populi Romani fore putavit, cur ego non lætor meum consulatum ad salutem rei publicæ prope fatalem exstisset.* But you will say, how could Cicero hope that such a period would be *eternal*? Simply because such a period, although one of danger and anarchy, was really beneficial to the state, inasmuch as the concealed and smothering treason of the guilty

<sup>7</sup>eadem est fortuna atque conditio, quæ illorum, qui externa bella gesserunt; quod mihi cum iis vivendum sit, quos vici ac subegi; illi hostes aut imperfectos aut oppressos reliquerunt: vestrum est, Quirites, <sup>8</sup>si ceteris recte facta sua prosunt, mihi mea ne quando obsint, providere. <sup>9</sup>Mentes enim hominum audacissimorum sceleratæ ac nefariæ ne vobis nocere possent, ego providi: ne mihi noceant, vestrum est providere. Quamquam, Quirites, mihi quidem ipsi nihil jam <sup>10</sup>ab istis noceri potest. Magnum enim est <sup>11</sup>in bonis præsidium, quod mihi in perpetuum comparatum est: magna in re publica dignitas, quæ me semper tacita defendet: magna vis conscientiæ, quam qui negligent, cum me violare

was gradually coming to a head, and in the outbreak would be crushed. Translate, then, "And my opinion is, that this same propitious period, one which I hope now will last for ever, has been purposely continued so long by fate, in order to preserve the city and to record my consulship, (and I understand this period has been continued so long, by fate) that at the same moment," &c. The above is mainly Steinmetz's explanation. Other commentators alter the text; Grævius, Beck, &c., give *Eademque diem intelligo, et ad salutem urbis, quam spero æternam fore, et ad memoriam consulatus mei propagandam, unoque, &c.* Heumann reads, *Eademque (literarum monumenta) intelligo et ad salutem urbis et ad memoriam consulatus propagatum unoque, &c.* This is received by Matthiæ. Orelli proposes *Eademque intelligo atque spero æternam fore—propagatum iri, unoque tempore.* Madvig reads, *Eademque diem intelligo, quam spero æternam fore, propagatam esse et ad salutem urbis et ad memoriam consulatus mei, unoque tempore, &c.*; adding in his note, *mox excidisse aliquid videtur; omnique tempore (sic Codd. aliquot) hoc predicatum iri, unoque tempore, &c.]*

<sup>5</sup> *Duos cives.* Himself and Pompey, who had brought the piratical war to a close, and also conquered Mithridates.

<sup>6</sup> *Quorum alter.* Pompey.—*Non terræ, sed cœli regionibus.* An oratorical hyperbole, by which Pompey is described as having carried the Roman arms to the very limits of earth and sky, i. e. to have filled even the distant horizon with the fame of Roman power. Render, "not by the regions of earth, but by the very horizon."

<sup>7</sup> *Eadem est fortuna atque conditio.* The verb is in the singular, as the two nouns express merely different shades of the same idea.—*Quæ illorum.* "As is that of those."

<sup>8</sup> *Si ceteris, &c.* The indicative mood is here employed as denoting certainty, and referring to what has actually taken place. By *ceteris* are meant the Roman commanders who have been engaged in foreign wars.

<sup>9</sup> *Mentes.* "Designs."

<sup>10</sup> *Ab istis.* The pronoun denotes contempt. "By those men," i. e. by those guilty wretches.

<sup>11</sup> *In bonis.* Understand *civibus.*—*Dignitas.* "Majesty." Referring to the authority of the senate and the power of the laws.

volent, <sup>1</sup> se ipsi indicabunt. Est etiam in nobis <sup>2</sup> is animus, Quirites, ut non modo nullius audaciæ cedamus, sed etiam omnes improbos ultro semper lacessamus. Quodsi omnis impetus domesticorum hostium depulsus a vobis, se in me unum <sup>3</sup> converterit; vobis erit providendum, Quirites, <sup>4</sup> qua conditione posthac eos esse velitis, qui se pro salute vestra obtulerint invidiæ periculisque omnibus. Mihi quidem ipsi quid est, quod jam <sup>5</sup> ad vitæ fructum possit acquiri, præsertim cum neque <sup>6</sup> in honore vestro, neque in gloria virtutis, <sup>7</sup> quidquam videam altius, quo mihi libeat adscendere? Illud perficiam profecto, Quirites, ut <sup>8</sup> ea, quæ gessi in consulatu,

<sup>1</sup> *Se ipsi indicabunt.* "Will only be exposing themselves," i. e. will only be turning informers against themselves, and exposing to view their secret sentiments. They will be driven by the force of conscience to make the same disclosures, and to act in the same way as Lentulus did before the Roman senate.

<sup>2</sup> *Is animus.* "Such a determination." *Is* elegantly used for *tali*.

<sup>3</sup> *Converterit.* We have here given the reading of Manutius, Grævius, and Beck, which Schütz also adopts. The common text has *converterint*, and for *omnis* and *d<sup>e</sup>pulsus* reads *omnes* and *d<sup>e</sup>pulsi*, making *impetus* plural of course. There is less spirit, however, in this.

<sup>4</sup> *Qua conditione, &c.* "In what situation you may wish those to be in future days," &c., i. e. what effect your action may have upon the situation of those in after days, who shall stand forth as the assertors of your freedom, and the defenders of your lives and fortunes. The meaning of Cicero is this: that if any attack be made upon him by his private foes, for the part he has taken in crushing the conspiracy, he looks to the people for their prompt interference in his behalf; not because he actually stands in need of this, since the high honours thus far conferred upon him by his countrymen will always be a sufficient defence against such opponents, but in order that a bad effect may not be produced upon others, by his being exposed unaided to the onsets of the wicked, and that those who may wish, hereafter, to serve their country, may not be discouraged from doing so by seeing what has happened to himself.

<sup>5</sup> *Ad vitæ fructum.* "For the enjoyment of existence."—*In honore vestro.* "Amid the honours in your gift."

<sup>6</sup> [ *In honore.* "Honorum populi finis est consulatus." *Pro Planc. 25. STEINM.* ]

<sup>7</sup> *Quidquam altius.* Cicero had now attained to the summit of a true Roman's ambition, the consulship. He had saved his country, and a thanksgiving had been declared in his name, although he was arrayed at the time in the robe of peace, or, in other words, acting merely as a civil magistrate. [There was still one office which he had not obtained, the dictatorship; he hints at this in the words *quo mihi LIBERAT adscendere*. With the beginning of the sentence, compare PHIL. 1, 16, *liberare satis est, quod vixi, vel ad ætatem, vel ad gloriam.* ]

privatus tuear atque ornem: ut, si qua est invidia in conservanda re publica suscepta, lædat invidos, <sup>9</sup> mihi valeat ad gloriam. Deinde ita me in re publica tractabo, <sup>10</sup> ut meminerim semper, quæ gesserim, curemque, ut ea virtute, non casu gesta esse videantur. Vos, Quirites, quoniam jam nox est, veneramini <sup>11</sup> illum Jovem, custodem hujus urbis ac restrum, atque in vestra tecta discedite: et ea, quamquam am periculum est depulsum, tamen æque ac priori nocte, custodiis vigiliisque defendite. Id ne vobis diutius faciendum it, atque ut in perpetua pace esse possitis, providebo, Quirites.

<sup>8</sup> *Ea, quæ gessi in consulatu.* “The principles on which I acted during my consulship.”—*Privatus.* “In private life.”

<sup>9</sup> *Mihi valeat ad gloriam.* “May but advance my glory,” i. e. may only redound the more to my own fame, by making my public services, if possible, more conspicuous.

<sup>10</sup> *Ut meminerim, &c.* “As ever to be mindful of my past actions.”—*Virtute.* “From patriotic motives.” From the dictates of public virtue. [Compare *Ep. ad Fam.* 5, 2: “*Hujus ego temeritati si virtute tque animo non restituisse, quis esset qui me non casu potius existimaret, nam consilio fortem fuisse?*” “Had I not acted then with spirit in opposition to his ill-considered measures, would not the world have thought and thought too with reason), that the courage I exerted in my consulate was merely accidental, and not the result of a steady and rational fortitude?”—MELMOTH.]

<sup>11</sup> *Illum Jovem.* “Yon Jove.” Pointing in the direction of the temple of Jupiter Stator, in which he had delivered his first oration against Catiline.—*Providebo.* Whatever the decree of the senate shall be, he will, as consul, see it fully executed, and will place the safety of his fellow citizens beyond the reach of the wicked, by inflicting on the latter a well-merited punishment.

M. TULLII CICERONIS  
ORATIO IN L. CATILINAM  
QUARTA,  
HABITA IN SENATU.

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<sup>1</sup> [Livy, in the first chapter of his second book, seems to offer a conjectural account of the origin of the expression *PATRES CONSC* which the senators, when assembled, were invariably addressing, the term *Patres* to be applicable to those senators who survived the cruelties of Tarquinus Superbus, and *Conscripti* to describe those recently enrolled by the consuls, to make up the number of 300.

This, although evidently conjectural, and given with apparent confidence (*traditum fertur*) by the author himself, who flourished 500 years after the events which he there records, is, I believe, the count generally received by men of letters. And yet it is difficult to justify his conjecture. 1. That the senators were invariably addressed *patres conscripti*, though nothing but this last mode of address is ordered . . . *ut vocentur in curiam* . . . not *patres et conscripti*. SENATORES, QUIBUSQUE IN SENATU SENTENTIAM DICERE LICENT, b. xxiii. c. 32, *et alibi passim*: and A. Gellius, b. iii. c. 18. Nor, as I have been able to discover, is there any evidence that the form of convoking the senate was, at any time, such as given in the passage referred to. I am inclined to think, therefore, that he has rather sought than found the reason why the senate was invariably addressed in the terms *patres conscripti*: that by these terms, agreeably to their literal import, the Fathers whose names were contained in the roll of the senate, who alone had a decisive vote in the right of deciding on every question submitted to their consideration: and that the terms were employed, not only as the most formal and honourable form of address, but likewise to distinguish the senators on the roll from the other persons present . . . *qui senatu sententiam dicere licebat* . . . who joined in the deliberation having the *jus sententiae*, though not the *jus suffragii*, a deliberative, but not a decisive voice in the question.—HUNTER.]

<sup>2</sup> *Ora atque oculos.* Every eye was fixed upon Cicero in s

I. VIDEO,<sup>1</sup> patres conscripti, in me omnium vestrū<sup>2</sup> ora atque oculos esse conversos: video vos non solum de vestro ac rei publicæ, verum etiam,<sup>3</sup> si id depulsum sit, de meo periculo esse sollicitos. Est mihi jucunda in malis et grata in dolore<sup>4</sup> vestra erga me voluntas: sed eam, per deos immortales!<sup>5</sup> deponite, atque, obliti salutis meæ de vobis ac de liberis vestris cogitate. Mihi si<sup>6</sup> hæc conditio consulatus data est, ut omnes acerbitates, omnes dolores cruciatusque perferrem; feram non solum fortiter, verum etiam libenter, dummodo meis laboribus vobis populoque Romano<sup>7</sup> dignitas salusque pariatur. Ego sum ille consul, patres conscripti, cui<sup>8</sup> non forum, in quo omnis æquitas continetur;<sup>9</sup> non

pectation, to see whether he would advocate the opinion of Silanus. The senate was convened, on this occasion, in the temple of Jupiter Stator.

<sup>3</sup> *Si id depulsum sit.* "If that be warded off," i. e. by the punishment of those in custody.—*De meo periculo.* Especially if Cicero should have adopted the opinion of Silanus.

<sup>4</sup> *Vestra erga me voluntas.* "Your kind wishes in my behalf." The generous interest you take in my welfare. *Voluntas* is here used for *favor*, *benevolentia*, or *caritas*. [Eam, not to be referred to *voluntas*, but to *cura* or *sollicitudo* implied in the sentence. It is a *constructio πρὸς τὸ σημαντόν ενοργέων.*]

<sup>5</sup> *Deponite.* He is afraid lest, prompted by a wish to relieve him from the burden of public odium, for the summary steps he may have taken against the accused, the senate pursue some course prejudicial to the state.

<sup>6</sup> *Hæc conditio consulatus.* "This condition of enjoying the consulship."—*Omnes acerbitates.* "Every bitter infliction."

<sup>7</sup> *Dignitas salusque.* "Dignity and safety." By *dignitas* is here meant that exercise of authority which is *worthy* of a people enjoying a regular form of government. Compare Cicero's definition (*De Inv.* 2, 55): "*Dignitas est alicujus honesta auctoritas, et cultu, et honore, et verecundia digna.*"—[*Pariatur.* He carries on the metaphor in *laboribus.*]

<sup>8</sup> *Non forum.* He had been in danger from Catiline even in the forum.—*In quo omnis æquitas continetur.* In the forum the courts of law were held, and justice, according to Cicero, had here her abode. As regards the distinction between *justitia* and *æquitas*, it may be remarked, that the latter is the generic term, including what we owe to God and man. Cicero considers it, in its principle or foundation, as *tripartita*, divisible into three parts (*Topica*, c. 23,) "*Una pars legitima est,*" "what is founded in law;"—"altera æquitati conveniens," "what is consonant with equity, or founded on our own natural perceptions of what is right and wrong;"—"tertia moris vetustate confirmata," "what is founded on long and established usage."

<sup>9</sup> *Non campus.* Cicero had appeared in the Campus Martius, during

campus <sup>1</sup> consularibus auspiciis consecratus; non curia,  
<sup>2</sup> summum auxilium omnium gentium; <sup>3</sup> non domus, commune  
 perfugium; <sup>4</sup> non lectus, ad quietem datus; non denique  
<sup>5</sup> hæc sedes honoris, sella curulis, unquam vacua mortis peri-  
 culo atque insidiis fuit. Ego <sup>6</sup> multa tacui, multa pertuli,  
 multa concessi, multa meo quodam dolore <sup>7</sup> in vestro timore  
 sanavi. Nunc, si hunc exitum consulatus mei dii immortales  
 esse voluerunt, ut vos, patres conscripti, populumque Ro-  
 manum ex cæde <sup>8</sup> miserrima; conjuges, liberosque vestros  
 virginesque Vestales <sup>9</sup> ex acerbissima vexatione; templa  
 atque delubra, hanc pulcherrimam patriam omnium nostrum  
 ex fœdissima flamma; totam Italiam ex bello et vastitate

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the consular election, when Silanus and Murena were chosen, with a coat of mail under his robe, to guard against the risk of assassination from Catiline. (PLUT. Vit. Cic. c. 14.)

<sup>1</sup> *Consularibus auspiciis consecratus.* At the comitia centuriata, the auspices were always first taken before they proceeded to the election of the consuls and the higher magistrates. Hence the Campus Martius is said to be "hallowed" by the "consular auspices" taken in it.

<sup>2</sup> *Summum auxilium.* "The chief refuge."

<sup>3</sup> *Non domus, commune perfugium.* "Not my own home, the asylum of all." According to the principles of the Roman law, it was unlawful to enter any man's dwelling for the purpose of forcing him to court, because his house was esteemed his sanctuary. But if any one lurked at home to elude a prosecution, he was summoned three times, with an interval of ten days between each summons, by the voice of a herald, or by letters, or by the edict of the prætor, and if still he did not appear, the prosecutor was put in possession of his effects.—ADAM, *Rom. Antiq.* p. 186. (HEINECC. *Antiq. Rom.* 4, 6, 16, p. 671, ed. HAUBOLD.) As regards the sanctity of a man's home, compare the eloquent language of Cicero (*pro Dom.* c. 41,) "Quid est sanctius, quid omni religione munitius, quam domus uniuscujusque civium? hic aræ sunt, hic foci, hic dei Penates, hic sacra, religiones, cærimoniae continentur, hoc perfugium est ita sanctum omnibus, ut inde abripi neminem fas sit."

<sup>4</sup> *Non lectus.* Alluding to the attempt made to assassinate him at his own home, early in the morning, and before he had yet risen. Compare SALLUST, *Cat.* c. 28, and *Or. in Cat.* 1, 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Hæc sedes honoris.* After these words follow *sella curulis*, which, though found in all MSS. are rejected by Ernesti, as a gloss.

<sup>6</sup> *Multa tacui.* Muretus very correctly supposes, that this prudent silence, on Cicero's part, might be dictated by the suspicion, that many persons of rank, such as Cæsar and Crassus, for example, were implicated in the conspiracy.

<sup>7</sup> *In vestro timore.* "In the midst of alarm on your part," i. e. whilst your alarm prevailed. Lipsius (*V. L.* 3, 22,) conjectures "*sine vestro timore,*" of which Heumannus approves.

<sup>8</sup> *Miserrima.* We have given this, on the authority of some MSS., in

riperem: <sup>10</sup> quæcunque mihi uni proponetur fortuna, subatur. Etenim, si P. Lentulus suum nomen, <sup>11</sup> inductus aatibus, <sup>12</sup> fatale ad perniciem Populi Romani fore putavit; ut ego non læter meum consulatum ad salutem rei publicæ prope fatalem exstisset?

**II. QUARE**, patres conscripti, consulite vobis, <sup>13</sup> prospicite patræ, conserve vos, conjuges, liberos, fortunasque vestras, populi Romani nomen salutemque defendite: mihi parcere, ac de me cogitare desinite. Nam primum dcbeo sperare <sup>14</sup> omnes deos, qui huic urbi præsident, <sup>15</sup> pro eo mihi, ac mereor, relatuos esse gratiam: deinde, <sup>16</sup> si quid obtigerit, equo animo paratoque moriar. <sup>17</sup> Nam neque turpis mors

place of the common reading *misera*. The emendation is approved of by GÖRENZ, *ad Cic. de Fin.* 1, 4.

<sup>1</sup> *Ex acerbissima vexatione.* "From the most cruel outrage." — *Templa atque delubra.* Compare note 10, page 73.

<sup>10</sup> *Quæcunque fortuna.* "Whatever lot."

<sup>11</sup> *Inductus aatibus.* Referring to the Sibylline books and the interpretation of the aruspices. Compare *Or. in Cat.* 3, 4.

<sup>12</sup> *Fatale.* "Fated." The fated name was Cornelius, which was the *surnamen* of Lentulus, his full appellation being Publius Cornelius Lentulus Sura. Compare note 5, page 80.

<sup>13</sup> *Prospicite patrice.* "Provide for the welfare of your country."

<sup>14</sup> *Omnes deos, &c.* Every city, in ancient times, had its peculiar deity or deities, who presided over it, and under whose special protection it was considered to be. Hence when a town was besieged, and in the point of being taken, the besiegers always used to call out (*evocare*) in solemn form the god or gods who exercised a guardianship over it, while the besieged, on their part, in order to prevent this, were wont to chain the statue or statues to the pedestal. (Consult MACROBIUS, *Sat.* 3, 9.)

<sup>15</sup> *Pro eo mihi, &c.* "Will reward me according to my deserts." In point of Latinity, *ut* would be better here than *ac*, and perhaps we ought to read so.—[*Relatuos gratiam.* "Will benefit me." *Gratia* is not here used in the meaning of "gratitude," but of "service," "benefit." Cf. MUREN. 20. *Provincia Murence multas bonas gratias attulit:* very frequently the phrase *referro gratiam* means "ulscisci." Pro Sull. 16.]

<sup>16</sup> *Si quid obtigerit.* "If any thing adverse shall befall me." A euphemism for *si moriar*. The preposition *ob* here denotes, literally, "against," and the strict meaning of the phrase is, "if any thing shall happen against, or adverse to, my wishes." Compare PLAUTUS, *Menæchm.* 5, 5, 1, "*Ædepol næ hic mihi dics perversus atque adversus obigit.*" Ernesti regards *obtigerit*, in the text, as of doubtful authority, the more usual form being *acciderit*. But the above explanation of *obtigerit* is a sufficient answer to the objection, and besides all the MSS. give this latter form.

<sup>17</sup> *Nam neque, &c.* Death can bring with it no disgrace to a brave

forti viro potest accidere, <sup>1</sup> neque immatura consulari, misera <sup>2</sup>sapienti. Nec tamen ego sum <sup>3</sup>ille ferreus, <sup>4</sup>fratris carissimi atque amantissimi præsentis mœrore movear, horumque omnium lacrymis, a quibus me <sup>5</sup>circ sessum videtis. Neque meam mentem non domum s revocat <sup>6</sup>exanimata uxor, et <sup>7</sup>abjecta metu filia, et <sup>8</sup>parvi filius, quem mihi videtur amplecti res publica <sup>9</sup>tamq<sup>i</sup> obsidem consulatus mei: neque ille, qui exspectans hi exitum diei, adstat in conspectu meo <sup>10</sup>gener. <sup>11</sup>Moveor rebus omnibus, sed in eam partem, uti salvi sint vobis omnes, etiam si me vis aliqua oppresserit, potius quam illi et nos una rei publicæ peste pereamus. Quare, pa conscripti, <sup>12</sup>incumbite ad rei publicæ salutem: circumspi

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man, since even in death he will find only additional glory. Some the authority of Quintilian (6, 3, 109,) read *gravis* instead of *tu* but it is too general an epithet. [Nam neque mors, &c. Cf. *Phil.* 11, *Etenim si abhinc annos prope viginti hoc ipso in templo (Concordie, ne posse mortem immaturam esse consulari, &c.)* Ahrens thinks the sion in the *Phil.* is to some speech delivered in 692, when Ci would be really a *consularis*, he was consul now. Orelli takes thi an argument against the genuineness of the present oration; but su as the term of Cicero's office was just at its close, he might call him *vir consularis.*]

<sup>1</sup> *Neque immatura consulari.* "Nor a premature one to a man has been gifted with the office of consul." The consulship was highest of all the offices in the gift of the people; and hence one enjoyed it might be said to descend to the grave in public honours

<sup>2</sup> *Sapieni.* "To one acquainted with the lessons of philosophy," those lessons which teach us to regard death as the road merely better and happier land. This idea is beautifully followed out in first book of the Tusculan Disputations.

<sup>3</sup> *Ille ferreus qui.* "So iron-hearted as," i. e. with a heart so ste against every gentle emotion. *Ille* is here used for *talis*, or *eius* which is more commonly the case with the pronoun *is.*

<sup>4</sup> *Fratri.* His brother Quintus.—*Amantissimi.* "Most a tionate." [The writer here mentions his brother Quintus, his Terentia, his son Marcus then only two years old, his son-in Calpurnius Piso Frugi, to whom in 689 he had betrothed his daug Tullia, but who died 697 before the restoration of his father-in Since Piso was not at this time a senator, he is represented as stand at the door of the temple of Concord.—ORELLI.]

<sup>5</sup> *Circumsessum.* The reference here is to some of the equites, other friends of Cicero, who stood around his chair, and in fact enc passed the whole senate both within the temple and without, for sake of their personal safety while debating on the punishment of conspirators.

mnes procellas, quæ impendent, nisi providetis.<sup>13</sup> Non Tib. Gracchus, quod iterum tribunus plebis fieri voluit: non C. Gracchus, quod agrarios concitare conatus est, non L. Saturninus, quod C. Memmum occidit, in discrimen aliquod tque in vestræ severitatis judicium adducitur:<sup>14</sup> tenentur i, qui ad urbis incendium, ad vestram omnium cædem, ad Catilinam accipiendum Romæ restiterunt. Tenentur literæ, igna, manus, denique uniuscujusque confessio;<sup>15</sup> sollicitantur Allobroges: servitia excitantur: Catilina arcessitur: id est initum consilium, ut, interfectis omnibus, nemo ne ad deplorandum quidem Populi Romani nomen, atque ad lamentandam tanti imperii calamitatem relinquatur.

III. Hæc omnia indices detulerunt,<sup>16</sup> rei confessi sunt:

<sup>1</sup> *Exanimata uxor.* “My wife disheartened with terror.” The allusion is to Terentia, whom he subsequently divorced for infidelity during his banishment, and who married the historian Sallust.

<sup>2</sup> *Abjecta metu filia.* “My daughter prostrated by apprehensions.” Alluding to Tullia.

<sup>3</sup> *Parrulus filius.* Marcus Cicero, then two years old. He was born in the consulship of Cotta and Torquatus. (*Ep. ad Att.* 1, 3.)

<sup>4</sup> *Tamquam ob sidem,* &c. “As the pledge of my consulship,” i. e. as a hedge, that I will do every thing in my power for preserving the public safety, if not on my own, yet on my son’s account.

<sup>5</sup> *Gener.* C. Calpurnius Piso. He had been united to Tullia two ears before, and was the first of three husbands whom she married.

<sup>6</sup> *Moveor his rebus omnibus,* &c. “I am moved by all these things, ut it is with this feeling solely, that they whom I have mentioned may all be saved along with you, even though some act of violence may have crushed me,” &c.

<sup>7</sup> *Incubite.* “Bend all your energies.”—*Circumspicite.* “Look round and behold.”

<sup>8</sup> *Non Tib. Gracchus,* &c. “It is no Tiberius Gracchus, because he wished to become a second time tribune of the commons: no Caius Gracchus, because he endeavoured to excite the partisans of his Agrarian law: no Lucius Saturninus, because he has slain a Caius Memmius, that is now exposed to the risk of a prosecution, and to the sentence of your severity.”—[Quod, ORELLI; others read qui.—*C. Memmum.* In conjunction with Glaucia he sought for the consulship A.U.C. 654, and had every probability of success.]

<sup>9</sup> *Tenentur ii.* “They are held in custody.”—*Tenentur literæ,* &c. “Their letters, their seals, &c. are in our possession.”

<sup>10</sup> *Sollicitantur Allobroges,* &c. “The Allobroges are tampered with, our very slaves are excited to insurrection.”

<sup>11</sup> *Rei confessi sunt.* “The accused have themselves confessed.”—*Vos multis,* &c. “You yourselves have already decided upon the point by many decrees. [Anthon had adopted *indiciis*, the reading of Badius, but most MSS. have *judiciis*, referring to the “determinations” of the

vos multis jam judiciis judicastis: primum, quod mihi gratias egistis<sup>1</sup> singularibus verbis: et<sup>2</sup> mea virtute atque diligentia perditorum hominum conjurationem esse patefactam decrevistis: <sup>3</sup> deinde quod P. Lentulum, ut se abdicaret praetura, coegistis: tum quod eum, et ceteros, <sup>4</sup> de quibus judicastis, in custodiam dandos censuistis: maximeque quod meo nomine supplicationem decrevistis, qui honos<sup>5</sup> togato habitus ante me est nemini: postremo hesterno die praemia legatis Allobrogum, Titoque Vulturio dedistis amplissima. Quae sunt omnia ejusmodi, ut ii, qui in custodiam nominatim dati sunt, sine ulla dubitatione a vobis<sup>6</sup> damnati esse videantur.

<sup>7</sup> Sed ego institui referre ad vos, patres conscripti, tamquam integrum, et de facto, quid judicetis, et de poena, quid censeatis. <sup>8</sup> Illa praedicam, quae sunt consulis. Ego mag-

senate on the several occasions enumerated immediately after. [Compare SALL. 50. *Paulo ante frequens senatus judicaverat, eos contra rem publicam fecisse;* and a little above, *Legatis Allobrogum et T. Vulturio comprobato eorum indicio praemia decernuntur.*]

<sup>1</sup> *Singularibus verbis.* "In unparalleled terms." Alluding to the *supplicatio* decreed in his name, "Quod urbem incendiis, caede civitatem Italiam bello liberasset." (*In Cat.* 3, 6.)

<sup>2</sup> *Mea virtute atque diligentia.* "By my public spirit and vigilance."

<sup>3</sup> *Deinde quod P. Lentulum, &c.* A very dangerous assumption of authority on the part of the senate, and only to be resorted to in extreme cases like the present. See SALL. chap. 47.

<sup>4</sup> *De quibus judicastis.* "On whose cases you have pronounced opinion."

<sup>5</sup> *Togato.* Consult note 1, page 88.

<sup>6</sup> *Damnati esse videantur.* Compare SALLUST (*Cat.* 50:) "Eos post ante frequens senatus judicaverat contra rem publicam fecisse."

<sup>7</sup> *Sed ego institui, &c.* "I have resolved, however, Conscript Fathers, as if the matter were still untouched, to consult you in relation both to the affair itself, what you may determine respecting it, and the punishment to be inflicted, what you may think that ought to be."

<sup>8</sup> *Illa praedicam, quae sunt consulis.* "But before I do this, I will state what it is the duty of a consul to mention." The student will observe the force of *præ* in composition with *dico*.

<sup>9</sup> *Versari.* "To be prevalent."—*Et nova quædam, &c.* "And the certain evils, before unknown, were aroused and called into action." He alludes to the prevalence of disaffection, and the introduction of principles of insubordination hostile to the well-being of the state.

<sup>10</sup> *Quocumque vestræ mentes inclinant, &c.* Ernesti thinks that *cumque* is here put for *quo*, and that for *inclinant* we ought to read *inclinent*. It is much simpler, however, to consider the words *quocumque vestræ, &c.* as merely explanatory of *quidquid est*, and requiring of course the indicative *inclinant*.

num in re publica <sup>9</sup>versari furorem, et nova quædam misceri  
et concitari mala jampridem videbam: sed hanc tantam, tam  
xitiosam haberí conjurationem a civibus, numquam putavi.  
Nunc, quidquid est, <sup>10</sup>quocumque vestræ mentes inclinant  
stque sententia, <sup>11</sup>statuendum vobis ante noctem est. Quan-  
sum facinus ad vos delatum sit, videtis: <sup>12</sup>huic si paucos pu-  
tatis affines esse, vehementer erratis. Latius opinione dis-  
seminatum est hoc malum: <sup>13</sup>manavit non solum per Italiam,  
verum etiam transcendit Alpes, et, <sup>14</sup>obscure serpens multas  
jam provincias occupavit. Id opprimi <sup>15</sup>sustentando ac pro-  
latando nullo pacto potest. Quacumque ratione placet,  
celeriter vobis vindicandum est.

IV. VIDEO duas adhuc <sup>16</sup>esse sententias: unam D: Silani,  
qui censem, eos, <sup>17</sup>qui hæc delere conati sunt, morte esse  
multandos: alteram <sup>18</sup>C. Cæsar, <sup>19</sup>qui mortis pœnam remo-  
vet, ceterorum suppliciorum omnes acerbitates amplexitur.

<sup>11</sup> *Statuendum vobis ante noctem est.* Both because no decree of the senate was legal if pronounced before sunrise or after sunset (AUL. GEL. 14, 7), and because the risk was also greater of a forcible rescue, or of an escape of the prisoners, by night than by day.

<sup>12</sup> *Huic si paucos, &c.* "If you imagine that only a few are im-  
plicated in this." For other instances of *affinis* with the dative, compare  
*Or. pro Cluent.* 45, "*affinis turpitudini;*" *de Inv.* 2, 10, "*honestæ rationi  
affinis.*"

<sup>13</sup> *Manavit non solum, &c.* "It has not only spread slowly through-  
out Italy." *Manavit* expresses the slow but steady progress of the  
conspiracy, like a slowly-rolling stream.—[*Transcedit* is applied to the  
crossing of mountains.—VERBURG.]

<sup>14</sup> *Obscure serpens.* "Creeping onward unperceived."

<sup>15</sup> *Sustentando ac prolutando.* "By delay and irresolution." Lite-  
rally, "by still enduring it, and still putting off (the moment of  
action)."

<sup>16</sup> *Esee.* "Are before you," i. e. have been proposed.—*Unam D.*  
*Silani.* "The one, that of Decimus Silanus." [Silanus afterwards  
voted for the motion of Tib. Nero, namely, that the conspirators should  
be confined until the forces of Catiline were crushed, and that then a  
decision should be come to regarding the extent of their punishment.]

<sup>17</sup> *Qui hæc delere, &c.* "Who have endeavoured to blot out all this  
from existence." *Hæc* refers to the Roman city and state, and the  
gesture of the orator corresponds as he points slowly around. Ernesti  
is in favour of *conati sint*, and Beck has adopted the emendation; but  
the true reading is undoubtedly *conati sunt*, since there was no doubt  
respecting the crime itself or its intended perpetrators.

<sup>18</sup> *C. Cæsar.* Julius Cæsar, who was now Prætor elect.

<sup>19</sup> *Qui mortis pœnam removeat, &c.* "Who puts aside the punishment  
of death, but embraces all the severities of remaining punishments,"

Uterque et <sup>1</sup> pro sua dignitate, et pro rerum magnitudine in summa severitate versatur. <sup>2</sup> Alter eos, qui nos omnes qui populum Romanum vita privare conati sunt, qui de imperio, qui populi Romani nomen extinguere, punctum temporis frui vita et <sup>3</sup> hoc communi spiritu non putat ostendere: atque hoc genus poenae saepe in improbos cives in re publica esse usurpatum recordatur. <sup>4</sup> Alter intelligit mortem a diis immortalibus non esse supplicii causa contutam: sed aut <sup>5</sup> necessitatem naturae, aut laborum ac misericordiarum quietem esse. Itaque eam <sup>6</sup> sapientes numquam viti, fortes etiam saepe libenter <sup>7</sup> appetiverunt. <sup>8</sup> Vincula vero,

i. e. who is against the punishment of death, but in favour of severest one that remains after this is excluded.

<sup>1</sup> *Pro sua dignitate, &c.* “Consistently with his own high rank, the importance of the crisis.”—*Versatur.* “Insists.”

<sup>2</sup> *Alter.* Silanus.—*Conati sunt.* Ernesti here again recommends *conati sint*. But consult note 17, p. 111.—*Punctum temporis.* [“During a moment of time enjoy.” *Punctum* is the accusative of duration of time.]

<sup>3</sup> *Hoc communi spiritu.* “This air that we all breathe.”—*Recordat.* “He reminds us.”

<sup>4</sup> *Alter intelligit.* “The other has this view.” Julius Cæsar maintained, in his remarks before the senate on this occasion, that the soul was mortal, and death an eternal sleep; consequently, that loss of life was a blessing rather than a punishment, since it freed us from all evils of existence. Compare the speech which Sallust assigns to him in the debate on this same question relative to the conspirators.

<sup>5</sup> *Necessitatem naturae.* “As a necessary law of nature.”

<sup>6</sup> *Sapientes.* By the “wise” are here meant those imbued with wisdom which Cæsar regards as the true principles of philosophy! The Stoics, especially, although they believed in a future state, regarded death as a thing rather than a source of terror. According to them, a wise man might justly and reasonably withdraw from life whenever he found it expedient; not only because life and death are among those things which are in their nature indifferent (*άδιάφορα*), but also because life may be less consistent with virtue than death. Cæsar, who was an Epicurean, if he was any thing at all, artfully avails himself of the fact of many of the Stoic sect having actually put an end to their existence, and applies it to the establishment of his peculiar doctrine.

<sup>7</sup> *Appetiverunt.* “Have courted it.” Among the “fortes” may be enumerated Codrus, the Athenian, the Roman Decii, Curtius, &c.

<sup>8</sup> *Vincula vero, &c.* “Imprisonment, however, and that too for life,” was invented in his opinion for the express punishment of abandoned guilt.”

<sup>9</sup> *Municipiis.* “Throughout the municipal towns.” Equivalent to *in municipia*. Cæsar’s proposition was, that the conspirators who had been arrested should be “distributed” throughout these towns, a

vero, et ea sempiterna, certe ad singularem poenam nefarii sceleris inventa sunt. <sup>9</sup> Municipiis dispergiri jubet. <sup>10</sup> Habere videtur ista res iniquitatem, si imperare velis; difficultatem, si rogare: decernatur tamen, si placet. <sup>11</sup> Ego enim suscipiam, et, ut spero, reperiam, qui id, quod salutis omnium causa statueritis, non putent esse suæ dignitatis recusare. <sup>12</sup> Adjungit gravem poenam municipiis, si quis eorum vincula ruperit: <sup>13</sup> horribiles custodias circumdat, et digna scelere hominum perditorum sancit, ne quis corum poenam, quos condemnat, aut per senatum, aut per populum levare possit. <sup>14</sup> Eripit etiam spem, quæ sola homines in miseriis

were confined for life. His true object was to save their lives, and trust to some future chance for their liberation.

<sup>10</sup> *Habere videtur*, &c. The use of *ista* in this sentence shows the gesture of the orator, who in making the remark turns towards Cæsar. "That proposition of yours seems to carry with it injustice, if you wish to demand it of them; a difficulty if you are inclined to ask it as a favour. However, let a decree be passed to this effect, if such be your pleasure." Cicero's meaning is this: if you exercise your power and demand of the free towns, that they receive these prisoners and keep them in confinement, you will be imposing an unjust burden upon them; while, on the other hand, if you only request it as a favour, you may meet with a difficulty in their declining to accede to your request.

<sup>11</sup> *Ego enim suscipiam*, &c. "For I will take it upon myself to see, what you wish shall be accomplished, and I will find, as I hope, some who will not think it suitable to their dignity to refuse," i.e. I will ind municipal towns that will have no objection, I trust, to receive hem.—With *suscipiam* understand *rem*, so that the literal translation will be, "I will undertake the affair," alluding to the execution of the decree which shall be passed.

<sup>12</sup> *Adjungit*. The orator returns to Cæsar, and gives the rest of his xpinion. "He is for adding a heavy penalty on the inhabitants of the municipal towns."—*Eorum*. "Of the criminals." Referring to the conspirators.

<sup>13</sup> *Horribiles custodias circumdat*. "He is for throwing around them frightful imprisonment. He decrees all that is worthy of the guilt of abandoned wretches, in order that no one hereafter may be able, either through the senate or p ople, to mitigate the punishment of those whom he is in favour of condemning." [For *digna* some copies have *dignas*.]

<sup>14</sup> *Eripit etiam spem*. "He even deprives them of hope," i. e. by making their confinement one for life.—*Quæ sola homines*, &c. Compose the beautiful language of TIBULLUS (2, 6, 25):—

"*Spes etiam valida solatur compede vinctum,  
Crura sonant ferro, sed canit inter opus.*"

"By hope, the fetter'd slave, the drudge of fate,  
Sings, shakes his irons, and forgets his state."—GRAINGER.

consolari solet. <sup>1</sup> Bona præterea <sup>2</sup> publicari jubet: vitam solam relinquit nefariis hominibus: <sup>3</sup> quam si eripuisset, multas uno dolore animi atque corporis, et omnes scelerum pœnas ademisset. <sup>4</sup> Itaque, ut aliqua in vita formido improbis esset posita, apud inferos ejusmodi quædam illi antiqui supplicia impiis constituta esse voluerunt: quod <sup>5</sup> videlicet intelligebant, his remotis, non esse mortem ipsam pertimescendam.

V. NUNC, patres conscripti, ego <sup>6</sup> mea, video, quid intersit.

<sup>1</sup> *Bona præterea, &c.* As regards Cicero's account of the opinion held by Cæsar on this occasion, before the Roman senate, compare the language of SALLUST (*Cat.* c. 51), “*Sed illa censeo,*” &c. [“But my opinion is this; that their estates be confiscated; their persons closely confined in the most powerful cities of Italy; and that no one move the senate or the people for any favour towards them, under the penalty of being declared by the senate an enemy to the state, and the welfare of its members.”—ROSE.]

<sup>2</sup> *Publicari.* [“To be confiscated to the state, properly to be brought into the public chest, the *publicum* or treasury of the burghers. The *œrarium* was the treasury of the plebs. Under the emperors the phrase was *confiscare*, in allusion to the emperor's treasury, *fiscus*.]

<sup>3</sup> *Quam si eripuisset.* “For had he taken away this.”—*Multas, uno dolore, &c.* “He would have ended, by a single pang, many sufferings of mind and body, and all the punishments due to their crimes.” There is some doubt as to the true reading of this passage. Ernesti reads *multas* in place of *multos*, making the genitives *animi* and *corporis* depend upon *pœnas* understood, in the sense of “sufferings.” Some MSS. give *multos*, which induced Grævius to suggest, as an emendation, *multos, uno dolore, dolores animi atque corporis, et, &c.* This correction has been received by Matthiæ, Schütz, and others; but in truth the juxtaposition of *dolore dolores* sounds like any thing else rather than Ciceronian Latinity. [We have followed the reading of Orelli: last edit.]

<sup>4</sup> *Itaque, ut aliqua, &c.* “Hence, on this account, that there might be some fear remaining for the wicked in life, the men of earlier times favoured the idea, that punishments of this kind were appointed for the wicked in the lower world.” [*I*taque, “and so,” “accordingly he thinks that.”] This is an ironical summary of Cæsar's opinions, not Cicero's. The connection of *itaque* was wholly mistaken by Anthom and others.]

<sup>5</sup> *Videlicet.* “No doubt.” There is a tinge of irony in the use of this word.

<sup>6</sup> *Mea quid intersit.* [“What a vast difference it makes to me.” Below, *Intellectum est, quid intersit inter literatorem, &c.*]

<sup>7</sup> *Hanc in re publica viam.* “That course in public affairs.” *Populæris.* “A popular one,” i. e. calculated to gain the favour of the people. There is here a sarcasm against Cæsar's love of popularity.

<sup>8</sup> *Hoc auctore et cognitore, &c.* “With him as the author and sup-

i eritis secuti sententiam C. Cæsaris, quoniam <sup>7</sup> hanc is in  
 e publica viam, quæ popularis habetur, secutus est, for-  
 isse minus erunt, <sup>8</sup> hoc auctore et cognitore hujusce sen-  
 entiae, mihi <sup>9</sup> populares impetus pertimescendi. Sin <sup>10</sup> illam  
 iteram; <sup>11</sup> nescio, an amplius mihi negotii contrahatur.  
 Sed tamen meorum periculorum rationes utilitas rei  
 publicæ vincat. <sup>13</sup> Habemus enim a C. Cæsare, sicut <sup>14</sup> ipsius  
 dignitas et majorum ejus amplitudo postulabat, sententiam

porter of this opinion." By *auctore sententiae* is meant the original pro-  
 poser of a measure; by *cognitor*, one who acknowledges it to be his, and  
 vouches himself to defend and substantiate it.

<sup>1</sup> *Populares impetus*. "Any onsets of the people," i. e. any out-  
 breakings of popular violence, through sympathy for the condemned.  
 Cicero's meaning is, that Cæsar's popularity will shield him from this  
 risk, and that on this side his true interest lies.

<sup>2</sup> *Illam alteram*. "The other." *Ille* here answers to our definite  
 article. Literally, "that other one," i. e. the opinion of Silanus.

<sup>3</sup> *Nescio an, &c.* "I know not whether additional trouble will not  
 that event be incurred by me." *Amplius negotii*, literally, "more  
 trouble." It is a very rare thing for *amplius* to have after it a genitive  
 case. A similar construction occurs in CÆS. B. G. 6, 9: "*Amplius  
 sidum*." Cicero apprehends some trouble on the part of the lower  
 orders if the opinion of Silanus be adopted, but still he is in favour of  
 —As regards the expression *nescio an* (otherwise, and more commonly  
 written, *haud scio an*), it may be remarked, that the "*usus loquendi*"  
 among the Romans made it equivalent to *nescio an non*. It is em-  
 ployed to express a modest degree of doubt, &c., and may often be  
 rendered by our English term "perhaps." Ernesti goes too far when  
 he makes it equivalent to a simple affirmation (*Clav. Cic. s. v. haud.*)  
 the more correct doctrine is laid down by Scheller (*Præcept. Styl.* vol. i.  
 490).

<sup>4</sup> *Sed tamen meorum periculorum, &c.* "Still, however, let the in-  
 terests of the state overcome all considerations of my danger," i. e. let  
 the welfare of the state triumph over every personal consideration.  
 A common expression would be, "*attamen salus rei publicæ antepo-  
 nenda est meis periculis.*"

<sup>5</sup> *Habemus enim, &c.* The connexion in the train of ideas is as fol-  
 low: Cicero has just been remarking, that considerations of personal  
 safety, on his part, must yield to the public good. Now, as his per-  
 sonal safety would have been secured by adopting the opinion of  
 Caesar, it might be inferred that he regarded Cæsar's opinion as clash-  
 ing with the public welfare. In order, therefore, to avoid such an in-  
 ference, he immediately adds, that the opinion expressed by Cæsar,  
 though the public interests will not allow him to embrace it, seems  
 to him worthy in every way of the high rank of its author, and a sure  
 proof of his sincere attachment to the state. The compliment is very  
 skilfully turned, and shows great policy on the part of Cicero.

<sup>6</sup> *Ipsius dignitas.* "His own high rank."—*Amplitudo.* "The illus-

tamquam obsidem perpetuae in rem publicam voluntat intellectum est, quid intersit inter levitatem contion et animum vere popularem, saluti populi consu Video de <sup>2</sup>istis, qui se populares haberi volunt, abes neminem, ne de capite videlicet civium Romanor tentiam ferat. Is et <sup>4</sup>nudiustertius in custodia Romanos <sup>5</sup>dedit et supplicationem mihi decrevit,

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trious character."—*Tamquam obsidem*, &c. "As a pledge of h attachment to the state."

<sup>1</sup> *Intellectum est*, &c. "By this has it been rendered apparent difference there is between the insincerity of mere public declarations and a heart truly attached to the people, and consulting welfare." Another artful compliment. Cicero remarks, that opinion shows the true friend of the people, and not the hollow demagogue, who is seeking their favour for his own ends.

<sup>2</sup> *Istis*. The pronoun here denotes contempt.—*Populares*. wrong sense of the term.

<sup>3</sup> *Non neminem*. "A certain person." [The Scholiast of C thinks Q. Metellus Nepos is intended: but the Schol. Bobiens: *Erant autem P. Clodius, L. Calpurnius Piso et Aulus Gabinius senatum venire noluerunt, ne quod in conjuratos supplicium cogerentur, quos scilicet assentatores Catilinæ fuisse compertum esset.*]

<sup>4</sup> *Nudiustertius*. "The day before yesterday." A contra *nunc dies tertius* (i. e. *est*).

<sup>5</sup> *Dedit*. "Consigned," i. e. was in favour of consigning; that effect.—*Cives Romanos*. The conspirators who had been

<sup>6</sup> *Indices*. The Allobroges and Vulturcius. — *Affecit*. pensed," i. e. voted for recompensing.

<sup>7</sup> *Jam*. Marking the conclusion to which Cicero fairly arrived, who had gone as far as this particular senator, had at all pressed his opinion, in fact, on the merits of the case at all ought, therefore, to have been present, since he gained no absence.

<sup>8</sup> *Quæsitori gratulationem*. "A vote of thanks to the individual instituted an inquiry," i. e. who inquired into, and ascertained existence of a conspiracy. Cicero uses the term *quæsitor*, in an unusual sense. It generally signifies, when applied to a public person appointed by the senate or people to preside at trials of a capital nature. [Ahrens considers the term *quæsitori* wholly applicable to Cicero, seeing that he conducted no judicial process against the conspirators, nor had been elected by the people for that business: and in fact no regular *judicium*, which would require a *quæsitor*, had been appointed.]

<sup>9</sup> *At vero*, &c. "But of a truth, Caius Cæsar considers that the Sempronian law was indeed enacted for the benefit of Roman citizens." Cicero sets the conduct and sentiments of Cæsar, on this occasion, in opposition to those of the senator just mentioned.

es hesterno die maximis præmiis affecit.<sup>7</sup> Jam hoc mini dubium est, qui reo custodiam,<sup>8</sup> quæsitori gratulamem, indici præmium decrevit, quid de tota re et causa dicarit. <sup>9</sup> At vero C. Cæsar intelligit, legem Semproniam se de civibus Romanis constitutam: qui autem rei publicæ hostis, eum civem esse nullo modo posse: denique<sup>10</sup> ipsum storem legis Semproniae<sup>11</sup> jussu populi pœnas rei publicæ

so doing, shews that a part of Cæsar's oration makes against the speaker himself. Cæsar had laid great stress upon the Porcian and Sempronian laws, the latter of which ordered that no Roman citizen should be capitally punished without the command of the people; and the former, that no citizen should be put to death at all, but that the alternative of exile should be allowed him. It would seem from the agreement that the Sempronian law also included some enactment against the imprisonment of Roman citizens, and that Cæsar, merely to obviate *that particular portion* of the law stated that no public enemy could be deemed a citizen. Cicero then turns this argument against Cæsar, as regards the care of death. [Semproniae leges. O Porcia leges que Semproniae! Ver. v. 63. C. Gracchus legem tulit, de capite civium Romanorum injussu vestro (populi Romani) judicari, i. e. directed that no magistrate should, without the express order of the people, convene a court for the trial of a Roman citizen upon a capital charge. This is very different from the meaning given by the Schol.: *ut ne quis in civem Romanum capitalem sententiam dicatur*.—ORELLI.]

<sup>7</sup> *Ipsum latorem, &c.* “That the very proposer himself of the Sempronian law rendered atonement to the state by the order of the people.” The meaning of Cicero is this, that even Caius Gracchus himself, who brought in the Sempronian law, was not allowed to avail himself of the provisions of that law, but suffered the punishment due to the violation of public order, on the ground of his being a public enemy, and that too by an express decree of the state. All the MSS., and all the early editions, without a single exception, read *jussu*, and so the text remained until Ernesti, on mere conjecture, substituted *injussu*. His argument is, that Gracchus, the proposer of the Sempronian law was not put to death by the order of the people, but by an act of violence on the part of the nobility headed by Scipio Nasica. In this remark, however, there is an historical error, since Caius Gracchus was slain by the party of the consul Opimius, after a decree of the senate had been passed, entrusting the republic to his care. [But see next note.]

<sup>8</sup> [ *Jussu populi*. This is opposed to fact; whence some have endeavoured to remove the difficulty, by supposing that since the state was committed to the charge of Opimius, therefore Gracchus was slain by order of the people. A strange explanation indeed, as if the people could be said to *order*, what the senate *decreed*.—AHRENS. Some one has conjectured *vixi populi* for *in conspectu populi, inspectante populo*, which is not even Latin.—ORELLI.]

dependisse. <sup>1</sup> Idem ipsum Lentulum, <sup>2</sup> largitorem *prodigum* non putat, cum de pernicie populi Romani, exi urbis tam acerbe, tamque crudeliter cogitarit, etiam posse populararem. Itaque <sup>3</sup> homo mitissimus atque le non dubitat P. Lentulum æternis tenebris vinculisc dare, <sup>4</sup> et sancit in posterum, ne quis hujus supplicio se jactare, et <sup>5</sup> in pernicie populi Romani posthac esse possit. <sup>6</sup> Adjungit etiam publicationem boni omnes animi cruciatus et corporis etiam egestas a citas consequatur.

VI. <sup>7</sup> QUAMOBREM sive hoc statueritis, dederi comitem ad contionem populo carum atque jucundi Silani sententiam sequi malueritis, facile me atq

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<sup>1</sup> *Idem ipsum*, &c. “The same individual is of opinion, tulus himself, the lavish and prodigal, cannot be called the friend, when he has with so bitter cruelty plotted the destruction of the Roman people, the ruin of this city.” The reference in *prodigum* is to public shows, and other entertainments for the purpose of securing popularity. Compare, as regards the *prodigus*, the definition of CICERO, *De Off.* 2, 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Largitorem*. Comp. PLUT. *Cic.* 17. Κορυνήλιος Λέντυλ ἐπίκλησιν, δι’ ἀσέλγειαν ἔξεληλαμένος τῆς βουλῆς πρότερος 684, by L. Gellius and Lentulus Spinther, Censors) ἐν Σύλλαν χρόνοις ταμιεύων (Quæstor) συχνὰ τῶν δημοσίων ἀπώλεσε καὶ διέφθειρε.]

<sup>3</sup> *Homo mitissimus atque lenissimus*. “Although a very merciful man.” Referring to Cæsar.—*Non dubitat*. “He does not.”

<sup>4</sup> *Et sancit in posterum*. “And enacts for the time to come to jactare. “To display himself.”

<sup>5</sup> *In pernicie populi Romani*. “In a matter that involves the safety of the Roman people.”

<sup>6</sup> *Adjungit etiam*, &c. Cicero purposely lays great stress on the verity of Cæsar. The latter had said that he was in favour of the most rigorous punishment. The consul understood him to mean that he takes him at his word. Cæsar cannot retract, and if a still more severe punishment can be discovered than that already thought of, he may decree to that effect, and Cæsar must of course approve. Cicero adroitly manages to draw this inference from the words of Cæsar, which involves the latter in his own subtleties.

<sup>7</sup> *Quamobrem sive hoc*, &c. “Whether, then, should you do what Cæsar recommends, you will thus have given me, in him, a speaker to the public assembly, dear and acceptable to the people, who will have adopted an opinion, which will find in him a zealous and successful advocate, before the assembled people.

crudelitatis vituperatione populo Romano exsolvetis <sup>8</sup> atque obtinebo eam multo leniorem fuisse. Quamquam, patres conscripti, quæ potest esse in tanti sceleris immanitate punienda crudelitas? <sup>9</sup> Ego enim de meo sensu judico. <sup>10</sup> Nam ita mihi salva re publica vobiscum perfrui liceat, ut ego, quod in hac causa vehementior sum, non atrocitate animi moveor, (quis enim est me mitior?) sed singulari quadam humanitate et misericordia. <sup>11</sup> Videor enim mihi videre hanc urbem, lucem orbis terrarum atque <sup>12</sup> arcem omnium gentium, subito uno incendio concidentem: cerno animo <sup>13</sup> sepultam patriam, miseros atque insepultos acervos civium: <sup>14</sup> versatur mihi ante oculos aspectus Cethagi, et furor in vestra cæde bacchantis. Cum vero <sup>15</sup> mihi proposui

<sup>8</sup> Atque obtinebo, &c. "And I will make it appear to have been the milder opinion of the two."—Quamquam. "And yet."

<sup>9</sup> Ego enim de meo sensu judico. "For I judge from my own feelings," i. e. in what I am going to say, I will give utterance frankly to my real and honest feelings.

<sup>10</sup> Nam ita mihi, &c. "For so it may be allowed me to enjoy, along with you, the republic in a state of safety, as I am now, because I show more severity than usual in the present affair, not influenced by any cruelty of spirit, (for who is in fact milder than myself?) but by an extraordinary humanity and pity," i. e. may I never enjoy, in common with you, the benefits resulting from my country's safety, if the eagerness which I display in this affair proceeds from any cruel spirit, (for no one has less of that than myself,) but from a feeling of humanity and pity towards my countrymen.

<sup>11</sup> Videor mihi videre. "Methinks I see." The orator is here entering on the figure which grammarians call *diatyposis*.

<sup>12</sup> Arcem omnium gentium. "The capital of all nations." *Arcem* is here equivalent to *caput*. [There is no reference to the *Asylum* of Romulus as Ruæus supposed.]—Subito uno incendio concidentem. "Suddenly sinking amid one universal conflagration."

<sup>13</sup> Sepultam patriam. "My ruined country." *Sepultam* is here equivalent to *eversa* or *castata*.—*Miseros atque insepultos*. No article of popular belief was more strongly established in the ancient world, than that the soul wandered for a hundred years around the banks of the Styx or the dead body itself, whenever the latter was deprived of the rites of burial. Hence the peculiarly mournful ideas attached to the circumstance of a corpse remaining neglected and unburied, and of which Cicero here happily avails himself, in order to heighten the effect of the gloomy picture which he draws.

<sup>14</sup> Versatur mihi ante oculos. "Flits before my view."—*Et furor in vestra cæde bacchantis*. "And his wild fury as he revels amid your blood."

<sup>15</sup> Mihi proposui. "But when I pictured to myself."—*Ex fatis. From the Sibylline predictions.*"

regnantem Lentulum, sicut ipse se ex fatis speras fessus est,<sup>1</sup> purpuratum esse hunc Gabinium, cum e venisse Catilinam, tum lamentationem matrumfamili fugam virginum atque puerorum, ac<sup>2</sup> vexationem vi Vestalium perhorresco: et, quia mihi<sup>3</sup> vehement videntur misera atque miseranda, idcirco in eos, qui ficere voluerunt, me severum vehementemque<sup>4</sup>] Etenim quæro, si quis paterfamilias liberis suis interfectis, uxore occisa, incensa domo, supplicium<sup>5</sup> d quam acerbissimum sumserit; utrum is clemens ac cors, an inhumanissimus et crudelissimus esse vic<sup>6</sup> Mihi vero importunus ac ferreus, qui non dolore ac<sup>7</sup> nocentis suum dolorem cruciatumque lenierit. Sic his hominibus, qui nos, qui conjuges, qui liberos

<sup>1</sup> *Purpuratum esse, &c.* “This Gabinius, arrayed in purple, refers to Gabinius as having been before them on a recent not as actually present at the time. Compare *Or. in Cat.* 3, Gabinius is called *purpuratus*, as one of the titled attendant future royal court of Lentulus. Compare Cic. *Tusc. Quæst. FLOR.* 1, 13; *Liv.* 30, 42.

<sup>2</sup> *Vexationem virginum Vestalium.* “The outrages offered Vestal virgins.”

<sup>3</sup> *Vehementer misera atque miseranda.* “In the highest deplorable and worthy of compassion.”—*Ea perficere.* “To bring to pass.”

<sup>4</sup> *Præbeo.* “I prove myself.” Anthon had *præbebo*, the which Grævius adopted from some of his MSS., and which found in three of his.

<sup>5</sup> *De servis.* We would naturally expect here *de servo*, since singular *servo* precedes. But the allusion here is to the Roman which it was ordained, that if the master of the house or any of his family were murdered, and the murderer not discovered slaves composing the household should be put to death. He find in TACITUS (*Ann.* 14, 43) no less than 400 in one family on this account.—ADAM, *Rom. Antiq.* 31.

<sup>6</sup> *Mihi vero, &c.* What Cicero here justifies, viz., to seek the smart of anguish by the sufferings and torture of him who occasioned it, he would on another occasion, where greatness of the theme, have openly condemned. Here, however, it suits pose to assert what he has in the text.

<sup>7</sup> *Nocentis.* This would appear at first view to clash with But it in fact confirms that reading, since “the guilty one” is sure of being punished, if all the slaves composing the household put to the torture.

<sup>8</sup> *Hoc universum, &c.* “And this common home of the r i e. this city, the dwelling-place of a whole people.

<sup>9</sup> *Qui id egerunt, ut collocarent.* “Who have aimed at esta

ire voluerunt: qui singulas uniuscujusque nostrūm et <sup>8</sup> hoc universum rei publicæ domicilium delere sunt: <sup>9</sup> qui id egerunt, ut gentem Allobrogum in is hujus urbis, atque in cinere deflagrati imperii collo: si vehementissimi fuerimus, misericordes habe: sin remissiores esse voluerimus, summæ nobis itatis <sup>10</sup> in patriæ civiumque pernicie fama subeunda Nisi vero cuiquam <sup>11</sup> L. Cæsar, vir fortissimus et aman: is rei publicæ, <sup>12</sup> crudelior nudiustertius visus est, cum ris suæ, feminæ lectissimæ, <sup>14</sup> virum præsentem et item, vita privandum esse dixit; <sup>15</sup> cum avum jussu is interfectum, filiumque ejus impuberem, legatum a missum, in carcere necatum esse dixit. <sup>16</sup> Quorum quod factum? Quod <sup>17</sup> initum delendæ rei publicæ consi: <sup>18</sup> Largitionis voluntas tum in re publica versata est,

<sup>8</sup> Even if.—*Misericordes*. Because no punishment is adequate r crime, and any infliction of it therefore will only appear

*patriæ*, &c. “In a case that involves the ruin of our country o citizens.”—*Fama*. “The imputation.”

*Cæsar*. L. Julius Cæsar, who was consul with C. Marcus A.U.C. 689. He was uncle to Julius Cæsar.  
*crudelior*. “Too cruel.”

*oris suæ*. Julia, who had married Lentulus, after having been o of M. Antonius Creticus. By her first marriage she had the mother of Mark Antony, the triumvir. The punishment econd husband, Lentulus, was the origin, according to Plutarch, enmity that prevailed between Antony and Cicero. (*Vit.* 2.)

*rum Lentulus*.

*rum avum*, &c. L. Cæsar, in his remarks before the senate, on sion alluded to by Cicero, in order to shield himself from the ion of undue severity in voting for the punishment of Lentulus, served, that “his own grandfather” was once put to death by a Roman consul, and a son of the former, although sent to peace, was imprisoned and slain. Cæsar alluded to M. Fulvius, who was his grandfather on the mother’s side, and who was y order of the consul Opimius, together with his son, during ir of Caius Gracchus.

*orum quod simile factum?* “And yet what act on their part was like the conduct of these conspirators?” Literally, “Of whom, et was similar?” i. e. what comparison will the offence of Fulvius and his son bear with that of Lentulus and his colleagues?

*rgitionis voluntas*, &c. “A desire to gratify the people by

et partium quædam contentio. Atque illo tempore <sup>1</sup> hi  
avus Lentuli, clarissimus vir, armatus Gracchum est pe-  
cutus: ille etiam grave tum vulnus accepit, <sup>2</sup> ne quid  
summa re publica minueretur: <sup>3</sup> hic ad evertenda fui-  
menta rei publicæ Gallos arcessit, servitia concitat, Catilinæ  
vocat, attribuit nos trucidandos Cethego, ceteros cives in-  
ficiendos Gabinio, urbem inflammandam Cassio, totam Ital-  
vastandam diripiendamque Catilinæ. <sup>4</sup> Vereamini, censeo  
in hoc scelere tam immani ac nefando, <sup>5</sup> nimis aliquid seve-  
statuisse videamini; multo magis sit verendum, ne <sup>6</sup> remi-  
one pœnæ crudeles in patriam, quam ne severitate anim-  
versionis nimis vehementes in acerbissimos hostes fui-  
videamur.

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largesses, and a certain violence of parties, were then prevalent in state." The allusion in *larginionis voluntas* is to the movements of Gracchi, in conciliating the favour of the people. C. Gracchus, example, was the author of a *lex frumentaria*, for a distribution corn among the people; and he and his elder brother Tiberius were well-known advocates of the Agrarian law.

<sup>1</sup> *Hujus avus Lentuli.* Alluding to P. Lentulus, whose image was on seal of his grandson, and to whom Cicero also refers in the third oration (c. 5), "Est vero, inquam, signum notum, *imago avi tui*," &c. As regards the occurrence mentioned in the text, compare the words of VALENTINUS MAXIMUS (5, 3, 2) : "P. Lentulus, clarissimus et amantissimus rei publicæ civis, cum in Aventino C. Gracchi nefarios conatus, et aciem, più forti pugna, magnis vulneribus acceptis, fugasset," &c.

<sup>2</sup> *Ne quid de summa, &c.* "That no portion of the public safety might be impaired." *Summa re publica* is here equivalent to what elsewhere given as *summa rei publicæ*, and this latter phrase is the same as "*res a qua salus universæ rei publicæ pendet*." Compare note p. 85. The common text has *de summa rei publicæ dignitate*. The reading is that of Grævius, Ernesti, Beck, and Schütz, supported by good manuscripts.

<sup>3</sup> *Hic.* "This his descendant."—*Attribuit nos.* "Gives us over."

<sup>4</sup> *Vereamini, censeo.* "You are afraid, I suppose." The common text and MSS. have *vereamini*. Anthon's reading is that of Ernesti, who found the words *vere enim censeo* in one of the MSS., from which he conjectured *veremini*. This would be rather feeble authority for emendation, unless the sense required the indicative, which it does not.

<sup>5</sup> [*Nimis aliquid severius*. Thus the vulgar text and Orelli. Anth following Ernesti, omitted *nimis*.]

<sup>6</sup> *Remissione pœnæ.* "By any relaxation of punishment."—*Severi animadversionis.* "By any severity of vengeance."

<sup>7</sup> *Quæ exaudio.* Ernesti remarks, that *exaudio* is rarely employed when speaking of rumour or mere report. Cicero, however, expresses the compound form on the present occasion, to impart additional force.

VII. SED ea, <sup>7</sup>quæ exaudio, patres conscripti, dissimulare non possum. <sup>8</sup>Jaciuntur enim voces, quæ pervenient ad aures meas, <sup>9</sup>eorum, qui vereri videntur, ut habeam satis præsidii ad ea, quæ vos statueritis hodierno die, transigunda. Omnia <sup>10</sup>et provisa et parata et constituta sunt patres conscripti, cum mea summa cura atque diligentia, <sup>11</sup>tum multo etiam majore populi Romani ad summum imperium retinendum, et ad communes fortunas conservandas, voluntate. Omnes adsunt, omnium ordinum homines, omnium denique statum: plenum est forum, plena templa circum forum, pleni omnes aditus <sup>12</sup>hujus loci ac templi. Causa est enim post urbem conditam hæc inventa sola, in qua omnes sentirent unum atque idem <sup>13</sup>præter eos, qui, cum sibi viderent

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strength to the clause. It is the same as saying, that he hears the reports alluded to so distinctly as to be incapable of any longer misunderstanding them.—[*Dissimulare*. “Pretend ignorance of.”]

<sup>8</sup> *Jaciuntur enim voces*. “Remarks are thrown out.” Some editions have *jactantur*, but Grævius altered this to *jaciuntur*, on the authority of many MSS., and as required by the context. *Jactantur* would denote a frequent and active circulation of rumours, such as would suit the enemies, not the friends, of Cicero; *jaciuntur*, on the contrary, refers to what is said by the well-disposed but timid.

<sup>9</sup> *Eorum, qui, &c.* “On the part of those who seem to be apprehensive that I have not a sufficient force,” &c. After the verbs *metuo*, *timeo*, *vereor*, *ne* is used when we are afraid lest a thing may take place which we do not want to happen, and *ut* when we wish it to happen, but are afraid it will not. Thus, *metuo ne facias* is, “I am afraid lest you will do it,” but *metuo ut facias*, “I am afraid you will not do it.” The solution of this apparent anomaly is as follows: *metuo ne facias* is the same as *metuo ut non facias*, “I am afraid *in order that* you may not do it,” i. e. I do not wish you to do the thing in question, but fear lest you will; whereas *metuo ut facias* is literally, “I am afraid *in order that* you may do it,” i. e. I wish it done, but am afraid you will not do it.

<sup>10</sup> *Et provisa, &c.* “Have been both provided for, and prepared, and fully settled.”—*Cum*. “As well.”—*Diligentia*. “Vigilance.”

<sup>11</sup> *Tum multo etiam, &c.* “As by the still greater zeal, displayed on the part of the Roman people, for,” &c.

<sup>12</sup> *Hujus loci ac templi*. The senate was assembled in the temple of Jupiter Stator. [Compare, as to the facts, PHIL. ii. 7. *Quis eques Romanus, quis præter te adolescens nobilis, quis ullius ordinis, qui se civem meminisset, cum senatus in hoc templo esset, in clivo Capitolini non fuit? quis nomen non dedit?* Quamquam nec scribæ sufficere, nec tabulæ nomina eorum capere potuerunt. STEINM.]

<sup>13</sup> *Præter eos, qui, &c.* He refers to those whom in the 10th chapter of the second oration he comprehends in the fourth class of disaffected

esse pereundum, cum omnibus potius quam soli perire voluerunt. Hosce ego homines excipio et secerno libenter, neque enim in improborum civium, sed in acerbissimorum hostium numero habendos puto. Ceteri vero, dii immortales! qua frequentia, quo studio, <sup>1</sup>qua virtute ad communem dignitatem salutemque consentiunt? Quid ego hic equites Romanos commemorem? <sup>2</sup>Qui vobis ita summam ordinis consiliique concedunt, ut vobiscum de amore rei publicæ certent: quos, <sup>3</sup>ex multorum annorum dissensione <sup>4</sup>hujus

persons, men who are weighed down by debt, and who see but too clearly that these debts will prove their ruin.

<sup>1</sup> *Qua virtute.* "With what courage."—*Consentiunt.* "Do they all unite?"

<sup>2</sup> *Qui vobis ita, &c.* "Who so yield to you the precedence in rank and counsel, as still to vie with you in love for the republic." *Consilii* refers to the administration of public affairs.—The use of *summam*, in this passage, in the sense of superiority, or taking the lead, is of very rare occurrence. Hence Scheller suspects, that perhaps *auctoritatem* has been dropped from the text.

<sup>3</sup> *Ex multorum annorum dissensione.* Judges were first selected from the senate. In consequence, however, of the venality of that order, the right of judging was taken from them by the Sempronian law and given to the equites. It was restored to the senate by a law of Sylla, and subsequently, by a law of Cotta, the prætor, in the consulship of Pompey and Crassus, it was shared between the senate, equites, and tribunes of the treasury, (*Tribuni aerarii*.) This latter ordinance produced a very powerful effect, in healing the differences which the others had caused between the two orders, and Cicero exerted himself very zealously in completing the reconciliation. [AHRENS remarks that the senate were offended by the Aurelian law, and the knights received no additional honour or power, (the only body then benefited being the *Tribuni aerarii*). Besides, the Aurelian law had now been in force for seven years, whence it cannot be to the influence of this law that Cicero uses the expressions *hodiernus dies*, &c.]

<sup>4</sup> *Hujus ordinis ad, &c.*] "To an alliance and union with this order." Alluding to the change of feeling which had been produced by the Aurelian law of Cotta. [See preceding note, *ad fin.*]

<sup>5</sup> *Haec causa.* Alluding to the conspiracy.—*Conjungit.* "Reconciles"

<sup>6</sup> *Confirmatam.* "Placed on a sure basis."—*Confirmo vobis.* "I confidently declare to you."

<sup>7</sup> *Nullum posthac malum, &c.* Cicero imagined that he had placed the authority of the senate on a solid basis, by uniting it with the equestrian order, thus constituting what he calls "*optima res publica*," and he ascribes the ruin of the republic to that coalition not being preserved. The cause of the rupture, which was a very speedy one, was the senate's refusing to release the equites from a disadvantageous contract concerning the Asiatic revenues. [In Cæsar's consulship they were relieved from this contract, and this kindness on his part effec-

ordinis ad societatem concordiamque revocatos, hodiernus dies vobiscum atque <sup>5</sup>haec causa conjungit: quam si conjunctionem, in consulatu <sup>6</sup>confirmatam meo, perpetuam in re publica tenuerimus; confirmo vobis, <sup>7</sup>nullum posthac malum civile ac domesticum ad ullam rei publicæ partem esse venturum. Pari studio defendendæ rei publicæ convenisse video <sup>8</sup>tribunos ærarios, fortissimos viros; <sup>9</sup>scribas item universos; quos <sup>10</sup>cum casu hic dies ad ærarium fre-

tually gained over the powerful party of the knights, and broke up this union so vaunted by Cicero.] (Cic. *Ep. ad Att.* 1, 17.)

<sup>1</sup> *Tribunos ærarios.* These were of plebeian origin, and through them the pay passed to the army. (*Pro Planc.* 8.) Compare VARRO, *L. L.* 4, 5, p. 180. “*Tribuni quoque quibus attributa erat pecunia, ut militi redderent, Tribuni ærarii dicti.*”

<sup>2</sup> *Scribas item universos.* “And likewise the whole body of scribes.” Among the Romans there were two kinds of scribes, private and public: the former were the slaves of private individuals; the latter were free, but of plebeian rank, and generally freedmen. These last were divided into *decuriæ*, and received pay from the public treasury. They were distributed among the different magistrates, and hence were called *consulares*, *prætorii*, *cædilitii*, *questorii*, &c. [See next note. *ad fin.*]

<sup>3</sup> *Cum casu hic dies, &c.* “When this day had, by chance, assembled them in great numbers,” i. e. at the public treasury. *Frequentare* is here employed in an unusual sense, for *frequentes convocare*. Compare *Pro Dom.* c. 33.—The scribes were assembled on this day, the nones of December, or 5th of the month, at the public treasury, to divide among themselves by lot [?] the offices of the ensuing year, that is, to determine who should be secretaries to the consuls, who to the prætors, &c. This was done annually. While thus employed, they saw the prisoners led by to the senate-house, and immediately, abandoning all their private concerns, they came and made an offer of their assistance for securing the public safety. [The above is the usual explanation, but the whole passage labours under considerable difficulty.]

1. The office of *scriba* was purchaseable, hence no room for *allotment* in obtaining the office.

2. Each magistrate had the privilege of selecting his own *scriba*; no room for allotment here.

3. It is unlikely they would have assembled on this particular day, even supposing all was determinable by lot, since they must have known that all the magistrates were in the senate and otherwise engaged.

4. *Frequentare* is never found in Cicero in the sense of *congregare*. The *Oratio Pro Dom.*, cited by Anthon and others, is acknowledged to be spurious.

5. Who could believe that all the scribes were assembled *casu*? Orellius, believing this *oration* to have been written by a scribe, and

quentasset, video <sup>1</sup> ab exspectatione sortis ad salutem communem esse conversos. <sup>2</sup> Omnis ingenuorum ades multitudo, etiam tenuissimorum. Quis est enim, cui non hæc templa, adspectus urbis, possessio libertatis, lux denique hæc ipsa, et hoc commune patriæ solum, cum sit carum, tum vero dulce atque jucundum?

VIII. OPERÆ pretium est, patres conscripti <sup>3</sup> libertino rum hominum studia cognoscere; <sup>4</sup> qui, sua virtute fortunam civitatis consecuti, vere hanc suam patriam esse judicant: hujus quam <sup>5</sup> quidam hic nati, et summo nati loco, non patriam

that no one would make such a statement as the above without some grounds, within a few years after Cicero's death, thinks that on these days on which the senate assembled, the different scribes used to meet at the treasury to determine by lot *who should write out the decree of the senate*, an office of some emolument, and as appertaining to the whole senate, left to allotment; but even here, unless we take *casu* in an unusual sense, "providentially," the objection above stated still remains.]

<sup>1</sup> *Ab expectatione sortis.* "From all expectation of the offices to be allotted to them." Consult preceding note.

<sup>2</sup> *Omnis ingenuorum, &c.* "The whole body of freeborn citizens is here, even those of the humblest degree." By *ingenui* the Romans meant those who were born of parents that had always been free. Such at least seems to have been the case originally. In the Institutes of Justinian, however, the strictness of the ancient rule on this subject is very considerably modified: "*Ingenuus est is, qui, statim ut natus est, liber est,*" &c. *Inst. 1, tit. 4.*) [The term *ingenuous* denotes a person who is free at the instant of his birth, by being born in matrimony of parents who are both *ingenuous*, or both *libertines*; or of parents who differ in condition, the one being *ingenuous*, and the other a *libertina*. But when the mother is free, although the father is a slave, or even unknown, the child is *ingenuous*; and when the mother is free at the time of the birth of her infant, although she was a bondswoman when she conceived it, yet such infant will be *ingenuous*. Also, if a woman, who was free at the time of conception, is afterwards reduced to slavery, and delivered of a child, her issue is, notwithstanding this, free-born; for the misfortune of the mother ought by no means to prejudice her infant.—HARRIS.]

<sup>3</sup> *Libertinorum hominum, &c.* The Romans distinguished between the terms *libertus* and *libertinus* as follows: when referring to the patron or former master, they used *libertus*, thus, *libertus Cæsaris*, "Cæsar's freedman," *libertus Ciceronis*, &c.; but when they meant to designate a freedman generally, they employed *libertinus*, as *libertinus erat*, "he was a freedman," *libertinum vidi*, &c. Compare the remarks of ERNESTI, *Clav. Cic. s. v.*; and TAYLOR, *Elements of the Civil Law*, p. 430.

<sup>4</sup> *Qui, sua virtute, &c.* "Who, having by their merit attained to the

suam, sed urbem hostium esse judicaverunt. Sed <sup>6</sup>quid ego  
hujusce ordinis homines commemoro, quos privatæ fortunæ,  
quos communis res publica, quos denique libertas ea, quæ  
dulcissima est, ad salutem patriæ defendendam excitavit?  
Servus est nemo, <sup>7</sup>qui modo tolerabili conditione sit ser-  
vitutis, qui non audaciam civium perhorrescat; qui non hæc  
stare cupiat; qui non tantum, quantum audet et quantum  
potest conferat ad communem salutem <sup>8</sup>voluntatis. Quare  
si quem vestrūm <sup>9</sup>forte commovet hoc, quod auditum est.  
<sup>10</sup>lenonem quendam Lentuli concursare circum tabernas,

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condition which the right of citizenship bestows." By *virtute* is meant their fidelity and attachment to their masters. There is great variation here in the MSS. We have adopted the reading of Gruter, Graevius, and Ernesti. Muretus prefers "*qui fortuna sua hujus civitatis jus consecuti*," which is supported by some MSS. Lambinus gives "*qui me virtute ac fortuna hujus civitatis jus consecuti*."

<sup>5</sup> *Quidam.* Referring not only to Lentulus, Cethegus, and their colleagues, but to other and more secret partizans of the conspiracy, whose names he could mention if he felt inclined.—*Quidam* differs from *aliquis*, by implying that the object designated is definitely known, though indefinitely described. This indefinite description is sometimes resorted to for the purposes of oblique sarcasm. (ZUMPT, L. G. p. 247.)

<sup>6</sup> *Quid . . . commemoro.* "Why need I mention," i. e. why waste time in speaking of.—Matthiae, Weiske, Schütz, &c., read *commemoro*, on the authority of some MSS.

<sup>7</sup> *Qui modo tolerabili*, &c. "Provided he enjoy only a tolerable condition of servitude." Cicero means, that no slave, whose burden of servitude is in any way tolerable, will feel inclined to abandon his present state, and obtain freedom under the auspices of Catiline, since universal ruin must result from the success of his daring schemes.

<sup>8</sup> *Voluntatis.* The choice of words here is extremely appropriate. It belongs not to slaves to intermeddle in the affairs of citizens; they can, therefore, only indulge in good-will (*voluntatis*) for the preservation of the state. And they dare not even indulge in this feeling, without bearing in mind, at the same time, their real condition (*quantum audet*), for they well know how little they can effect by their own unaided resources (*quantum potest*).

<sup>9</sup> *Forte commovet.* "Happens to alarm."—*Lenonem quendam.* "That certain worthless tool."

<sup>10</sup> [ *Lenonem Lentuli.* This is a phrase without a parallel; what the writer means is plain enough, but the expression is not genuine Latin. Sallust mentions the incidents with greater accuracy, (c. 50.) *Dum hoc* (i. e. on the preceding day) *in senatu aguntur, liberti et pauci ex diatribis Lentuli, diversis itineribus opifices atque serritia in roris ad rem cripendum sollicitabant.* Appian also mentions that this circumstance hastened the catastrophe, and urged Cicero to execute quickly

pretio sperare sollicitari posse animos egentium atque imperitorum; est id quidem coeptum atque tentatum, sed nulli sunt inventi tam aut fortuna miseri, aut voluntate perditi, qui non <sup>2</sup> illum ipsum sellæ atque operis et quaestus quotidiani locum; qui non cubile ac lectulum suum; qui denique non <sup>3</sup> cursum hunc otiosum vitae suæ, salvum esse vellent. Multo vero maxima pars eorum, qui in tabernis sunt; nisi vero, (id enim potius est dicendum,) genus hoc universum, amississimum est otii: etenim <sup>4</sup> omne instrumentum, omnis opus atque quaestus, frequentia civium sustentatur, alitur otium: quorum si quaestus, <sup>5</sup> occlusis tabernis, minui solet, <sup>6</sup> quid tandem incensis futurum fuit?

punishment upon the conspirators.]—Concourse, &c. “Is running around among the shops of the artizans.” Compare APPIAN, B. C. 2, 5: αὐτοῦ δὲ Δέντυλου Θεράποντες τε καὶ ἔξελεύθεροι χειροτίχνας πολλοὶ προσλαβόντες κατ’ ὀπισθίας ὁδοὺς περιήσαν ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν στρατηγοῖς οἰκίας, ὡς τοὺς δεσπότας ἔξαρπασθμενοι.

<sup>1</sup> Nulli sunt inventi, &c. Appian, on the contrary, states, that the slaves and freedman of Lentulus and Cethegus, having been joined by a large number of working-peopple, (*χειροτίχνας πολλοὺς προσβόντες*) endeavoured to break into the houses of the praetors, by the rear, and rescue their masters who were confined within. The moment Cicero was informed of this, he hastened from the senate-house, stationed guards in the different quarters of the city, where any attack was to be apprehended, and then returned to the senate and expedited the debate. (APPIAN, B. C. 2, 5.)

<sup>2</sup> Illum ipsum, &c. “That same spot where his seat is fixed, and his labours are performed, and his daily bread is earned.”—Cubile ac lectulum suum. “His dormitory and humble couch.” *Cubile* is here equivalent to *cubiculum dormitorium*.

<sup>3</sup> Cursum hunc, &c. “The peaceful life which he at present leads” More literally, “this his peaceful course of life.”

<sup>4</sup> Omne instrumentum, &c. “Every thing with which they pursue their daily employment, all their industry and daily gains, are supported by a crowded population, are fostered by a state of public repose.” For *sustentatur* some editions have *sustinetur*, which amounts to the same thing.

<sup>5</sup> Occlusis tabernis. “When their shops are closed.” The shops at Rome were closed during times of public confusion and alarm, and also of public sorrow, by an edict of the consul. Consult ERNESTI, Clav. Cic. s. v. *Taberna*.

<sup>6</sup> Quid tandem, &c. “What then will be the result when they are burnt?” If Catiline succeed, the whole city will be wrapped in flames, and the shops of the artizans, even though they favour his cause, will share the common ruin. Most MSS. and editions have *futurum fuit*. Ernesti prefers *futurum esset*, but retains *futurum est*. Beck thinks that Cicero wrote merely *futurum*, and hence he encloses it in brackets.

X. Quæ cum ita sint, patres conscripti, vobis populi  
iani præsidia non desunt: vos ne populo Romano deesse  
amini, providete. Habetis <sup>7</sup>consulem ex plurimis peri-  
et insidiis, atque ex media morte, non ad vitam suam,  
ad salutem vestram reservatum; omnes ordines ad con-  
undam rem publicam <sup>8</sup>mente, voluntate, studio, virtute,  
consentient: obsessa facibus et telis impiaæ conjura-  
s <sup>9</sup>vobis supplex manus tendit patria communis: vobis  
obis vitam omnium civium, vobis arcem et Capitolium,  
<sup>10</sup>aras Penatium, vobis <sup>11</sup>illum ignem Vestæ <sup>12</sup>sempiter-  
, vobis omnia deorum templa atque delubra, vobis muros  
e urbis tecta commendat. Præterea de vestra vita, de

sets. The form *est futurum* is undoubtedly preferable, if it were  
in MSS.; and would strengthen what is said, as if the fire were  
actually about to be applied.

*consulem*. Meaning himself.—*Atque ex media*, &c. Alluding in  
cular to the attempt made to assassinate him at his own house.  
*mente, voluntate, &c.* “In sentiment, in inclination, in zeal, in  
age, in open declarations of attachment.”

*vobis supplex*, &c. To produce a stronger impression on the minds  
s hearers, the orator has recourse to a most beautiful and striking  
nification.

*aras Penatium*. The *Lares* were the ordinary household deities,  
*Penates* were gods of a higher class. The latter were of two kinds,  
ic and private; but in fact the same deities, that is, the same gods,  
worshipped as *Penates* by both an entire city, with public honours,  
by the individual families in that city, with private or domestic  
ings. The *Lares* were worshipped in the *atrium*, or hall; the  
tes in an inner part of the dwelling, called *impluvium*, and, for the  
t part, open to the upper air. CIC., *Nat. Deor.* 27, derives “Pe-  
s” from “penus,” a general name for food; or from “penitus.”

*Illum ignem*, &c. A sacred fire was always kept burning in the  
ple of Vesta, and it was one of the offices of the Vestal virgins to  
h this fire day and night. Whoever allowed it to go out was  
rged by the Pontifex Maximus. This accident was always esteemed  
ucky, and expiated by offering extraordinary sacrifices. The fire  
lighted up again, not from another fire, but from the rays of the

Compare LIPSIUS, *De Vesta et Vestalibus Syntagma*, c. 8, seq.

*Sempiternum*. Many MSS. have merely this word, omitting *per-*  
*um ac* which precede in a few, and Lambinus and Grævius have  
pted the reading: on the ground that *perpetuus* and *sempiternus*  
not here synonymous. *Ignis perpetuus* denoting a fire that is fed  
constant succession of fresh fuel; whereas by *ignis sempiternus* is  
nt one which is to be continued to future ages. Anthon retaining  
epithets in question, translates them by “ever-burning and ever-  
ing.”

conjugum vestrarum ac liberorum anima, de fortunis, omnium, de sedibus, <sup>1</sup> de focus' vestris, hodierno die vobis judicandus est. Habetis <sup>2</sup> ducem memorem vestri, oblitus sui; <sup>3</sup> quæ non semper facultas datur: habetis omnes ordinis omnes homines, universum populum Romanum, id quod <sup>4</sup> i civili causa hodierno die primum videmus, unum atque idem sentientem. Cogitate, quantis laboribus fundatum imperium quanta virtute stabilitam libertatem, quanta deorum benignitate <sup>5</sup> auctas exaggeratasque fortunas <sup>6</sup> una nox pœnæ delerit. Id ne umquam posthac non modo confici, sed non cogitari quidem possit a civibus, hodierno die providendum est. Atque haec, non ut vos, qui mihi studio pœne praecurritis, excitarem, locutus sum: sed ut mea vox, quæ debet <sup>7</sup> esse in re publica princeps, officio functa consulari videatur.

X. NUNC antequam, [patres conscripti,] ad sententiam redeo, de me pauca dicam, <sup>8</sup> Ego, quanta manus est coniunctorum, quam videtis esse permagnam, tantam me inimi-

<sup>1</sup> *De focus.* By *focus* is here meant the domestic hearth, that is, the hearth in the *atrium*, or place where the family generally assembled and around which stood the images of the *Lares*. When *focus* and *ara* are joined in the same sentence, as in the phrase "*pro aris et focus pugnare*," then *ara* denotes the altar of the *Penates*, while *focus* still refers to the *Lares*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ducem.* Referring to himself.

<sup>3</sup> *Quæ non semper, &c.* "A privilege that is not always granted." Compare the explanation of Heumannus, "cujus generis ducem non semper habere contingit."

<sup>4</sup> *In civili causa.* "In a case of a public nature," i. e. in which all citizens are more or less concerned.

<sup>5</sup> *Auctas exaggeratasque.* "Increased, aye, and even amplified."

<sup>6</sup> *Una nox.* That of the Saturnalia. Compare chapter 4 of the 3d oration.—*Pœne delerit.* Cicero uses *delerit*, not *delevisset*; because, if he had employed the direct form of expression, what the grammarians call the *oratio directa*, he would have said *delevit*, not *deleverat*.

<sup>7</sup> *Esse princeps.* "To take the lead."—*Officio consulari.* It being the duty of a consul to watch over the public safety, and to be the first to give the alarm when that safety is threatened.

<sup>8</sup> *Ego video.* "I am well aware."—*Quam videtis, &c.* "Which you see in fact is very great."

<sup>9</sup> *Turpem.* "Base." Alluding to their flagitious course of life.

<sup>10</sup> *Quod si aliquando.* The grammarians lay it down as a rule, that the syllables *ali* should never follow the word *si*. The reason of the rule they do not give us. It appears, however, to be a good one, with this exception added to it, that whenever emphasis is required, we are to write *si aliquid*, for example, but to adhere to the main rule on other occasions.

corum multitudinem suscepisse video: sed eam esse <sup>9</sup>turpem  
judico, infirmam et abjectam. <sup>10</sup>Quod si aliquando, alicujus  
furore et scelere <sup>11</sup>concitata, manus ista plus valuerit, quam  
vestra ac rei publicae dignitas; me tamen meorum factorum  
atque consiliorum numquam, patres conscripti, pœnitibit.  
Etenim mors, quam, mihi illi fortasse minitantur, omnibus  
est parata: <sup>12</sup>vita tantam laudem, quanta vos me vestris  
decretis honestatis, nemo est assecutus. Ceteris enim  
<sup>13</sup>semper bene <sup>14</sup>gesta, mihi uni conservata re publica gratu-  
lationem decrevistis. Sit <sup>15</sup>Scipio clarus ille, cuius consilio  
atque virtute Hannibal in Africam redire, atque Italia  
decedere coactus est: ornetur <sup>16</sup>alter eximia laude Africanus,  
qui duas urbes huic imperio infestissimas, Carthaginem  
Numantiamque, delevit: habeatur vir egregius, <sup>17</sup>Paullus  
ille <sup>18</sup>cujus currum rex potentissimus quondam et nobilissi-  
mus, Perses, honestavit: sit æterna gloria Marius, qui <sup>19</sup>bis  
Italianam obsidione et metu servitutis liberavit: anteponatur  
omnibus <sup>20</sup>Pompeius, cuius res gestæ atque virtutes, <sup>21</sup>iisdem,

<sup>11</sup> *Concitata*. “Aroused into action.”—*Ista*. Denoting contempt.—  
*Plus valuerit, quam*. “Shall triumph over.”

<sup>12</sup> *Vita tantam laudem*. “So glorious an existence.”

<sup>13</sup> *Semper*. Gruter thinks that this word ought to be rejected, and  
Graevius actually omits it. Ernesti, however, successfully defends its  
presence in the text, by showing that it stands opposed to *uni*.

<sup>14</sup> *Gesta*. Thus Gruter recommends *gesta* and *conservata re publica*, which  
Graevius and Orelli adopt in place of *gestar*: The ablative, as Ernesti  
remarks, is proper here, since Cicero is expressing his own sentiments.

<sup>15</sup> *Scipio*. The elder Africanus, who defeated Hannibal in the battle  
of Zama.—*A que ex Italia decidere*. Hannibal had maintained a footing  
in Italy for nearly sixteen years. The invasion of Africa by Scipio  
compelled him to return home.

<sup>16</sup> *Alter Africanus*. The younger Scipio, or Africanus Minor. He  
was the son of Paullus Æmilius, and was adopted into the Scipio  
family by the son of the elder Africanus.

<sup>17</sup> *Paullus*. Referring to Paullus Æmilius, who reduced Macedonia  
to a Roman province, after having conquered Perses, the last king of  
that country, in the battle of Pydna.

<sup>18</sup> *Cujus currum*, &c. An account of this triumph is given by Livy, 45,  
35, seqq.

<sup>19</sup> *Bis Italianam*, &c. By his two victories, one over the Teutones and  
Ambrones, at Aquæ Sextiæ in Gallia Narbonensis (652), and the other  
over the Cimbri, at the Raudii Campi, in Cisalpine Gaul (653). Consult  
*Full. Paterc.* 2, 12, *Flor.* 3, 3.

<sup>20</sup> *Pompeius*. The exploits of Pompey are enlarged upon in the  
Oration for the Manilian Law.

<sup>21</sup> *Iisdem, quibus, solis*, &c. Equivalent to “per totum terrarum orbem  
celebrantur.”

quibus solis cursus, regionibus ac terminis continentur. Erit profecto inter horum laudes <sup>1</sup> aliquid loci nostræ gloriæ: nisi forte majus est patefacere nobis provincias, quo exire possimus, quam curare, ut etiam illi, qui absunt, habeant, <sup>2</sup> quo victores revertantur. Quamquam est <sup>3</sup> uno loco conditio melior externæ victoriarum quam domesticarum; quod hostes alienigenæ <sup>4</sup> aut oppressi serviunt, aut recepti beneficio se obligatos putant: qui autem ex numero civium, dementia aliqua depravati, hostes patriæ semel esse cœperunt, eos, cum a pernicie rei publicæ repuleris, nec vi coërcere, nec beneficio placare possis. Quare mihi cum perditis civibus æternum bellum susceptum esse video. Id ego vestro, bonorumque omnium auxilio, memoriaque tantorum periculorum, quæ non modo in hoc populo, qui servatus est, sed [etiam] in omnium gentium sermonibus ac mentibus semper hærebit, a me atque a meis facile propulsari posse confido. Neque ulla profecto tanta vis reperiatur, quæ conjunctionem

<sup>1</sup> *Aliquid loci.* "Some room."

<sup>2</sup> *Quo victores revertantur.* [In illustration of what is here said we may cite the remark of Cicero, in the treatise *De Officiis* (1, 22,) "Mili quidem Pompeius hoc tribuit, ut diceret, frustra se triumphum tertium deportaturum fuisse, nisi meo in rem publicam beneficio, ubi triumphare, esset habiturus." "Pompey did me the justice to say, that he would have gained a third triumph in vain, unless there had remained a place to enjoy it, by my services to the state."—MACARTNEY.]

<sup>3</sup> *Uno loco.* "In one respect."—*Externæ.* "In foreign lands."—*Domesticæ.* "At home."

<sup>4</sup> *Aut oppressi serviunt, &c.* "Either have been completely crushed and are become slaves, or have been admitted to favourable terms of surrender, and consider themselves bound to us by the kindness thus conferred."

<sup>5</sup> *Tantam conspirationem bonorum omnium.* "So great unanimity on the part of all good men." *Conspiratio* is used by Cicero in both a good and a bad sense. In the former meaning it occurs, besides the present instance, *Ep. ad Fam.* 12, 15: *De Off.* 2, 16: *De Fin.* 1, 20: in the latter, *Ep. ad Fam.* 11, 11, "Sceleratissima conspiratio."

<sup>6</sup> *Pró imperio, &c.* Alluding to the province of Macedonia, to the government of which he was entitled on the expiration of his consulship, but which he had surrendered to his colleague Antonius, in order to keep him firm in his attachment to the state. Compare SALLUST, *Cat.* c. 26. Cisalpine Gaul had fallen to the lot of Antonius, but Macedonia was by far the richer province of the two. Cicero afterward laid down the government of Cisalpine Gaul, which he had thus received in exchange, and Q. Metellus Celer, at that time praetor, was chosen in his place. (*Ep. ad Fam.* 15, 4.—*Or. in Pis.* 11.)

equitumque Romanorum, et <sup>5</sup>tantam conspirationem  
omnium, confringere et labefactare possit.

Quæcum ita sint, patres conscripti, <sup>6</sup>pro imperio,  
xercitu, <sup>8</sup>pro provincia quam neglexi, <sup>9</sup>pro triumpho,  
æ laudis insignibus, quæ sunt a me propter urbis  
æ salutis custodiam repudiata, <sup>10</sup>pro clientelis hos-  
provincialibus, quæ tamen urbanis opibus non  
abore tueor, quam comparo: pro his igitur omnibus  
pro meis in vos singularibus studiis, proque hac,  
inspicitis, ad conservandam rem publicam diligentia,  
ud a vobis, nisi hujus temporis, totiusque mei con-  
memoriam postulo: <sup>12</sup>quæ dum erit in vestris fixa  
s firmissimo me muro septum esse arbitrabor. Quod  
spem vis improborum <sup>13</sup>fefellerit atque superaverit;  
do vobis parvum meum filium: <sup>14</sup>cui profecto satis  
sidii, non solum ad salutem, verum etiam ad digni-  
eius, qui haec omnia suo solius periculo conserva-

*xercitu.* The army which he would have commanded in the  
of Macedonia.

*provincia, &c.* Alluding, not to Cisalpine Gaul, as Manutius  
but to Macedonia. [PLUT. Cic. 12. Καὶ τοῦτον ('Αντώνιον)  
Θεραπευών ὁ Κικέρων, ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐψηφίσατο τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν  
αὐ, αὐτῷ δὲ τὴν Γαλατίαν διδομένην παρηγήσατο. ORELLI.]  
*triumpho.* He means the public chances of a triumph for  
s abroad.

*clientelis, &c.* "In return for the numerous clientships and  
is of friendship which I might have formed in my province,  
h, notwithstanding, I here support with no less labour, by  
those resources which the city affords me." To prove the  
the sacrifice, he confesses how eager he is to establish client-  
connexions of friendship at home, by every means which his  
and influence in the city enable him to employ. [Pro is  
his clause somewhat differently from its use in the first, where  
"instead of," here "in return for."]

*meis in vos singularibus studiis.* "In return for my conspicuous  
zeal in your behalf."

*dum erit infixa.* "For as long as it shall be firmly fixed."—  
io muro. "By one of the strongest of ramparts."

*lerit atque superaverit.* "Shall have disappointed and triumphed  
parvum meum filium. His son Marcus.

*profecto, &c.* "Who will find in you assuredly sufficient aid,  
as regards his personal safety, but also his future advance-  
you shall bear in mind that he is the son of that man who  
l from ruin, at his own individual risk, all these things by  
u are now surrounded."

verit, illum esse filium memineritis. Quapropter <sup>1</sup>de summa salute vestra populique Romani, patres conscripti, de vestris conjugibus ac liberis, <sup>2</sup>de aris ac focis, de fanis atque templis, de totius urbis tectis ac sedibus, de imperio ac libertate, de salute Italiae, de <sup>3</sup>universa re publica, decernite <sup>4</sup>diligenter, ut instituistis, ac fortiter. Habetis enim eum consulem, qui et parere vestris decretis non dubitet; et ea, quæ statueritis, quoad vivet, defendere et <sup>5</sup>per se ipsum præstare possit.

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<sup>1</sup> *De summa salute vestra.* “In a case that concerns your very existence.” Literally, “your highest safety.”

<sup>2</sup> *De aris ac focis.* “That concerns your homes.” Ernesti correctly remarks, that, in the expression *arae ac foci*, both terms have a united reference to private dwellings, the *ara* referring to the altar of the *Penates*, and the *focus* to the hearth of the *Lares*, in each dwelling. Our English phrase, “altars and homes,” is altogether inapplicable, in the sense that we attach to it, by “altars” being meant public places of worship.—Compare ERNESTI, *Clav. Cic. s. v. Ara.*

<sup>3</sup> *Universa re publica.* “Your country at large.”

<sup>4</sup> *Diligenter, ut instituistis, &c.* “Promptly and firmly, as you have already begun to do.” The expression *ut instituistis* refers as well to the promptness and energy displayed by Silanus and other senators in the course of the present debate, as to the opinions of certain members of that body during their deliberations at the previous meeting. Compare *Or. 3 in Cat. c. 6*: “*Dictæ sunt a principibus acerrimæ ac fortissima sententia,* &c.

<sup>5</sup> *Per se ipsum præstare.* “Take on himself and execute.” *Quoad in* introduced before *possit* in some MSS., and Grævius and Ernesti both approve of it, on the ground of its being more modest than the ordinary reading, and displaying more of the “*concinnitas Ciceroniana*.” Both reasons are weak. The language of Cicero, as we have given it, shows the firm resolve and conviction of an undaunted and patriotic mind, sure of accomplishing its object, and encouraging others by this very appearance of decision. And as for the “*concinnitas Ciceroniana*,” it may be merely remarked, that there is no direct relation whatever between *quoad vivet* and *quoad possit*; the connexion is between *dubit* and *possit*. [The order of the construction is *qui et parere vestris decretis non dubitet, et possit defendere et per se ipsum præstare ea que statueritis, quoad vivet*. By the last words he hints at the danger of assassination.]

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NOTWITHSTANDING the strenuous efforts of Cicero, in this oration, <sup>1</sup> have prompt and vigorous measures taken against the conspirators who were in custody, a large majority of the senators, and among them

Cicero's own brother, Quintus, were disposed to side with Cæsar, probably from the fear lest severe measures might prove injurious afterward to Cicero himself. At last, Lutatius Catulus, Cæsar's inveterate enemy, and Cato, who was then tribune elect of the commons, interposed their efforts. The eloquence of the latter proved triumphant, and the curse he recommended was almost unanimously adopted. (Consult LUTARCH, *Vit. Cic.* c. 20, seq.—*Id. Vit. Cæs.* c. 7, seq.—*Id. Vit. Cat.* in c. 22.—SUF. *Cæs.* 14.—APPIAN, *B. C.* 2, 5, seqq.)

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## RIEF SUMMARY OF EVENTS UNTIL CICERO'S RETURN FROM EXILE.

91. At the termination of Cicero's consulship Metellus and Cæsar charged Cicero with the illegal slaughter of Roman citizens. Cato, however, quieted the popular party by devoting 2500 talents annually to purchase corn for the poor. The senate also decreed that any one who disturbed or assailed Cicero should be treated as a public enemy.
92. Next year occurred Clodius's celebrated violation of the mysteries of the Bona Dea. Cicero's evidence on the trial proved the falsehood of the alibi set up by Clodius, and this led to the inveterate hostility of the latter.
93. Formation of the first triumvirate, in the consulship of Cæsar and Bibulus, or as it is humorously marked *Julio et Cæsare CNS.* Bibulus confined himself to his own abode during his year of office.
94. The interest of Cæsar obtained the tribunate for Clodius. In reality Cæsar intended Clodius to be a thorn in the sides of the aristocracy, and probably desired to force Cicero to become his own creature, for we find that when Clodius first assailed Cicero, the latter was offered a lieutenancy by Cæsar in his Gallic army.

The proposal of Clodius was that all who put to death Roman citizens, without a regular trial, should be punished as public enemies. Cicero fled from the contest, he was disliked by the aristocracy as being a *novus homo*, and was hated by the populace for his severe principles. Although he withdrew voluntarily the prosecution was carried on, and he was sentenced to banishment 400 miles from Italy.

One month after Cicero's banishment, namely in May, Clodius liberated Tigranes, one of Pompey's prisoners. This caused Pompey to feel the true character of Clodius, whom he now began to oppose. On the first of June a resolution was passed by the senate to recall Cicero from exile and to rescind the sentence, but Clodius, as tribune, put in his veto, and the resolution was of no effect.

95. Milo is appointed tribune, he coalesced with Pompey, and eventually, on the 5th of August, obtained the decree for Cicero's recall.

## INTRODUCTION.

[In 665 was passed the law of Plautus Silvanus and Papirius C. hence called *lex Plautia Papiria*. By it the *civitas* was given to who were enrolled in the federate states, provided they complied with the conditions named in chap. iv.

In two points it appears Archias had not complied with this namely: 1. He could not prove his enrolment in the federates. Cicero accounts for by stating that the records of Heraclea were burnt in the Italic war. 2. He had not submitted his property to assessment.

In the year 689 was passed the Papian law; the object of which to expel all foreigners from the city, and compel the Latin allies to return to their own cities. And under this law one Gratius accused Archias. Of Gratius we know nothing, but he is supposed to have been a Quadruplitator.

We know not whether Archias was acquitted or not. In so trifling a matter most probably the advocacy of Cicero prevailed.

Several epigrams of Archias are preserved in the Anthology; of which specimen we give two selected by Orelli:—

### I.

Τρωάδι Παλλαναῖος ἀνηέρτησαν Ἀθάνα  
αὐλὸν ἐριβρεμέταν Μίκος Ἐννυαλίου  
ῷ ποτε καὶ θυμέλησι καὶ ἐν πολέμοισιν ἔμελψεν  
πρόσθε, τὸ μὲν στοναχᾶς σῆμα, τὸ δὲ εὔνομίας.

### II.

'Αϊδος ὡς νεκυηγές, κεχαρμένε δάκρυσι πάντων,  
δε βαθὺ πορθμένεις τοῦτ' Ἀχέροντος ὄδωρ  
εἰ καὶ σοι βέβριθεν ὑπ' εἰδώλοισι καμόντων  
όλκάς, μη προλίπης Διογένη με κύνα.

δλπήν καὶ σκίπωνα φέρω καὶ διπλόον εἶμα  
καὶ πήρην καὶ σοὶ ναυτιλιῆς ὁβολόν.  
καὶ ζωδὸς τάδε μοῦνον, ἃ καὶ νέκυς ὡδε κομίζω,  
εἰχον· ὑπ' ἡελίου δὲ οὐ τι λέλοιπα φάει.

With respect to the time of the delivery of this speech, it must have been between the close of 691 and 693. After 691, from the date *Quas res nos in consulatu nostro—gessimus*. Before 693, for as during the last census mentioned in it Archias was with L. Lucullus, it must have been spoken before the close of 693, in which year the census was taken. (Dio. Cass. 37, 46.) The *Palimpsest Ambros.* states that the praetor who presided was Q. Cicero; if so, Archias must have defended 692, in the consulship of D. Junius Silanus and L. Licinius Murena, for Q. Cicero was praetor in that particular year.

Although above and throughout the notes I have assumed that this trial took place before Q. Cicero, prætor 692, yet the point is controverted. Ilgen (*Opusc. Philol.* t. 11, page 92, *seqq.*) endeavours to prove that C. Vergilius was colleague of Cicero in this prætorship, and the trial might have taken place before the former. But, as Schütz remarks, it is not certain that Vergilius and Cicero enjoyed the prætorship in 692. From M. T. Cicero himself (*Ad Att.* 1, 13, 16), we learn that Q. Cicero had departed to Asia as his province in the *early spring* of 692, and consequently the accurate Pighius has placed the prætorship of Vergilius and Cicero in 691. Among the actual prætors of 692 there is none who could be complimented so highly by Cicero, for his learning, &c. From all these points Schütz thinks this cause was pleaded in 693 before C. Octavius, father of Octavius Cæsar, who is celebrated for his upright character and learning.

This is not the place to discuss fully the question of the authenticity of this oration, to which the doubt of German scepticism has been applied. Klotz and Schraeder are the chief opponents of its genuineness, and their arguments are of the usual kind,  $\ddot{\alpha}\pi\alpha\xi\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$ , unusual phrases, and above all, meagreness, tenuity of style, and weakness in describing the advantages and pleasures of learning. Once for all let us state, that  $\ddot{\alpha}\pi\alpha\xi\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$ , and unusual phrases form no ground of strict reasoning whatever. If we had before us, and were masters of, the whole body of Roman literature, we might then discuss what this ground of scepticism were worth; otherwise it is mere waste of time. With respect to the weakness of Cicero's description of the pleasures, &c., of polite learning, Schütz has remarked that this is in itself a proof of its genuineness. “*Non enim hic mos est declamitorum, ut paucis verbis in narrandis rebus exponendisque ac refutandis argumentis defungatur, sed ut omnia verborum, lenocinia et pigmenta orationis, ornamentorum, ληκύθους, inepte effundant, quod ex orationibus quinque illis spuriis satis intelligas.*”—G. B. W.]

**¹ M. TULLII CICERONIS****PRO****A. LICINIO ARCHIA POET  
ORATIO.**

**¹ M. TULLII CICERONIS, &c.** “Oration of M. Tullius Cicero in  
of the poet Archias.”—This is one of the orations of Cicero on v  
has succeeded in bestowing the finest polish, and it is perhaps t  
pleasing of all his harangues.

Archias, a native of Antioch, came to Rome when about eig  
twenty years of age. He was rewarded, for his learning and  
with the friendship of the first men in the state; and, un  
patronage of Lucullus, with whom he travelled, he obtained th  
of citizenship at Heraclea, a confederate and enfranchised i  
Lucania. He assumed upon this, as was customary, his patron’  
name of Licinius. A few years afterward, a law was enacted  
ring the rights of Roman citizens on all who had been adm  
the freedom of federate states, provided they had a settlement  
at the time when the law was passed, and had asserted the p  
before the prætor, within sixty days from the period at whic  
promulgated. With this form Archias complied, and for mo  
twenty years his claims were never called in question.

At length, a certain individual, named Gratius, accused him  
having any just title to the character of a Roman citiz  
attempted to drive him from the city, under the enactment e  
all foreigners who usurped, without due right, the name and a  
of Roman citizens.

The records of Heraclea having been destroyed during th  
war, and the name of Archias not appearing in any census of  
citizens, certain doubts were thrown on the legal rights of h  
Cicero, therefore, enlarges on the dignity of literature and poe  
the various accomplishments of Archias, which gave him s  
claim to the privileges he enjoyed. He beautifully describes t  
ence which study and a love of letters had exercised on  
character and conduct. He had thence imbibed the princip  
glory and virtue should be the darling objects of life, and  
attain these, all difficulties and dangers were to be despised.

The prætor who presided on this occasion had been suppos  
Quintus Cicero, brother of the orator; the ancient commentary  
oration, discovered by Maio, fully establishes this point.—The  
*the speech is A.U.C. 692, B.C. 62, and Cicero was then in the fo*  
*year of his age.—ANTHON.*

I. (1.) <sup>2</sup>*Si quid est in me ingenii, judices, quod sentio*  
*nam sit exiguum; aut si qua exercitatio dicendi, <sup>3</sup>in qua*  
*ne non infitior mediocriter esse versatum; aut si <sup>4</sup>hujusce*  
*ei ratio aliqua, ab optimarum artium studiis ac disciplina*  
*sofecta, a qua ego nullum confiteor ætatis meæ tempus*  
*horruisse: earum rerum omnium vel in primis <sup>5</sup>hic A.*  
*icinius fructum a me <sup>6</sup>repeterè prope suo jure debet.*  
*Nam quoad longissime potest mens mea respicere spatium*  
*æterti temporis, et <sup>8</sup>pueritiae memoriam recordari ultimam,*  
*inde usque repetens, hunc video mihi principem, et ad*  
*scipiendam, et <sup>9</sup>ad ingrediendam rationem horum studi-*

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<sup>1</sup> *Si quid est in me ingenii, &c.* “Whatever talent there be in me, judges, and I am well aware how scanty it is; or whatever experience in public speaking, in which I do not deny that I am moderately good; or whatever acquaintance with the theory of this same art, resulting from the cultivation and influence of the most liberal studies, from which I acknowledge that no portion of my life has ever been estranged,” &c. [Aristotle lays down that the three great requisites for an orator are φύσις=facultas ingenii, μάθησις=dicendi ratio, προτελεία=disciplina. In the opening clause these are put in the following order, *ingenium, exercitatio, disciplina.*] <sup>2</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *In qua, &c.* Cicero, as Hottomann remarks, has here accidentally fallen upon an hexameter, from *in qua* to *esse* inclusive.

<sup>4</sup> *Hujusce rei ratio aliqua.* *Hujusce rei* refers to public speaking; while by *ratio* is meant theoretical skill. Compare ERNESTI, (*Lexicon technol. Lat. Rhet.* p. 590.) “*Ratio dicendi, omnium earum rerum, quæ d' artem dicendi vel eloquentiam tradendam pertinent, accuratam docunque institutionem complectitur.*”

<sup>5</sup> *Hic A. Licinius.* “This Aulus Licinius.” Two MSS. subjoin *Archias*, but the one which we have given is undoubtedly the true reading, since Cicero would purposely, at the commencement of his speech, employ only the Roman part of his client’s name.

<sup>6</sup> *Repeterè.* “To claim as his right.” Said of one who demands his *ut right* or due after a lapse of time, below viii. *Homerum Salaminii petunt.—Prope suo jure.* “By a right peculiarly his own.” [A right which none could dispute, where all the law of the case lay on his side. See *Leg. Man.* xxi., begin.]

<sup>7</sup> *Nam quoad longissime, &c.* “For far back as my mind can review the period of the past, and recall the most distant recollections of boyhood, retracing my career from thence, I see this Archias to have been my first adviser for attempting and then for entering on the path of these studies.” By *rationem studiorum* is meant the theoretical pursuit of private studies.

<sup>8</sup> *Pueritiae.* Cicero was about five years old when he was first placed under the care of Archias.

<sup>9</sup> *Ad ingrediendam, &c.* Cicero here means to allude to his earlier studies, since his later ones were pursued under other instructors.

orum exstisset. Quod si hæc vox, hujus hortatu præcep-  
tisque <sup>1</sup>conformata, nonnullis aliquando saluti fuit; <sup>2</sup>a quo  
id accepimus, quo ceteris opitulari et alios servare possemus;  
huic profecto ipsi, quantum est situm in nobis, et opem, et  
salutem ferre debemus. (2.) <sup>3</sup>Ac, ne quis a nobis hoc ita  
dici forte miretur, quod alia quædam in hoc facultas <sup>4</sup>  
ingenii, neque <sup>4</sup>hæc dicendi ratio aut disciplina, <sup>5</sup>ne nos  
quidem huic uni studio penitus unquam dediti fuimus.  
<sup>6</sup>Etenim omnes artes, quæ ad <sup>7</sup>humanitatem pertinent,  
habent quoddam commune vinculum, et quasi cognatione  
quadam inter se continentur.

<sup>1</sup> *Conformata.* "Moulded." Compare ERNESTI, *Lex. Techn.* p. 82  
"Conformatio dicitur, cum res informis fit elegans et formata."

<sup>2</sup> *A quo id accepimus*, &c. "From whom we received that ability,  
by which we might be enabled to lend aid to all and safety to some."  
[Possemus, i. e. at any time when necessary. Most editions have pos-  
sumus.]

<sup>3</sup> *Ac, ne quis a nobis*, &c. "And lest any one may chance to wonder  
that such a remark is made by me, because there is in this individual  
a different kind of genius, and not that theory or practice of oratory  
let him know not even we ourselves have been exclusively devoted to  
this one pursuit." Since Archias was a poet and not an orator, Cicero  
thought it might perhaps appear strange to some of his  
auditors, to hear him assert that he had derived so much benefit from  
the former.

<sup>4</sup> *Hæc dicendi ratio*, &c. Observe the peculiar force of *hæc* and con-  
sult, as regards the meaning of *ratio*, what is remarked under note <sup>1</sup>  
p. 139.

<sup>5</sup> *Ne nos quidem huic uni.* [For *huic uni* Lambinus reads *huic cuncti*  
but *cunctus* could not be used in the sense of *totus* (*totus in illis*.) *Haec*  
*Sat.* 1, 9, 12,—*Omnis in hoc sum.* *Ep.* 1, 1, 11. *Cuncti* then would  
include judges, accusers, hearers, &c., but he manifestly speaks only of  
himself.—ORELL.]

<sup>6</sup> *Etenim omnes artes.* &c. "For all arts, that have relation to liberal  
knowledge, possess a kind of common bond of union, and are linked  
together by a species of natural affinity."

<sup>7</sup> *Humanitatem.* The term *humanitas* is applied by the Latin writers  
to liberal and polite studies, from their humanizing influence on the  
mind. Compare the language of AULUS GELLIUS, 13, 16: "Qui vero  
Latina fecerunt," &c. [They who are accustomed to observe the pro-  
perties of the Latin language, . . . consider *humanity* as what the  
Greeks call *παιδείαν*, and what we term instruction and initiation in  
the liberal arts, which they who earnestly follow and obtain, may be  
said to be the most humanized.—BELOE.]

<sup>8</sup> *In quæstione legitima.* "In a mere legal question." The point  
involved in the present case, respecting the citizenship of Archias, was  
a strictly legal one.—*In judicio publico.* It was in fact only a case about  
the private right of citizenship, but then the question turned on the

II. (3.) **SED** ne cui vestrū mirum esse videatu : me n quæstione legitima, et in judicio publico, <sup>9</sup> cum res atatur apud <sup>10</sup> prætorem populi Romani, rectissimum virum, apud severissimos <sup>11</sup> judices, tanto conventu hominum ac sequentia, hoc uti genere dicendi, <sup>12</sup> quod non modo a con- etudine judiciorum, verum etiam a forensi sermone horreat ; quæso a vobis, <sup>13</sup> ut in hac causa mihi detis hanc niā, accommodatam huic reo, vobis quemadmodum ero non molestam : ut me pro summo poëta atque eruditissimo homine dicentem, hoc concursu hominum literatissi- orum, <sup>14</sup> hac vestra humanitate, hoc denique prætore

terpretation of a public law, which consequently gave the trial a public aspect.

<sup>9</sup> *Cum res agatur*, &c. "When the case is pleaded before a prætor the Roman people, a most upright individual, and before judges of the strictest character." *Severissimos*, refers to the strict impartiality of the bench whom Cicero is addressing.—[*Agatur*. Klotz reads *gutatur*, but this word would only be suited to an angry discussion in turbulent assembly.]

<sup>10</sup> *Prætorem*. It used to be a warmly-contested point who the prætor was that presided on this occasion. The old commentary discovered by Maio settles the question. The prætor was Cicero's brother, Q. Cicero, himself an epic and tragic poet. The words of the commentary are : "Henc enim causam, lege Papia, de civitate Romana, apud Quintum Ciceronem dixit," &c.—[*Rectissimum*, al. *lectissimum*. We have adopted the reading of the Cod. Ambros. "A man who swerves not from the path of rectitude." The adjective then closely corresponds to the expression *severissimi judices*. *Lectissimum* is too strong an expression to be used of a brother, in his presence.—ORELL.]

<sup>11</sup> *Judices*. In conformity with the Aurelian law of L. Aurelius Cotta, passed during the consulship of Pompey and Crassus, the judges in public trials were selected, at the time this case was pleaded, from the senators, equites, and tribunes of the treasury. (Consult note 3, page 124.) These *judices* formed a select council, who assisted the prætor with their advice. They sat by him on *subsellia*, or benches, and are hence often called his *accessores*.

<sup>12</sup> *Quod non modo*, &c. "Which is at variance with not only the custom of public trials, but even with the mode of pleading usual at the bar." Hence he fears, lest it may not seem to comport with the grave character of the court before which he is speaking. [ *Verum etiam*. Cicero alone uses the formula *non modo—verum etiam*. Other writers have *non modo—sed etiam*.—ORELL.]

<sup>13</sup> *Ut in hac causa*, &c. "To grant me this indulgence in the present case, an indulgence well-suited to the character of the accused, and, as I hope, not disagreeable to yourselves; that you permit me, namely, when pleading in behalf of," &c.

<sup>14</sup> *Hac vestra humanitate*, &c. ["Before this assembled incarnation of your learning." Abstract for concrete.] And while such a prætor

exercente judicium, patiamini<sup>1</sup> de studiis humani literarum paullo loqui liberius, et<sup>2</sup> in ejusmodi quæ, propter otium ac studium, minime in judici culisque tractata est, uti prope<sup>3</sup> novo quodam et ir genere dicendi. (4.) Quod si mihi a vobis trib cedique sentiam, <sup>4</sup> perficiam profecto, ut hunc A. L non modo non segregandum, cum sit civis, a civium, verum etiam, si non esset, putetis adscise fuisse.

III. <sup>5</sup> NAM ut primum ex pueris excessit Archias ab iis artibus, quibus ætas puerilis<sup>6</sup> ad humanitat formari solet, se<sup>7</sup> ad scribendi studium contulit: ]

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presides at this trial." *Hoc praetore* suits well the language brother to another; a higher strain of compliment would be out of place.

<sup>1</sup> *De studiis humanitatis*, &c. "To enlarge, with somewhat freedom, on liberal studies and literature in general; and, in of such a character, who, on account of his retirement and st been by no means engaged in public trials and perils, to e novel and unusual mode of speaking."—*Tractata est* is here eq to *exercitata est*. Compare the explanation of Döring: "T rem, quam attingimus, vel in qua nos exercemus; et sic ipsæ res, sonæ, quæ in aliqua re exercentur, in ea tractari dicuntur." also ERNESTI, *Clav. Cic.* s. v. *Tractare*. [Others have *jacta personam tractare proprie dicitur histrio*. *De Off.* iii. 29, 106. *Cui retur Atreus, personæ serviendum fuit*. Est igitur, ejusmodi homin est hic poeta, raro in judiciis comparent, ubi causam dicant."—O

<sup>2</sup> *In ejusmodi persona*. Referring to Archias. Passeratius the allusion to be to the orator himself, of which explanation B (*ad Ovid. Rem. Am.* 381) approves.

<sup>3</sup> *Novo quodam*, &c. The novel kind of speaking, to which alludes, is the introduction of literary topics into the discuss legal point.

<sup>4</sup> *Perficiam profecto*, &c. "I will assuredly effect that y think my friend Aulus Licinius, not only ought not, when citizen, to be excluded from their number, but even, if he we citizen, ought to be admitted among them now." [Understa with *adsciscendum*.]

<sup>5</sup> *Nam ut primum*, &c. From his being subsequently called *tatus*, Archias must, at the time here alluded to, have been about ten or fifteen years of age. [*Ex pueris—postquam ex ephebis ex T. Ter.*]

<sup>6</sup> *Ad humanitatem informari*. "To be trained to liberal kno More literally, "to be moulded." Compare the explanation of tius, "Quasi formæ initium a literis accipiat puerilis ætas, qu informis esset."

<sup>7</sup> *Ad scribendi studium*. "To poetic composition." More l "to the study of composition." Some of the epigrams of And

Antiochiae, (nam ibi natus est <sup>8</sup>loco nobili;) celebri quondam urbe et copiosa, atque <sup>9</sup>eruditissimis hominibus liberalissimisque studiis affluent, celeriter <sup>10</sup>antecellere omnibus ingenii gloria contigit. Post in ceteris Asiæ partibus cunctaque Græcia <sup>12</sup>sic ejus adventus celebrabantur, ut iam ingenii exspectatio hominis, exspectationem ipsius dventus admiratioque superaret. (5.) Erat Italia tunc lena <sup>13</sup>Græcarum artium ac disciplinarum, studiaque hæc in Latio vehementius tum colebantur, quam nunc <sup>14</sup>iisdem in oppidis, et hic Romæ, propter tranquillitatem rei publicæ, non negligebantur. Itaque hunc et Tarentini, et Regini, et Neapolitani, civitate ceterisque præmiis donarunt: et

reserved in the *Anthology*, vol. ii. p. 80, seqq. ed Jacobs. His poetical merits are evidently overrated by Cicero.

<sup>8</sup> *Loco nobili.* "Of a distinguished family."—*Celebri quondam urbe.* "In a city once populous." As regards the force of *celebri* compare Ernesti, Clav. Cic. s. v. "*Abundans incolis et frequens.*" So *Ad Terent. 2, 4*, "*Locus celebris an desertus.*"—The words *urbs*, *oppidum*, &c., when in apposition to names of towns, as the place where anything occurs, may be in the ablative without *in*, though the name of the place be in the genitive.

<sup>9</sup> *Eruditissimis hominibus*, &c. "Abounding in the most learned men—in the most liberal studies." What the grammarians call a *zeugma* operates in *afflenti*, that is, our idiom would require a different meaning for each clause.

<sup>10</sup> [Antecellere contigit. As this is the only passage in which Cicero joins an infinitive to the verb *contigit*, editors have endeavoured to correct the passage. Ernesti has *ei antecellere*. Lambinus *celeriter ei, et antecelleret*, &c.]

<sup>11</sup> [Cuncta Græcia. Some editions have *cunctæ Græciæ*, but who would write, "in ceteris partibus cunctæ Græciæ?"]

<sup>12</sup> *Sic ejus adventus celebrabantur*, &c. "His arrivals were attended with so much eclat, that the expectation formed of the individual exceeded the fame of his talents; his actual arrival, and the admiration it excited, surpassed even their expectation of him."

<sup>13</sup> *Græcarum artium ac disciplinarum.* "Of Grecian arts and culture."—*Studiaque hæc.* Referring to liberal studies in general.—*Ve-  
mentius.* "With more ardour."

<sup>14</sup> *Iisdem in oppidis.* He uses the term *oppidis* purposely, as indicating places of inferior rank to the capital, Rome, which was properly called *urbs*. [*Tranquillitatem*, i. e. a freedom from intestine discord for ten years, counting from the sedition of Saturninus, ended 654, and the outbreak of the Manic war 664. As to the expression *oppidis*, Cicero means to say, that "these liberal studies were then more eagerly pursued throughout the whole of Latium than now they are in its veryowns, before the desolation caused by the Italian war," &c., learning as cultivated throughout even the retired and country parts of Latium: now those studies are confined to the towns.]

<sup>15</sup> *Non negligebantur.* A litotes, for *maxime florebant*.

omnes, <sup>1</sup>qui aliquid de ingenii poterant judicare, cognition atque hospitio dignum existimarunt. <sup>2</sup>Hac tanta celebritat famæ cum esset jam absentibus notus, Romam venit <sup>3</sup>Mari consule et Catulo. <sup>4</sup>Nactus est primum consules eorum alter res ad scribendum maximas, alter cum re gestas, tum etiam studium atque <sup>5</sup>aures <sup>6</sup>adhibere posset. Statim <sup>7</sup>Luculli, cum <sup>8</sup>prætextatus etiam tum Archias eum domum suam receperunt. Sed hoc <sup>9</sup>non solum ingenii ac literarum, verum etiam naturæ atque virtutis, ut domus

<sup>1</sup> *Qui aliquid de ingenii, &c.* “Who were able to form any estimate of talent,” i. e. who were intelligent enough to mark the existence of talent in another.

<sup>2</sup> *Hac tanta celebritate famæ.* “Amid this so brilliant a reputation.” — *Absentibus.* [“Who were so distant from him.”] *Absens Roma laudatur.* HOR. Ep. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Mario consule et Catulo.* C. Marius was seven times consul; he was in A.U.C. 652. Of Catulus Cicero speaks in high terms, *Orat.* 2, 1 and elsewhere.

<sup>4</sup> *Nactus est primum, &c.* “He found, in the first place, those individuals in the consulship, of whom the one could furnish subject for poetic composition, the other both achievements, and also [a similarity of pursuit, and a critical attention.”] By the first of these I meant Marius, whose exploits over the Teutones and Cimbri were celebrated in verse by Archias: the other is Catulus, who shared with Marius the glory of the Cimbrian victory, and was also, as Cicero styles him (*Brutus*, c. 35), “*vir doctus et disertus.*” He wrote the history of his consulship, after the manner of Xenophon, and dedicated it to Furius, the poet. Cicero, elsewhere (*De Off.* c. 35), ascribes to the Catuli, father and son, “*exquisitum litterarum judicium.*”

<sup>5</sup> *Aures.* Referring, not merely to his listening with attention to the recitations of Archias, but also to his being enabled, by good taste and a practised ear, to pass an accurate opinion on the productions of the bard. Compare the remark of Manutius: “*Aures: Quæ, quo audirent judicare possent,*” and also that of DÖRING: “*Aures adhiberi. e. percipere et dijudicare carminum pulchritudinem.*”

<sup>6</sup> *Adhibere.* We have rendered this verb by our English term “furnish,” i. e. exhibit or display, rather than have recourse to an awkward zeugma, as recommended by Döring.

<sup>7</sup> *Luculli.* The two brothers, L. Licinius and Marcus Lucullus. The former was the eminent commander, whose biography is given by Plutarch.

<sup>8</sup> *Prætextatus.* “A mere youth.” A Roman term applied to foreigner. Among the Romans, young persons wore the *toga prætexta* until they were seventeen years of age, when they assumed the *toga virilis*. [Orelli accurately remarks, “*Satis callide, nisi magnopere fallit prætextatum vocat Græculum, quasi jam fuisse civis Romanus, pro adolescentulo, similiter.* Verr. Accus. 11, 33, 80, *prætextatus Sopalis filius.*”]

hujus adolescentiae prima fuerit, eadem esset familia-  
ma senectuti. (6.) Erat temporibus illis jucundus  
Metello,<sup>10</sup> illi Numidico,<sup>11</sup> et ejus filio Pio.<sup>12</sup> Audiebatur  
Æmilio:<sup>13</sup> vivebat cum Q. Catulo, et patre et filio: a  
Crasso<sup>14</sup> colebatur: <sup>15</sup> Lucullos vero, et <sup>16</sup> Drusum, et  
Octavios, et Catonem, et totam Hortensiorum domum,  
nctam consuetudine cum teneret, afficiebatur sumino-  
bre: quod eum non solum <sup>18</sup> colebant, qui aliquid per-  
re atque audire studebant, verum etiam, si qui forte  
ilabant.

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*Non solum ingenii, &c.* “Was a proof not only of his genius and literary acquirements, but also of his amiable temper and virtuous disposition.”—*Domus.* Referring to the family of the Luculli.

*Illi Numidico.* “The celebrated Numidicus.” The pronoun *ille* here the force of the Greek article when used emphatically. Metellus received the title of *Numidicus*, from his having defeated Jugurtha in two battles, and made himself master of nearly all Numidia. Jugurtha, however, was finally taken captive, and the war ended, by Metellus. Still Metellus was, in fact, the true victor, having been recalled on the eve of terminating the contest.

*Et ejus filio Pio.* “And to his son Pius.” The son of Q. Metellus Numidicus received the cognomen of *Pius*, from his having obtained, in entreaties, from the Roman people, the recall of his father from Africa. [Compare VELLIUS PATERCULUS 11, 15, *Q. Metellus, Numidici . . . meritum cognomen Pii consecutus erat. Quippe expulsum fuit a L. Saturnino trib. pop. quod solus in leges ejus jurare noluerat, ita sua, auctoritate Senatus, consensu populi Romani restituit patrem.*]

*Audiebatur a M. Æmilio.* “He found a hearer in M. Æmilius,” M. Æmilius was one of his hearers. The allusion is to the poet’s intonations in private circles. The Æmilius here meant is the famous Æmilius Scaurus. Consult Historical Index.

*Vivebat.* “He lived on terms of intimacy.”

*Colebatur.* “He was highly esteemed.”

*Lucullos vero, &c.* “Inasmuch as he held the Luculli, and Drusus, the Octavii, and Cato, and the whole family of the Hortensii, attached to himself by habits of intimacy, he was honoured by the highest compliment.”

*Drusum.* M. Livius Drusus, tribune of the commons, who had passed the people a law about admitting the Italian allies to the rights of citizenship. He was slain at his own home by Q. Varius [663]. Consult Historical Index.

*Octavios.* The two Octavii, Cneius and Lucius.—*Catonem.* Probably M. Cato, the father of Cato Uticensis.

*Colebant.* “Courted his acquaintance.”—*Qui aliquid, &c.* “Who were really desirous of making some literary acquisitions and becoming hearers,” i. e. of improving themselves by becoming his auditors. They frequently recited their compositions in the *atrium* of their room’s houses to their assembled friends; these recitations were usual

IV. <sup>1</sup>INTERIM satis longo intervallo, cum esset cum L. Lucullo <sup>2</sup>in Siciliam profectus, et cum ex ea provincia cum eodem Lucullo decederet, venit <sup>3</sup>Heracleam. <sup>4</sup>Quæ cum esset civitas æquissimo jure ac foedere, adscribi se in eam civitatem voluit: <sup>5</sup>idque cum ipse per se dignus putaretur, tum auctoritate et gratia Luculli, ab Heracleensibus impetravit. (7.) <sup>6</sup>Data est civitas <sup>7</sup>Silvani lege et Carbonis, “SI QUI FEDERATIS CIVITATIBUS ADSCRIPTI FUSSENT: ET TUM, CUM LEX FEREBATUR, IN ITALIA DOMICILIUM HABUSSENT:” ET, “SI SEXAGINTA DIEBUS APUD PRÆTORIUM

in Greece, both with poets and sophists, under the term ἐπιδείξεις.—  
Si qui forte simulabant. “Whoever chanced to affect this desire.”

<sup>1</sup> *Interim satis longo intervallo.* “Some considerable time after this.”

<sup>2</sup> *In Siciliam.* Some of the early editors have *Ciliciam*, and Ilgen attempts to defend it as the true reading. Most of the MSS., however, give *Siciliam*.—This journey of Lucullus does not appear to have been made in any public capacity. Ilgen, in attempting to prove *Ciliciam* the true reading, thinks it probable that Lucullus, in order to qualify himself for public affairs, followed in the train of Sylla, when the latter was sent as proprætor to that country. This is all, however, a purely gratuitous supposition. (ILGEN, *Animad. Hist. et Crit. in Oratione pro. Arch. p. 12, seqq.*)

<sup>3</sup> *Heracleam.* In Lucania, between the rivers Aciris and Siris. Consult Geographical Index.

<sup>4</sup> *Quæ cum esset, &c.* [“And seeing this was a *civitas* enjoying the most favourable right and alliance.” See ARNOLD, vol. ii, chap. xvii.] The alliance here referred to was made with Rome, at the time that Pyrrhus was in Italy, A.U.C. 475.—A zeugma, as will be perceived, operates in *æquissimo*.

<sup>5</sup> *Id cum, &c.* [“And that he obtained from the people of Heraclea, as well because he was deemed worthy for his own merits, as also by the influence and favour of Lucullus.”]

<sup>6</sup> *Data est civitas, &c.*, i. e. by the law of Silvanus and Carbo, the rights of Roman citizenship were granted to strangers, in case any of them had been enrolled as citizens by the states in alliance with Rome, provided they had a domicile in Italy at the time when the law was passed, and provided also they gave in their names under the law, before the prætor, within sixty days after the passing of the same. Cicero quotes here, in part, the very language of the law, with the change merely from the present to the past tense on account of *data est* which precedes.

<sup>7</sup> *Silvani lege et Carbonis.* The individuals here meant were M. Plautius Silvanus and C. Papirius Carbo. They were tribunes of the commons when the law in question was proposed by them, A.U.C. 644. It is sometimes called *Lex Plautia*, from the *nomen* of Silvanus. Consult Legal Index, and introduction to this oration.

<sup>8</sup> *Multos jam annos.* “Many years before this.” He came to Rome

ESSUNT PROFESSI." Cum hic domicilium Romæ, <sup>8</sup> multos jam annos haberet, professus est apud prætorem, Q. Metellum, familiarissimum suum. (8.) <sup>9</sup> Si nihil aliud nisi de civitate ac lege dicimus, nihil dico amplius: causa dicta est. Quid enim horum infirmari, <sup>10</sup> Grati, potest? Heracleæne esse <sup>11</sup> tum adscriptum negabis? Adest vir <sup>12</sup> summa auctoritate, et religione, et fide, L. Lucullus, <sup>13</sup> qui se non opinari, sed scire, non audivisse, sed vidisse, non interfuisse, sed egisse dicit. Adsunt Heracleenses legati, nobilissimi homines; (hujus judicij causa <sup>14</sup> cum mandatis et cum publico testimonio venerunt;) qui hunc adscriptum

A.U.C. 652, and hence had been residing there twelve years before the passing of the law.—*Q. Metellum*. Manutius thinks that *Q. Metellus Cetinus* is here meant; but Ferratius, with more probability, *Metellus Filius* [A.U.C. 665].

<sup>8</sup> *Si nihil aliud, &c.* "If we are to treat of nothing else except of his citizenship at Heraclea, and the law in that case, I have nothing further to say; my cause is pleaded," i. e. if I am to confine my remarks, on the present occasion, to the fact of his being an admitted citizen of Heraclea, &c. The law referred to is that of Silvanus and Carbo. [This Heraclea was an important city of Magna Graecia, in the region of Lucania; Zeuxis was born there.]

<sup>9</sup> *Grati*. Some editions read *Gracche*, but *Grati* rests on better MSS. authority, and is given by Ernesti, Orellius, &c. Ilgen thinks, that, as the genus *Gratia* is unknown to us, the individual here meant was most probably Numerius Quinctius Gracchus, tribune of the commons, A.U.C. 697. But does it follow, as a matter of course, that the speaker, in a case like the present, must be a member of a family that is known to us?

<sup>10</sup> *Tum*. "At the time already mentioned," i. e. the period of his visit to Heraclea in company with Lucullus.

<sup>11</sup> *Summa auctoritate, &c.* "Of the highest credit, the most scrupulous regard for truth, and the strictest integrity." *Religio* here refers to the scrupulous caution that ought to be observed in giving testimony, so that the whole truth may be told, but nothing beyond. Compare the general definition of Ernesti, "*Religio est summa in quacunque re diligenter, ne quid minus recte fiat.*" (*Clav. Cic. s. v.*)

<sup>12</sup> *Qui se non opinari, &c.* "Who states, that he does not think it was so, but knows it as a fact; that he did not hear it from others, but saw it with his own eyes; that he was not present merely, but was himself an actor in the affair," i. e. aided Archias in obtaining the rights of citizenship at Heraclea, by his personal interference.

<sup>13</sup> *Quæ mandatis, &c.* "With written documents and public testimony." The deputies from Heraclea brought with them such written documents and proofs as might, in the absence of the original registers, and to furnish the next best means for substantiating the claims of Archias.

<sup>1</sup> Heracleensem dicunt. Hic tu <sup>2</sup>tabulas desideras Heraclee sium publicas, quas <sup>3</sup> Italico bello, incenso <sup>4</sup> tabulario, i terisse scimus omnes. Est ridiculum, <sup>5</sup> ad ea, quæ habemus nihil dicere; querere, quæ habere non possumus: et <sup>6</sup> hominum memoria tacere, <sup>7</sup> literarum memoriam flagitare et, <sup>8</sup> cum habeas amplissimi viri religionem, integerri municipii jusjurandum fidemque, ea, quæ depravari nul modo possunt, repudiare, tabulas, <sup>9</sup> quas idem dicas sola corrupti, desiderare. (9.) <sup>10</sup>An domicilium [Romæ] m

<sup>1</sup> *Heracleensem*. “As a citizen of Heraclea,” i. e. the freedom of the city had been conferred on him, not being a citizen by birth. *Lambinus* and *Ernesti* propose *Heracleæ esse*, considering *adscriptum* as mere gloss. [*Adscriptum*. *Scil. in albo*, we find *Adscriptiū cives D. N. D.* iv. 15, 39.]

<sup>2</sup> *Tabulas publicas*. “The public registers.” The lists contain the names of the citizens.

<sup>3</sup> *Italico bello*. The war made by the Italian allies (hence called likewise the social war) upon the Roman republic, in order to extirpate from it, by force of arms, the rights of citizenship. From the Mars having begun it, this war is sometimes denominated the *Marsic*.

<sup>4</sup> *Tabulario*. “The registry.” The office where the public records were kept. Compare note 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Ad ea, quæ habemus, nihil dicere*. “To say nothing with regard to the evidence that we have.”—*Quæ habere non possumus*. The public register which has been destroyed.

<sup>6</sup> *De hominum memoria tacere*. “To be silent as to the testimony of men,” i. e. as to what is testified, in the present case, by *Lucullus* & the *Heracleans*.

<sup>7</sup> *Literarum memoriam flagitare*. “To insist on that of records.”

<sup>8</sup> *Cum habeas*. “Although you have.” *Integerimi municipiū*. “a free city of the strictest honour.” When this oration was delivered *Heraclea* was a *municipium*; when *Archias* obtained from it the right of citizenship, it was a *civitas fœderata*.

<sup>9</sup> *Quas idem dicas, &c.* “Which even you yourself confess are accustomed to be falsified.”

<sup>10</sup> *At domicilium, &c.* “But you will say, he had not his domicile in Italy.” Cicero here anticipates a frivolous objection of *Gratius*, that *Archias* had not fulfilled the first requisite of the law. The common text has *Romæ*, for which *Anthon* substituted *in Italia*, a conjecture of *Lambinus*, which *Ernesti* and others adopt. The law required a domicile in Italy, not at Rome: this latter proposition would have been absurd. Cicero’s argument, therefore, is briefly this: if *Archias* lived at Rome many years before he was enrolled as a citizen of *Heraclea*, he must necessarily have had a domicile in Italy. Now, that he so dwelt at Rome is well ascertained: consequently he fulfilled, as regarded his domicile, all the provisions of the enactment. [*Orelli* and others bracket *Romæ*.]

<sup>11</sup> *Ante civitatem datam*. Namely, to *Archias*, at *Heraclea*.—See

tabuit. Is qui, tot annis <sup>11</sup> ante civitatem datam, sedem omnium rerum ac fortunarum suarum Romæ collocavit? At non est professus. <sup>13</sup> Immo vero iis tabulis professus, juxta solæ ex illa professione collegioque prætorum obtinent publicarum tabularum auctoritatem.

V. <sup>14</sup> Nam cum <sup>15</sup> Appii tabulæ negligentius asservatae hicerentur; Gabinii, quamdiu incolumis fuit, levitas, post damnationem calamitas, omnem tabularum fidem resig-nasset: Metellus, homo sanctissimus <sup>16</sup> modestissimusque

omnium rerum, &c. "The seat of all his efforts and all his fortunes."

<sup>17</sup> At non est professus. "But he did not make his claim under the law." Anticipating a second objection from his opponent.

<sup>18</sup> Immo vero, &c. "Nay, indeed, he did do so, in those very registers, which alone, connected with those claims and with the college of prætors, possess the authority of public documents." Cicero means, that Archias not only claimed in due season the rights of citizenship, but had his name enrolled in those registers which were considered the most accurately kept. These were the registers of Metellus, those of Appius and Gabinius being regarded, for the reasons which he specifies, as of little or no authority.

<sup>19</sup> Nam cum, &c. "For whereas the registers of Appius were said to have been kept too carelessly, while the corruption of Gabinius, as long as he escaped impeachment, and ruin after his condemnation, deprived his registers of all credit; Metellus, on the other hand, of all men the most scrupulous and the most observant of the laws, displayed so much exactness in his own, as to have come before Lucius Lentulus, the prætor, and the judges who were sitting with him, and to have declared that he was rendered uneasy by the erasure of a single name." Cicero here places the registers of Metellus in direct opposition to those of Appius and Gabinius, and cites a little anecdote to show how careful and scrupulous a man the former was. His argument then becomes a very strong one. If the name of Archias be found in the registers of a prætor so famed for his exactness as Metellus was, this circumstance furnishes the best possible proof in support of the poet's claim.

<sup>20</sup> Appii. Appius Cladius and P. Gabinius Capito were prætors long with Metellus, in the year when Archias was registered. Gabinius, after returning from his government of Achaia, was accused of extortion by Lucius Piso, and condemned, and hence his disgraceful ill destroyed the credit of his register, which his previous corruption had already greatly impaired.

<sup>21</sup> Modestissimus. Equivalent here to *legum observantissimus*. Consider the remark of DÖRING, "homo enim modestus vel maxime modestiam esse probat diligenter observando ea, quæ eum observare decet." Hence, *p. post Red. in Sen. c. 2*, the expression *modesti consules* is applied to magistrates who shrink from the idea of doing any thing in violation of the lawa" (ERNESTI, Clav. Cic. s. v.)

omnium, tanta diligentia fuit, ut ad L. Lentulum prætorem et ad <sup>1</sup>judices venerit, et unius nominis litura se commotum esse dixerit. <sup>2</sup>His igitur tabulis <sup>3</sup>nullam lituram in nomen A. Licinii videtis. (10.) Quæ cum ita sint, quid est, quod de ejus civitate dubitetis, præsertim cum alius quoque in civitatibus fuerit adscriptus? Etenim cum <sup>4</sup>mediocribus multis, et aut nulla, aut humili aliqua arte præditis, gratuito civitatem <sup>5</sup>in Græcia homines impertiebantur, <sup>6</sup>Rheginos credo, aut Locrenses, aut Neapolitanos, aut Tarentinos, quod <sup>7</sup>scenicis artificibus largiri solebant, id huic, summa

<sup>1</sup> *Judices.* The *accessores* of the *prætor*. Consult note 11, page 141.

<sup>2</sup> *His igitur tabulis.* The student will observe the force of the pronoun *his* in this clause, referring to the great care and diligence with which the register of Metellus was kept.

<sup>3</sup> *Nullam lituram, &c.* "You see no erasure against the name of Aulus Licinius." Cicero's argument is a simple but conclusive one. If the name of Archias was contained in the register of Metellus: if there was no erasure about this name; and if Metellus was so scrupulous a man as to have been rendered uneasy, on one occasion, by an actual erasure, and to have openly stated this in court before the *prætor* and his associate judges: all this forms the strongest possible argument in favour of Archias.

<sup>4</sup> *Mediocribus multis, &c.* "On many individuals of merely moderate abilities, and having either no profession at all, or else some humble one."

<sup>5</sup> *In Græcia.* Referring to Magna Græcia, in Southern Italy, as appears at once from the names immediately after subjoined, *Rheginos*, *Locrenses*, &c., denoting communities in that quarter.

<sup>6</sup> *Rheginos credo, &c.* "I suppose the inhabitants of Rhegium, or of Locri, or of Neapolis, or Tarentum, were unwilling to bestow that favour on this individual of highest reputation for talent, which they were accustomed to lavish on mere actors." The whole sentence is ironical, of which *credo* is the index. The favour alluded to is the right of citizenship.

<sup>7</sup> *Scenicis artificibus.* Equivalent to *histriónibus*. So the Greeks sometimes denominated actors, *οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖται*, and *Διονυσιακοὶ τεχνῖται*.

<sup>8</sup> *Quid? cum ceteri, &c.* Cicero asks, whether Archias can, with any justice, be deprived of his citizenship, who was actually enrolled in several cities of Magna Græcia, but preferred being regarded as a citizen of Heraclea, when so many foreigners have surreptitiously been registered in these same cities not only subsequent to the Plautian, but also to the Papian law. They escape with impunity, whereas he who acted with perfect good faith is sought to be injured.

<sup>9</sup> *Leyem Papiam.* By the Papian law, named from its proposer, the tribune C. Papius, A.U.C. 688, in the consulship of Cotta and Torquatus, it was ordained, that all foreigners should be expelled from the city: "ut peregrini urbe pellerentur." In consequence of this enact-

praedito gloria, noluisse. <sup>8</sup> Quid? cum ceteri, non  
st civitatem datam, sed etiam post <sup>9</sup> legem Papiam  
<sup>10</sup> in eorum municipiorum tabulas <sup>11</sup> irrepserint:  
ne utitur quidem illis, in quibus est scriptus, quod  
se Heracleensem esse voluit, rejicietur? (11.)  
nosotros requiris. Scilicet: <sup>12</sup> est enim obscurum,  
censoribus, <sup>14</sup> hunc cum clarissimo imperatore L.  
apud exercitum fuisse; <sup>15</sup> superioribus, <sup>16</sup> cum eodem  
fuisse in Asia: <sup>17</sup> primis, Julio et Crasso, <sup>18</sup> nullam

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any foreigners managed to have their names surreptitiously  
in the registers of the free towns of Italy, as citizens of the  
which means they evaded the law. [Under this law Archias  
sed.]

*municipiorum*, &c. Alluding to Rhegium, Locri, &c.  
re now *municipia* under the Julian law, but had been *civitates*  
when Archias obtained from them the rights of citizenship.  
Legal Index.

*serint*. By clandestine means. Alluding most probably to  
portion of the magistrates who had charge of these registers.  
*us nostros*, &c. "You ask for our enrolment," i. e. you de-  
t the census-lists be produced. Gratus maintained that the  
Archias was not upon the books of the censors. Cicero replies,  
those times when the census was taken, Archias was absent  
ie with Lucullus, and that when he was present in Rome, no  
the year was made. [We have adopted the punctuation of  
, Klotz, and Orelli. The passage is usually pointed: *Census*  
*quiris scilicet. Est enim, &c.*]

*nim obscurum*. "Of course." "For it is a fact not generally  
Ironical.—*Proximis censoribus*. "That, under the last cen-  
censors referred to were L. Gellius and Cn. Lentulus, A.U.C.  
0,000 citizens were then enrolled.]

#### c. Referring to Archias.

*rioribus*. "That under the preceding censors." These were  
Philippus and M. Perperna, A.U.C. 667, after whom the  
is for a long time intermitted.

*eodem questore*. "With the same individual, then filling the  
quaestor."

*eis*. "That, under the first censors." Scil. After he received  
of citizenship. These were L. Julius Cæsar, and P. Licinius  
A.U.C. 664.

*am populi partem*, &c. "No part of the people was rated," i. e.  
was taken of any portion of the people. In consequence of  
having been taken on this occasion, Philippus and Perperna  
cen censors three years after, instead of five, the usual interval,  
to remedy the omission. The census had not been held,  
he censors were too much occupied with the arrangement of  
tribes, composed of foreigners who had just been admitted.

populi partem esse censam. <sup>1</sup> Sed, quoniam census non jus civitatis confirmat, ac tantummodo indicat, eum, qui sit census, <sup>2</sup> ita se jam tum gessisse pro cive; <sup>3</sup> iis temporibus, quem tu criminaris, ne ipsius quidem judicio eum in civium Romanorum jure esse versatum, et <sup>4</sup> testamentum saepe fecit nostris legibus, et adiit hereditates civium Romanorum, <sup>5</sup> et in beneficiis ad ærarium delatus est a L. Lucullo <sup>6</sup> proconsule.

VI. <sup>7</sup> QUÆRE argumenta, si qua potes. Nunquam enim hic neque suo, neque amicorum judicio, revincetur.

to the rights of Roman citizens. Archias, residing in Rome at the time, was consequently not rated.

<sup>1</sup> Sed, quoniam *census*, &c. "But still farther, since the mere entry on the books of the censors does not, of itself, establish the right of citizenship."

<sup>2</sup> *Ita se jam tum*, &c. "Had so conducted himself, at that period, as if he were a citizen." After *ita* supply *ut censeri posset*.

<sup>3</sup> *Iis temporibus*, &c. "At those very periods the man whom you allege, was not, even in his own opinion, in the enjoyment of the rights of Roman citizens." [We have adopted *quem criminaris*, with Steinmetz, Klotz, and Orelli, instead of the vulgar reading *qua*, which Anthon explains as depending on *quoad* understood. Grævius reads *queis*.]

<sup>4</sup> *Testamentum fecit*, &c. Cicero shows, that Archias, at the time alluded to, was actually a Roman citizen, from the three following circumstances: 1. From his making a will according to the Roman law, which none but a Roman citizen could do. 2. From his succeeding to inheritances left by Roman citizens, which a foreigner could not do. 3. From his having obtained a recommendation to the state for good conduct.

<sup>5</sup> *Et in beneficiis*, &c. "And his name was carried to the public treasury, in the list of the beneficiaries, by L. Lucullus the proconsul." Whenever any individual had distinguished himself in the public service, he was recommended by the magistrate, or governor, under whom he acted, to the government at home. A list, containing the names of such persons, was made out by the one who recommended them, and was deposited by him in the public treasury, or archives of the state. The list of persons thus noticed was called *beneficia*, (i. e. *beneficiarii*) because *advantages* of some kind or other were always sure to be reaped by them. This honour, however, could of course only be enjoyed by Roman citizens, and hence Archias must have been one of the latter. [Steinmetz cites a passage from one of Cicero's letters (*ad Fam.* v. 20.) "Quod scribis de beneficiis, scito a me et tribunos militares et præfectos et contubernales dumtaxat meos delatos esse. Certior sum factus triginta diebus deferri necesse esse, quibus rationes retulissem."]

<sup>6</sup> *Proconsule*. The common text has *prætore et consule*, for which we have given *proconsule* with Grævius. The reason of the change is simply this; the lists referred to in the text were made almost always

(12.) Quæres a nobis, Grati, cur tanto opere hoc homine lelectemur. <sup>8</sup> Quia suppeditat nobis, ubi et animus ex hoc forensi strepitu reficiatur, et aures convicio defessæ conpuescant. An tu existimas aut <sup>9</sup> suppeterè nobis posse, quod quotidie dicamus, in tanta varietate rerum, <sup>10</sup> nisi animos nostros doctrina excolamus; aut ferre animos tantam posse contentionem, <sup>11</sup> nisi eos doctrina eadem relaxemus? Ego vero fateor, me <sup>12</sup> his studiis esse deditum: ceteros pudeat, si qui ita se literis abdiderunt, <sup>13</sup> ut nihil possint ex his neque ad communem afferre fructum, neque in adspectum lucem-

by the provincial magistrate, and as one of the MSS. collated by Grævius has *P. R. consule* instead of *prætore et consule*, the change to *proconsule* seems a very rational one. Ernesti observes of it, “*Verissimus Grævius corrigit Proconsule.* [So Orelli.]

<sup>1</sup> *Quare argumenta, &c.* “Seek for other proofs of Archias's not being a citizen, if you can find any. For never will he be refuted by any thing appearing either in his own judgment or that of his friends.” [*Suo iudicio* refers to the conclusion of the preceding chapter *quem tu criminaris ne ipius quidem iudicio.* There is, therefore, no reason to adopt the conjecture of Ilgen, *indicio.*]

<sup>2</sup> *Quia suppeditat nobis, &c.* “It is because he supplies us with that by which both our mind can be refreshed from this din of the forum, and our ears, stunned by wrangling, may repose.” A beautiful allusion to the charms of literary society and leisure, after laborious professional labours have been brought to their daily close. *Ubi* is to be repeated with *et aures*, and takes a new meaning in this latter clause, being here equivalent to *in quo*, whereas in the beginning of the sentence it has the force of *a quo*, or rather the simple case of the instrument, *quo.*

<sup>3</sup> *Suppetere nobis posse, &c.* “That that should supply itself to us which we could say,” &c.—*Rerum.* Cases, subjects for pleading.

<sup>10</sup> *Nisi excolamus.* “Unless we assiduously cultivate.”—*Tantam contentionem.* “So long continued exertion.” More literally, “to be kept so long upon the stretch.” A metaphor taken from the bending of a bow, or any thing of a pliable nature, which loses its pliability in some degree by being too long bent.

<sup>11</sup> *Nisi relaxemus.* “Unless we unbend them.” *Relaxo* is here directly opposed to *contentio*, and is elegantly employed for *reficio* or *recreo*. The cramping and narrowing effect of mere professional studies is very pithily alluded to in the well known saying, *οι αὐτοὶ περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τὰ αὐτά,* as well as in the δις κράμβη θάνατος.

<sup>12</sup> *His studiis.* Referring to literary “pursuits.”—*Ita se literis abdiderunt.* “Have buried themselves to such a degree amid literary studies.” Cicero means, that they are only to be censured for their attachment to literary pursuits, who allow the world to reap no benefit from their labours.

<sup>13</sup> *Ut nihil possint, &c.* “As to have been able neither to contribute anything from these same studies to the common good, nor to bring

que proferre. Me autem quid pudeat, qui tot annos ita vivo, judices, ut <sup>1</sup> ab nullius umquam me tempore aut commodo, aut <sup>2</sup> otium meum abstraxerit, aut voluptas avocari, aut denique somnus retardarit? (13.) Quare quis tandem me reprehendat, aut quis mihi jure succenseat, si quantum ceteris <sup>3</sup> ad suas res obeundas, quantum ad festos dies ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates, et ad ipsam requiem animi et corporis conceditur temporum; quantum alii tribuunt <sup>4</sup> tempestivis conviviis, quantum denique <sup>5</sup> aleæ, quantum <sup>6</sup> pilæ; tantum mihi egomet <sup>7</sup> ad haec studia recolenda sumpsero? Atque hoc adeo mihi conce-

forth any thing into the view of their fellow men and the open light of day." *Adspectum* and *lucem* are here opposed to the retirement and comparative obscurity of the study.

<sup>1</sup> *Ab nullius tempore aut commodo.* "From no man's danger or interests." *Tempus* is here elegantly used in the sense of *periculum*. Cicero uses the latter, a little farther on, in this very chapter, "*umquam amicorum periculis defuit.*"

<sup>2</sup> *Otium meum.* "A regard for my own leisure," i. e. the wish to devote my moments of leisure to literary relaxation and repose.

<sup>3</sup> *Ad suas res obeundas.* "For attending to their private affairs."—*Ad festos dies, &c.* "For celebrating the festal days of public spectacles." Public spectacles, such as games, theatrical exhibitions, &c., formed an important part of festal celebrations.

<sup>4</sup> *Tempestivis conviviis.* "To early banquets," begun before the regular time. By *convivium tempestivum*, the Romans meant an entertainment which commenced before the usual time, and was continued late into the night, or prolonged till morning. The ordinary time for beginning the *cœna* was the ninth hour or three o'clock in the afternoon in summer, and the tenth hour in winter. In the expression *tempestivum convivium* some prefer *intempestivum*, as according better with the sense; the opposite, however, is successfully maintained by Granius, Gronovius, Cellarius, Salmasius, and other critics.

<sup>5</sup> *Aleæ.* "To gaming." All games of chance went under the general denomination of *alea*, and were forbidden by the Cornelian, Publician, and Titian laws, except at the Saturnalia in December. [For *ales* Orelli reads *alveolo*, *alveolus* is a shallow box used in a game something like our back-gammon, like it it required dice and "men" (*calculia*)]

<sup>6</sup> *Pilæ.* "To ball-playing." This was a favourite exercise with the Romans, and their most distinguished men engaged in it.

<sup>7</sup> *Ad haec studia recolenda.* "For reviewing these studies." The allusion is to his earlier literary pursuits.

<sup>8</sup> *Quod ex his studiis, &c.* "Because it is from these same studies, that this faculty of public speaking, which I cultivate, increases." *Oratio et facultas* is here equivalent to *facultas orationis*. Some for *crescit* read *consetur*. [With the meaning, is "valued," "estimated by others."]

dendum est magis, <sup>8</sup> quod ex his studiis hæc quoque crescit oratio et facultas, quæ, <sup>9</sup> quantacunque est in me, nunquam amicorum periculis defuit. <sup>10</sup> Quæ si cui levior videtur, illa quidem certe, quæ summa sunt, ex quo fonte hauriam, scutio. (14.) <sup>11</sup> Nam, nisi <sup>12</sup> multorum præceptis multisque literis mihi ab adolescentia suasissem, nihil esse in vita <sup>13</sup> magno opere expetendum, nisi laudem atque honestatem, <sup>14</sup> in ea autem persequenda omnes cruciatus corporis, omnia pericula mortis atque exsilia, parvi esse ducenda; nunquam me pro salute vestra in tot ac tantas <sup>15</sup> dimicationes, atque in hos profligatorum hominum quotidianos impetus objecissim. <sup>16</sup> Sed

<sup>8</sup> Quantacunque est in me. "In whatever degree it exists in me."

<sup>9</sup> Quæ si cui levior, &c. "And if this appears to any one too trifling, I certainly know from what fountain-head I may derive those qualifications that are most important in their character." Cicero, fearing lest his previous remark might savour too much of vanity, subjoins this modest observation. If the faculty of public speaking which I possess appears to any, as no doubt it does, of too trifling and limited nature for me to make any boast of it, still I know in what studies to find those aids to oratory which will enable me to attain to the greatest eminence.

<sup>11</sup> Nam. Cicero now proceeds to show, in most beautiful language, what are those aids, furnished by literary studies, which lead to eminence in oratory. They are, according to him, those principles of true wisdom, and that love for friends and country, which never fail to lead him who is governed by them to the fairest honours of eloquence.

<sup>12</sup> Multorum præceptis, &c. The term *præceptis* refers to the lessons of philosophy, and *literis* to the perusal of the poets, historians, &c.

<sup>13</sup> Magno opere expetendum. "Deserving of being earnestly sought after." — *Honestatem*. "Honour," virtue.—*Laudem*. "Excellence"—"merit." Thus: "If there be any virtue, if there be any *praise*, think of these things." For *exili*, Orelli reads *exsilium*, i. e. "*omnia exilii genera*," which does not seem natural.]

<sup>14</sup> In ea autem persequenda. "And that in its attainment."—*Parvi* *esse ducenda*. "Are to be regarded as comparatively trifling." *Parvi* is what the grammarians call the genitive of price or estimation.

<sup>15</sup> Dimicationes. Referring here, and in what immediately follows, to the conspiracy of Catiline.

<sup>16</sup> Sed pleni omnes sunt libri, &c. "Full, however, are all the books, full are the words of the wise, full is antiquity of great examples; examples that would all lie hid in obscurity, did not the light of literature approach to illumine them." The love of country, argues Cicero, is fostered by the love of literature, for it is the latter that has rescued from oblivion those fair examples of devotion to country and to friends, with which all antiquity abounds.

pleni omnes sunt libri, plenæ<sup>1</sup> sapientium voces, plena exemplorum vetustas; quæ jacerent in tenebris omnia, <sup>2</sup>nisi literarum lumen accederet. <sup>3</sup>Quam multas nobis imagines, non solum ad intuendum, verum etiam ad imitandum, fortissimorum virorum expressas scriptores et Græci et Latini reliquerunt! quas ego <sup>4</sup>mihi semper in administranda re publica proponens, animum et mentem meam ipsa cogitatione hominum excellentium conformabam.

VII. (15.) QUÆRET quispiam: “Quid? <sup>5</sup>illi ipsi summi viri, quorum virtutes literis proditæ sunt, istane doctrina, quam tu laudibus effers, eruditæ fuerunt?” <sup>6</sup>Difficile est hoc de omnibus confirmare; <sup>7</sup>sed tamen est certum, quid respondeam. Ego multos homines <sup>8</sup>excellenti animo ac virtute fuisse, et sine doctrina, <sup>9</sup>naturæ ipsius habitu prope

<sup>1</sup> *Sapientium voces.* Analogous to our English expression, “the voice of the wise,” and referring to the writings of the philosophers.

<sup>2</sup> *Nisi literarum lumen accederet.* This same idea is very beautifully touched upon by HORACE, *Ode 4, 8, 13, seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Quam multas imagines, &c.* “How many delineations of the bravest of men, portrayed not only for our contemplation, but also for our imitation, have both the Greek and Latin writers left behind them!” *Imagines* refers to the delineations of moral character.

<sup>4</sup> *Mihi proponens.* “Placing before my view.”—*Animum et mentem meam, &c.* “Strove to mould my feelings and my thoughts, by reflecting on the characters of those illustrious men.

<sup>5</sup> *Illi ipsi summi viri, &c.* “Were those great men themselves, whose merits have been handed down to remembrance by the aid of letters, trained in that learning which you extol by your encomiums?” Literally, “learned in that learning.” The allusion is to liberal and polite acquirements.

<sup>6</sup> *Difficile est hoc, &c.* Cicero will not undertake to say, that all the eminent men alluded to by him were trained up in the paths of literature. On the contrary, he acknowledges that many of them were self-taught men, and owed their success, in a great degree, to the unaided force of natural talents. Yet he is convinced, that these native powers would have produced still fairer results under the fostering influence of liberal studies.

<sup>7</sup> *Sed tamen est certum, &c.* “And yet what I am going to answer may be relied upon with certainty,” i. e. is most certain.

<sup>8</sup> *Excellenti animo ac virtute.* Of superior ability and merit, [ablative of quality.]—*Et sine doctrina, &c.* “And that, without the aid of learning, by the almost divine influence of nature itself, they have become, by their own exertions, discreet and influential men.”

<sup>9</sup> *Naturæ.* Referring to natural abilities.—*Moderatos.* Compare the explanation of Döring: “Moderatos, h. e. temperantes, continentes, qui animum ad normam recti moderari et temperare possunt.”

<sup>10</sup> *Ad laudem atque virtutem, &c.* “That natural abilities, whether

no, per se ipsos et moderatos et graves exstitisse fateor. <sup>um</sup> illud adjungo, saepius <sup>10</sup> ad laudem atque virtutem, uram sine doctrina, quam sine natura valuisse doctrinam. tque idem ego contendeo, cum ad naturam eximiam atque strem accesserit ratio quædam conformatioque doctrinæ, illud nescio quid præclarum ac singulare solere existere: .) <sup>12</sup>ex hoc esse hunc numero, quem patres nostri viderunt, num hominem, <sup>13</sup>Africanum: ex hoc <sup>14</sup>C. Lælium, L. rium, <sup>15</sup>miseratissimos homines et continentissimos: ex fortissimum virum, <sup>16</sup>et illis temporibus doctissimum, L. Catonem illum senem: qui profecto, si nihil <sup>18</sup>ad percipiendam colendamque virtutem literis adjuvarentur, nun- um se ad earum studium contulissent. <sup>19</sup>Quod si non hic fructus ostenderetur, et si ex his studiis delectatio,

aid of learning, have oftener availed more for the purpose of excellence and of virtue." [See note 13, chap. vi.]

*Atque idem ego contendeo, &c.* And yet I also contend, that when excellent natural abilities there are added the system, as it were, moulding power of learning, then something great and unequalled is wont to result."—*Ratio* refers to the method which learning really imparts, and by which our mental movements become systematised.

<sup>1</sup> *Ex hoc esse, &c.* "That of this number was." *Contendo* extends force to this and the succeeding clauses. [Curiously enough, several interpreters have supposed *numero* to be a verb.]

<sup>1</sup> *Africanum.* The younger Africanus. Consult Historical Index, compare CIC. de Qf. 1, 32: "*Hic idem Africanus eloquentia cum uita bellicam gloriam.*"

<sup>1</sup> *C. Lælium.* Well known from Cicero's treatise on Friendship.—*Furius.* L. Furius was consul A.U.C. 617, and, according to Cicero (ut. 28,) "perbene Latine locutus est, et literatius quam ceteri," spoke the Latin language very elegantly, and more correctly than any other man."

<sup>1</sup> *Moderatissimos homines, &c.* "The most discreet and continent of all." Consult note 9, page 156.

<sup>1</sup> *Et illis temporibus doctissimum.* "And a very learned man for those times."

<sup>1</sup> *M. Catonem illum senem.* "Marcus Cato, the elder." More commonly known as Cato the Censor, and the great grandfather of Cato the censor.

<sup>1</sup> *Ad percipiendam, &c.* "As regarded the knowledge and practice of virtue."—*Adjuvarentur.*—For *adjuti fuissent*.

<sup>1</sup> *Quod si, &c.* "But even if so great advantages as these were not own to result."—*Hanc animi adversionem, &c.* "You would regard this state of mind most worthy the dignity of a thinking being, and most exalted in its character." Compare, as regards *humanissimam*, note 7, p. 140, and also the explanation of DÖRING: "*Humanissimam*, b. e.

sola peteretur, tamen, ut opinor, hanc animi adversionem humanissimam ac liberalissimam judicaretis. <sup>1</sup> Nam ceteræ neque temporum sunt, neque ætatum omnium, neque locorum; hæc studia adolescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solatium præbent, <sup>2</sup> delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.

VIII. (17.) <sup>3</sup> QUOD si ipsi hæc neque attingere, neque sensu nostro gustare possemus, tamen ea mirari deberemus, etiam cum in aliis videremus. Quis nostrum <sup>4</sup> tam animo agresti ac duro fuit, ut <sup>5</sup> Roscii morte nuper non commoveretur? <sup>6</sup> qui cum esset senex mortuus, tamen, propter excellentem artem ac venustatem, videbatur omnino mori non debuisse. Ergo ille <sup>7</sup> corporis motu tantum amorem sibi

*homine dignissimam et honestissimam.*"—[*Animi adversionem*. Stainmetz reads *animadversionem*. Hollenger and Madvig propose *animi remissionem*. Orelli thinks the passage corrupt, and from this and similarly unusual phrases some writers, and amongst them Schräder, have considered this oration to be supposititious. But if every unusual phrase is considered as a proof of forgery, the result would be that no genuine oration of Cicero is preserved. (See Introduction to Catilinar. v.)]

<sup>1</sup> *Nam ceteræ, &c.* “For other mental employments are not suited either to every period, or to every age or place; these studies, however, foster our earlier years, afford delight to our declining ones.”—The MSS. all agree in reading *agunt* for *alunt*; but we have given *alunt* with Lambinus, Manutius, and others. Ernesti has *agunt*, and explains it by *accuunt*, i. e. *excitant*. [Heindorf renders *agunt*, “employs.” Comp. HOR. Serm. 11, 2, 13. *Seu te discus agit*. Madvig and Orelli adopt *acuunt*. CIC. de Rep. 1, 18, 30. *Istæ quidem artes, si modo aliquid, valent ut paullum acuant et tanquam irritent ingenia puerorum.*]

<sup>2</sup> *Delectant domi, &c.* “They impart gratification at home, they embarrass not abroad, they are with us during the night, they roam with us abroad, they are our companions amidst rural scenes.”—*Non impediunt foris*. Literary studies form no impediment to the successful discharge of public duties, but rather an aid.—*Rusticantur*. The attachment of the Romans to a country life, and their resorting to their villas during the heats of summer, are too well known to need comment.

<sup>3</sup> *Quod si ipsi, &c.* “And even if we could neither ourselves prosecute them, nor taste the pleasures they afford by our own perceptions.” *Attingere* is here used in the sense of *tractare*.

<sup>4</sup> *Tam animo agresti ac duro fuit.* “Was possessed of a heart so rude and so devoid of all feeling.” *Agresti* is here equivalent to *inhumano*, i. e. if the term be allowed, “unhumanised.”

<sup>5</sup> *Roscii.* Roscius, the celebrated actor. Consult Historical Index.

<sup>6</sup> *Qui cum esset, &c.* “Who, although he died in advanced years

rat a nobis omnibus; nos animorum incredibiles  
elicitatemque ingeniorum negligemus? (18.) Quoties  
c Archiam vidi, judices, (<sup>8</sup> utar enim vestra benigni-  
oniam me in hoc novo genere dicendi tam diligenter  
is,) quoties ego hunc vidi, <sup>9</sup> cum literam scripsisset  
magnum numerum optimorum versuum de iis ipsis  
juse tum agerentur, <sup>10</sup> dicere ex tempore! quoties  
im eandem rem dicere, <sup>11</sup> commutatis verbis atque  
is! Quas vero <sup>12</sup> accurate cogitateque scripsisset, ea  
probari, ut ad veterum scriptorum laudem per-  
. Hunc ego non diligam? non admirer? non omni  
defendendum putem? <sup>13</sup> Atqui sic a summis homi-  
nibus accepimus, <sup>14</sup> ceterarum rerum studia  
rina, et praeceptis, et arte constare; poëtam natura-

id, on account of his surpassing skill and grace, to have de-  
ever to meet with death," i. e. to have been worthy of living

*Venustatem* is here equivalent to "*elegantem corporis agili-  
tatem corporis motus.*"

*oris motu.* "By the mere movements of his person."—*Nos*  
*i, &c.* "Shall we treat with neglect the movements of the  
passing all belief, and the rapid flights of talent?" i. e. shall  
Roscius for the mere movements of his person, and neglect  
when so much more conspicuous for the movements of the  
Ernesti thinks we ought to read *hos* for *nos*. But the latter is  
emphatic.

*enim vestra benignitate.* "For I will avail myself of your  
x," i. e. I will trespass a little longer upon your attention.—  
*vo genere dicendi.* Compare note 12, p. 141.

*literam scripsisset nullam.* "Although he had not committed  
character to writing," i. e. without using his pen.

*re ex tempore.* "Uttering on the spur of the moment." Archias,  
assembled the Italian improvisatori.—*Revocatum.* "When re-  
peat." Literally, "when recalled," a metaphor borrowed  
custom of theatres, when an actor is recalled by the audience,  
ested to repeat his part.

*mutatis verbis atque sententiis.* "With a total change of words  
ences." [Not "sentiments" or "ideas," for Archias repeated  
em.]

*rate cogitateque.* "With care and on reflection."—*Ut ad ve-*  
*l.* "As to have attained to the praise bestowed on the writers  
e to have equalled the productions of the best days of Grecian  
[Steinmetz remarks that Plautus is the only writer who  
adverb *cogitate*, with the exception of this solitary instance in

*si sic accepimus.* "And yet we have received this," i. e. have  
him. Ilgen reads *atque* on conjecture. But *atqui* suits better  
cedes, and is more spirited.

*urum rerum studia, &c.* "That the successful pursuit of other

ipsa ruitate, et mentis virtus excitari, et quasi divino quod spiritu inspirari. Quare <sup>2</sup> suo jure noster ille Ennius <sup>3</sup> sanctus appellatur poëta, 'quod quasi deorum aliquo dono at munere commendati nobis eas videantur. (19.) Sit igit judicex, sanctum apud nos <sup>4</sup> humanissimos homines, poëta nomen, quod nulla unquam barbaria violavit. 'S et solitudines voci respondent; bestie saepe immanes reflectuntur atque consistunt: nos <sup>5</sup> instituti rebus opti-

matters depends on acquirements, and precepts, and art; that the poet, on the contrary, derives his power from nature herself, and is not put into action by the energies of the mind, and inspired, as it were, a kind of sacred influence."

<sup>1</sup> *Inflari*. Compare the Greek *ἀνέστησάμενος*, *ἐπιτύθει*, &c., as applied to the poet, and also the language of OVID (*Fest.* 6, 5):

*"Est deus in nobis, agitante caliginosus illo;*  
*Impetus hic sacre semina sacris habet."*

<sup>2</sup> *Suo jure*. "By a right peculiarly his own," i. e. on account of his own eminence as a votary of the muse.

<sup>3</sup> *Sanctus*. "A hallowed race."

<sup>4</sup> *Quod quasi*, &c. "Because they seem recommended to us as if they were, by the behest and favour of the gods." The Latin writers, in order to convey an emphatic meaning, frequently join two words, which are exactly or nearly synonymous, in the compass of the same sentence, as, in the present instance, *donum* and *munus*. Some writers, indeed, in the Latin style, endeavour to draw a distinction between these two terms, making *donum* a pure gift, no obligation being implied on the part of the giver, and *munus*, a present which usage or obligation requires (CROMBIE, *Gymn.* vol. i. p. 97). But no such distinction operates in the present case, and certainly none in the following passage of OVID (*A. A.* 3, 653):—

*"Munera, crede mihi, capiunt hominesque deosque;*  
*Placatur donis Jupiter ipse datis."*

In the Pandects, also, *donum* and *munus* are frequently joined with each other, as, for example, lib. 38, tit. 1, leg. 7, 37, 47. Ulpian, however, insists, that *donum* is the generic term, and *munus* the specific (L. 194, *D. de Verb. Signif.*)

<sup>5</sup> *Humanissimos homines*. "Men most conspicuous for the cultivation of liberal knowledge."—*Nulla barbaria*. "No barbarous nation."

<sup>6</sup> *Saxa et solitudines*, &c. "Rocks and deserts respond to the voice." A beautiful allusion to echo, as the applause of inanimate nature. *Bestiae saepe immanes*, &c. "Savage beasts are often swayed by the influence of song, and stop in their career." An allusion to the fable of Orpheus. Compare HORACE, *Od.* 3, 11, 14, "Tu potes tigres conque silvas," &c.

<sup>7</sup> *Instituti rebus optimis*. "Trained up in the best instruction," who have enjoyed the best education.

in poëtarum voce moveamur? Homerum <sup>8</sup> Colophonii  
vem esse dicunt suum, <sup>9</sup> Chii suum vindicant, <sup>10</sup> Salaminii  
petunt, Smyrnæi vero suum esse confirmant, itaque etiam  
delubrum ejus in oppido dedicaverunt: permulti alii præte-  
runt pugnant inter se atque <sup>12</sup> contendunt.

**IX.** Ergo illi <sup>13</sup> alienum, quia poëta fuit, post mortem  
tiam expetunt; nos hunc vivum, qui <sup>14</sup> et voluntate et legibus  
oster est, repudiabimus? præsertim cum <sup>15</sup> omne olim studium

<sup>8</sup> *Colophonii.* “The inhabitants of Colophon.” One of the Greek cities of Ionia. For this and the other names that occur in the sentence, consult Geog. Ind. [The triple repetition *suum* is inelegant.]

<sup>9</sup> *Chii suum vindicant.* The Chians claim him as legally their own.” The inhabitants of the island of Chios, now Scio.

<sup>10</sup> *Salaminii repetunt, &c.* “The people of Salamis demand him back, he Smyrneans, however, bring proofs that he is theirs.” The verb *repeto* is here employed, is remarkably lively and striking. The common name respecting the cities that claimed the honour of being Homer’s natal place, is as follows: “*Smyrna, Rhodus, Colophon, Salamis, Chios, Irgos, Athenæ.*” There is no agreement, however, among writers, as regards these names. Some for Salamis substitute Cumæ, others for Salamis and Rhodes have Pylos and Ithaca. Antipater of Sidon has left the following epigram in the *Anthology*:—

Ἐπτὰ πόλεις μάρναντο σοφῆν διὰ ρίζαν Ὁμήρου,  
Σμύρνα, Χίος, Κολοφῶν, Ἰθάκη, Πύλος, Ἀργος, Ἀθῆναι.

<sup>11</sup> Allatius, himself a native of Chios, in a work written on the subject of Homer’s native country, argues strongly in favour of Chios. One of the main supports, however, of this theory, namely, the line in the Hymn to Apollo, where mention is made of the “blind man” who “dwells in rocky Chios,” is now removed, that poem not being Homer’s. Of all the places referred to, Smyrna appears to have the best claim. [See MULLER, *Hist. Gr. Lit.* chap. v.—GROTE, *Hist. Greece*, vol. 1.]

<sup>12</sup> *Delubrum ejus, &c.* “They have dedicated a temple to him.” Literally, “a shrine of his.” Consult the learned work of Gisbert Kuper (*Amst. 1683, 4to.*) on a marble which has come down to us, with a representation on it of Homer’s apotheosis.

<sup>13</sup> *Contendunt.* Weiske thinks, that *de eo*, or some similar words, have been dropped from this clause. This supposition seems hardly necessary, considering all that precedes.

<sup>14</sup> *Alienum.* “A stranger.” Referring to Homer.—*Hunc vivum.* “This one while still alive.” Alluding to Archias.

<sup>15</sup> *Et voluntate et legibus.* “Both from inclination and by the laws.” The laws of Rome respecting citizenship.—*Repudiabimus?* “Shall we reject?” Some editions have *repudiamus*, but the future is more emphatic, and is sanctioned by the greater number of manuscripts.

<sup>16</sup> *Omne studium atque omne ingenium.* “All his zeal and all his intent.”

atque omne ingenium contulerit Archias ad populi gloriam laudemque celebrandam? Nam<sup>1</sup> et Cimbr adolescens attigit, et<sup>2</sup> ipsi illi C. Mario, <sup>3</sup>qui durior studia videbatur, jucundus fuit. (20.) Neque enim qu est<sup>4</sup> tam aversus a Musis, <sup>5</sup>qui non mandari versibū num suorum laborum facile præconium patiatur. <sup>6</sup>Toclem illum, summum Athenis virum, dixisse aiunt, eo quæreretur, <sup>7</sup>quod acroama, aut cuius vocem liben audiret: "ejus, <sup>8</sup>a quo sua virtus optime prædica Itaque ille Marius<sup>9</sup> item eximie L. Plotium dilexit.

<sup>1</sup> *Et Cimbricas res, &c.* "He both, when a young man, treate operations against the Cimbri," i. e. the war with that invading Attigit. The verb *attingo* means, to touch slightly upon, to e a thing in part, and hence it has been supposed that Archias commenced a poem on the Cimbric war, especially as Cicero, 11th chapter of this same oration, uses *attigit* and *inchoavit* tog

<sup>2</sup> *Ipsi illi C. Mario.* "To the celebrated Caius Marius<sup>1</sup> The conqueror of the Cimbri. The pronoun *ille* has here the the Greek article when emphatic.

<sup>3</sup> *Qui durior, &c.* "Who seemed too insensible to favor studies," i. e. to patronize or take any interest in literary men.

<sup>4</sup> *Tam aversus a Musis.* "So averse to the Muses," i. e. so foe to literary pursuits; possessing a mind so ungenial to studies. Compare the Greek *ἀμονσος*.

<sup>5</sup> *Qui non mandari, &c.* "As not readily to allow the eternal ing of his labours to be consigned to verse," i. e. as not readily the poet to consign his fame to the immortality of verse.

<sup>6</sup> *Themistoclem illum.* "That the famous Themistocles."

<sup>7</sup> *Quod acroama.* "What performer." *Acroama* properly any thing agreeable to hear, (from the Greek *ἀκροάματι*) a symphony of players, &c. It is then, as in the present instance to signify a musician or performer. Compare CIC. *pro Sexto* "Ipse ille maximus ludius, non solum spectator, sed actor et c So SUETONIUS, Aug. 74, "Et aut acroamata aut histriones a triviales ex circo ludios interponebat." Ernesti, in an excursus latter passage even goes so far as to assert, that, among Latin *acroama* is always used of persons and never of things. This however, is an erroneous one. Still his explanation of the word may not be amiss in this place: "Acroamata, qui sive in thea in convivio, voluptatis causa audiuntur; musici omnes qui cavorum, tibiarum, et vocum, delectant aures."

<sup>8</sup> *A quo sua virtus, &c.* "By whom his merits might be b brated." The love of glory was the ruling passion of this ill Athenian. Compare, as regards the anecdote here related of language of VALERIUS MAXIMUS: "Themistocles, theatrum pet interrogaretur, cuius vox auditu illi futura esset gratissima, dix a quo artes meæ canentur optime." (8, 14, 5.)

<sup>9</sup> *Item eximie, &c.* "Was, for a like reason, strongly at

ingenio putabat ea, quæ gesserat, posse celebrari. (21.) <sup>10</sup> Mithridaticum vero bellum, magnum atque difficile, et in multa varietate terra marique versatum, totum ab hoc expressum est: <sup>11</sup> qui libri non modo L. Lucullum, fortissimum et clarissimum virum, verum etiam populi Romani nomen illustrant. <sup>12</sup> Populus enim Romanus aperuit, Lucullo imperante, Pontum, et regiis quondam opibus, et ipsa natura regionis vallatum: populi Romani exercitus, eodem duce, <sup>13</sup> non maxima manu innumerabiles <sup>14</sup> Armeniorum copias fudit: <sup>15</sup> populi Romani

Lacius Plotius." Ernesti regards Plotius as a poet; but Weiske makes him a rhetorician, and identical with the one named in SUETONIUS, *de Cet. Rhet.* c. 2; [and who opened the first school of Latin rhetoric at Roma, he also studied poesy. See *Quint.* iii. 4, 42.]

<sup>10</sup> *Mithridaticum vero bellum*, &c. "The whole Mithridatic war, however, great and difficult, and carried on with varied success by land and sea, has been described in verse by this my friend." The Mithridatic war was carried on by the Romans, against Mithridates the 7th, named Eupator, king of Pontus. It was an important and difficult contest, owing to the great talents and varied resources of Mithridates. The war was entered upon by Sylla, who was followed by Lucullus, and it was brought to a close by Pompey. [Totum must be taken with some limitation, i. e. The whole war as far as carried on by Lucullus; Archias, being the friend of Lucullus, would scarcely celebrate Pompey's management of the war; besides Pompey had his own historian, Theopompos of Mitelene.]

<sup>11</sup> *Qui libri*. "And this poem." The term *libri* refers literally to the "books" of which the poem in question was composed.—*Illustrant.* "Sheds lustre upon."

<sup>12</sup> *Populus enim Romanus*, &c. "For the Roman people, with Lucullus or their commander, laid open Pontus, although hitherto strongly defended both by the resources of its monarch and the nature itself of the country." Of the merits of Lucullus, in this war, Cicero treats at large in the 8th chapter of the oration for the Manilian law. As regards the force of *aperuit* in the present passage, compare the oration just referred to (l. c.), "*Patefactumque nostris legionibus Pontum, qui ad Populo Romano ex omni aditu clausus esset.*"

<sup>13</sup> *Non maxima manu*. "With no very large force." The Roman infantry, on this occasion, consisted of about 10,000 men. There were also about a thousand slingers. The whole cavalry were likewise present, which Appian makes 500 in number. (PLUT. *Vit. Lucull.* c. 7. APPIAN, *Bell. Mithrid.* c. 85.)

<sup>14</sup> *Armeniorum*. The battle was fought with Tigranes, king of Armenia, and son-in-law of Mithridates. His army is said to have been 50,000 infantry, and 50,000 cavalry. (APPIAN, l. c.) According to the ancient writers, Tigranes ridiculed the small number of the Roman troops, remarking, "If they come as ambassadors, there are too many of them; if as soldiers, too few." (PLUT. *Vit. Lucull.* l. c.)

<sup>15</sup> *Populo Romani*, &c. "To the Roman people belongs the praise,

laus est, urbem amicissimam Cyzicenorum, ejusdem cons  
 'ex omni impetu regio, ac totius belli ore ac faucibus erep  
 esse atque servatam: <sup>2</sup> nostra semper feretur et præd  
 bitur, L. Lucullo dimicante, cum interfectis ducibus depr  
 hostium classis, et incredibilis apud Tenedum pugna  
 navalis: <sup>3</sup> nostra sunt tropæa, nostra monumenta, n  
 triumphi. Quare, quorum ingeniis hæc <sup>4</sup>feruntur, ab  
 populi Romani fama celebratur. (22.) Carus fuit <sup>5</sup>Afric  
 superiori noster Ennius: <sup>6</sup> itaque etiam <sup>7</sup>in sepulchro  
 pionum putatur is esse constitutus e marmore. At

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that the very friendly city of the Cyziceni was rescued," &c., i. e  
 praise of having rescued. Compare the 8th chapter of the oration  
 the Manilian law; and consult, for an account of Cyzicus, Geogra  
 Index.

<sup>1</sup> *Ex omni impetu regio*, &c. "From every attack on the part of  
 monarch with whom we were warring, and from the mouth and  
 of the whole war," i. e. from the fury of a formidable monarch,  
 from all the disasters of a merciless war. The king referred to  
 Mithridates.—*Ore ac faucibus*. A metaphor borrowed from the  
 appearance presented by a furious monster about to spring upon  
 prey. [Victorinus compares Hom. *Il.* à 8, Πτολέμοιο μέγα σ  
 πευκεδανοῖ.]

<sup>2</sup> *Nostra semper feretur*, &c. [The sinking of the enemy's fleet  
 the slaughter of its leaders under the guidance of Lucullus,—and  
 unparalleled naval contest off Tenedos, will ever be celebrated  
 extolled as our deed."] With *nostra* repeat *laus* from the prev  
 sentence. We have preferred this to the very harsh constructio  
 ERNESTI: "Nostra maxime cum pugna navalis; per συζυγίαν  
 classis jungitur."

<sup>3</sup> *Nostra sunt tropæa*, &c. "These are our trophies, our monum  
 our triumphs," i. e. peculiarly our own; [and celebrated as our  
 the poets, without whom these achievements would have been pec  
 merely to the generals.]

<sup>4</sup> *Feruntur*. "Are spread abroad." Equivalent to *differuntur*  
*dissipantur*.

<sup>5</sup> *Africano superiori*. "To the elder Africanus." Commonly called  
 Africanus Major, (*scil.* natu.)—*Noster Ennius*. Ennius, although  
 native of Rudiae in Calabria, yet obtained by his merits the freedom of  
 Rome, and became in the strictest sense, by his metrical annals, the  
 national poet of the Roman people. Hence the expression *noster*, "own," in the text.

<sup>6</sup> *Itaque etiam*, &c. "And hence he is even thought to be placed  
 marble on the sepulchre of the Scipios," i. e. the marble statue, which  
 we see along with others on the tomb of the Scipios, is thought to be  
 of Ennius. ["On the opening of the tomb of the Scipios in 1780  
 nothing was found relating to Ennius."—ORELLI. But the tomb may

certe non solum <sup>9</sup>ipsi, qui laudantur, sed etiam mani nomen ornatur. In cœlum <sup>10</sup>hujus proavus tur: magnus honos populi Romani rebus <sup>11</sup>adjun mnes denique illi Maximi, Marcelli, Fulvii, non iuni omnium nostrum laude decorantur.

<sup>10</sup> <sup>12</sup> illum, qui hæc fecerat, Rudinum hominem, ostri in civitatem receperunt; nos <sup>13</sup>hunc Hera <sup>14</sup>multis civitatibus expetitum, <sup>15</sup>in hac autem nstitutum, de nostra civitate ejiciemus?

[and rifled before. We have Livy's authority for the state-  
ero. (*Liv.* 36, 56.) See next note.]

*chro Scipionum.* Not "in the sepulchre of the Scipios," sepulchre," &c. Compare LIVY, 36, 56: "Nam et *Literni* (Africanus,) monumentoque statua superimposita fuit, quam ejectam nuper vidimus ipsi. Et Romæ extra portam Capenam m monumento tres statuae sunt: quarum duæ *P.* et *L.* licuntur esse, tertia poetæ *Q. Ennius.*" Consult also PLIN.

SOLIN. c. 7. VAL. MAX. 1, 14. Visconti thought he had this tomb, not far from the Capenian gate, for the par- which discovery Maio refers to the *Anthologia Romana*, 77.

gen: proposes *eius*. But *ius* refers not only to the praise us bestowed on Scipio, but to that of Ennius towards the in people.]

Referring as well to Africanus, as to the individuals men- edately after, Cato, the Maximi, &c., all of whom were in poetry of Ennius. By "the Maximi, Marcelli, Fulvii," in fact only three individuals, Q. Fabius Maximus, M. Clau- lus, and M. Fulvius Nobilior, all of whom distinguished in the second Punic war. The plural form is adopted for Consult Historical Index.

*proarus Cato.* "Cato, the great grandfather of him who me," or, "of him who is here present." The reference in Cato the censor. *Hujus* refers to *Cato Uticensis*, or, as he rectly called, Cato the younger, who was present in court, one of the *judices*.

*ritur.* "Is thereby imparted."

Referring to Ennius.—*Rudinum hominem.* "Although a Indiæ." Rudiae, the natal place of Ennius, was a city of Magna Græcia." [Ennius thus speaks of himself: "Nos ani, qui furimus ante Rudini.]

*Heracleensem.* "This Heraclean." Referring to Archias. is to contrast the comparative insignificance of Rudiae with ur of Heraclea, whence Archias derived his claim of citizen-

civitatibus. Rhegium, Locri, Neapolis, Tarentum.

"In this one of ours."—*Legibus.* Referring, in particular, f Silvanus and Carbo.

(23.) <sup>1</sup> Nam si quis <sup>2</sup> minorem gloriæ fructum putat ex Græcis versibus percipi, quam ex Latinis, vehementer errat: propterea, quod Græca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus, <sup>3</sup> Latina suis finibus, exiguis sane, continentur. Quare si res eæ, quas gessimus, <sup>4</sup> orbis terræ regionibus definiuntur, cupere debemus, <sup>5</sup> quo manuum nostrarum tela pervenerint, eodem gloriam famamque penetrare: <sup>6</sup> quod cum ipsis populis, de quorum rebus scribitur, hæc ampla sunt, tum iis certe, qui de vita, gloriæ causa, dimicant, hoc maximum et periculorum incitamentum est, et laborum. (24.) <sup>7</sup> Quam multos scriptores rerum suarum magnus ille Alexander secum habuisse dicitur! Atque is tamen, cum <sup>8</sup> in Sigeo <sup>9</sup> ad

<sup>1</sup> *Nam si quis*, &c. Cicero here meets an objection, if it deserve the name, which some might perhaps urge, that Ennius was honoured because he wrote in Latin verse, whereas Archias composed in Greek.

<sup>2</sup> *Minorem gloriæ fructum percipi*. “That a less harvest of glory is reaped.”—*Græca*. “Grecian productions.”

<sup>3</sup> *Latina suis finibus*, &c. “Whereas Latin works are confined within their natural limits, and these contracted indeed.” By the natural limits of Latin works, Cicero means the confines of Latium, where the Latin language was spoken. In Upper Italy the Etruscan and Gallic dialects prevailed: in Lower Italy, Greek. In a later age, Roman literature became of course more widely disseminated.

<sup>4</sup> *Orbis terræ regionibus definiuntur*. “Are only bounded by the limits of the world,” i. e. have reached the farthest limits of earth, have had the whole world for their theatre.

<sup>5</sup> *Quo manuum*, &c. “That, whither the weapons wielded by our hands have reached, thither also our glory and our fame may penetrate.”

<sup>6</sup> *Quod cum*, &c. “Because, as well these things are full of glory for the people themselves,” &c.—*Tum iis certe*, &c. “So they assuredly form the strongest incitement,” &c.

<sup>7</sup> *Quam multos scriptores*, &c. “How many historians of his exploits is Alexander the Great said to have had in his train.” Fabricius (*Bk. Gr.* 3, 18) gives a long list of writers who treated of the history and exploits of Alexander, of whom only a few have come down to us.

<sup>8</sup> *In Sigeo*. “On the promontory of Sigeum.” Sigeum and Rhamnus were the two famous promontories of the Troad. Consult Geographical Index.

<sup>9</sup> *Ad Achillis tumulum*. According to Plutarch, as soon as Alexander landed at the Troad, he went up to Ilium, where he sacrificed to Minerva, and offered libations to the heroes. He also anointed the pillar upon the tomb of Achilles with oil, and ran round it naked with his friends; after which he placed a crown upon it, declaring, “He thought that hero extremely fortunate in having found a faithful friend while he lived, and after his death an excellent herald to proclaim his praise.” (*Vit. Alex. c. 15.*)

is tumulum adstitisset,<sup>10</sup> "O fortunate," inquit, "ado-  
i, qui tuae virtutis Homerum præconem inveneris!"  
e. Nam, nisi <sup>11</sup> Ilias illa exstitisset, idem tumulus, qui  
ejus contexerat, nomen etiam obruisset. Quid?  
r hic Magnus, qui cum virtute fortunam adæquavit,  
<sup>12</sup> Theophanem, Mitylenæum, scriptorem rerum suarum,  
xione militum civitate donavit? <sup>13</sup> et nostri illi fortis  
rustici ac milites, dulcedine quadam gloriæ commoti,  
participes ejusdem laudis, magno illud clamore appro-  
ant? (25.) <sup>14</sup> Itaque, credo, si civis Romanus Archias  
non esset, ut ab aliquo imperatore civitate dona-  
perficere non potuit! <sup>15</sup> Sulla, cum Hispanos et Gallos

[“The flocks are grazing on the mound  
Of him who felt the Dardan’s arrow;  
That mighty heap of gathered ground  
Which Ammon’s son ran proudly round,  
Is now a lone and nameless barrow.”—BYRON.]

fortunate adolescent, &c. “Ah! fortunate youth, in having Homer as the herald of thy fame.”—Qui is joined with theitive *inveneris*, as referring to the reason, &c. Literally, “since it find.” Compare note 3, page 76.

*s illa*. “That Iliad.” *Illa* here takes the place of the article *ea*, and is strongly emphatical.

*ster hic Magnus*, &c. “Did not our Great one,” i. e. “this the Great of ours.”

*phanem*. Theophanes was a native of Mitylene, in the island of Lesbos. We have only a few epigrams of his remaining. He is mentioned in *Or. pro Balb. c. 25, Ep. ad Att. 5, 11*, and elsewhere.

*ostri illi*, &c. “And did not those countrymen of ours, brave and true, yet of rustic habits, and mere soldiers, animated by a secret charm of glory, approve of that act by loud shouts, as if they were sharers of the same praise with their commander?” The word *rustici* here applied to them, which carries with it the idea of being rude and unpolished. For the more general meaning of the word see ERNESTI, *Clav. Cic. s. v.*

*que credo*, &c. “Wherefore, I suppose, if Archias had not been a citizen, according to our laws, he would not have been able that he should be presented to the rights of citizenship by some means of ours!” Anthon changed *potuit*, which is the commonly received reading, to *potuisset*, on the suggestion of Ernesti, as follows. The MSS. often have *potuit* as a contraction for *potuisset*, and hence the error may have arisen. [But Archias actually became a citizen, therefore *potuit* is right. Cf. *pro Planc. 25, 60. uit amplius, si L. Brutus esset*.—MATT.]

*a, cum Hispanos*, &c. “Sylla, I suppose, when presenting namely Spain and of Gaul with the rights of citizenship, would have

donaret, credo hunc petentem repudiasset! <sup>1</sup> qu<sup>o</sup> concione vidimus, cum ei <sup>2</sup> libellum malus poëta subjecisset, quod epigramma in eum fecisset, ta alternis versibus longiusculis, statim <sup>3</sup> ex iis re tunc vendebat, jubere ei præmium tribui sub ea ne quid postea scriberet. <sup>4</sup> Qui sedulitatem n<sup>on</sup> duxerit aliquo tamen præmio dignam, hujus in virtutem in scribendo et copiam non expetiss Quid? a Q. Metello Pio, familiarissimo suo, q multos donavit, neque per se, <sup>5</sup> neque per Lucull<sup>o</sup> visset? qui præsertim usque eo <sup>6</sup> de suis rebus scri ut etiam <sup>7</sup> Cordubæ natis poëtis <sup>8</sup> pingue quiddam atque peregrinum, tamen aures suas dederet.

refused Archias when seeking the same favour," i. e. had he Schütz omits this second *credo*, and places a mark of interi *repudiasset*. The alteration is quite unnecessary.

<sup>1</sup> *Quem nos, &c.* "That Sylla whom we once saw in op when a wretched poet, from the lower order, had presente petition, merely because he had composed a short poem i in verses alternately long and short." Literally, "in vers somewhat longer than the previous one," i. e. in the hexameter and pentameter. The term *epigramma* is here its *ancient* signification (not in that of our modern *epigram*) a short piece of poetry, commonly in about four lines, exceeding that number, and in alternate hexameter and pent [Cicero humorously describes these elegiacs, as elegiacs in every second line was somewhat longer than the preceding Ennius calls the heroic verse *longius*, these were *longiuscul populo*. Cf. *Luc. Somn.* 9. τῶν μὲν τοῦ πολλοῦ δήμου εἰς.

<sup>2</sup> *Libellum.* The term *libellus* properly means a written folded in the form of a *small book*, whence the name. In instance it denotes an humble petition for some mark of the idea of humility on the part of the applicant is still furt by the verb *subjecisset*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ex iis rebus, quas tunc vendebat.* Döring thinks that the effects of proscribed persons.

<sup>4</sup> *Qui sedulitatem, &c.* "Would not he, who thought bad poet worthy nevertheless of some recompence, have e to honour the genius of this one, (Archias,) and his abilit<sup>o</sup>tion, as well as the rich stores of his intellect?"

<sup>5</sup> *Neque per Lucullos.* The two Luculli were cousins Pius. The father of the latter, Metellus Numidicus, w<sup>e</sup> the mother of Luculli.

<sup>6</sup> *De suis rebus scribi.* "Of having his actions commem

<sup>7</sup> *Cordubæ.* Corduba, now *Cordova*, was a city of His Consult Geographical Index.

*Pingue quiddam, &c.* "Though strumming forth so

XI. NEQUE enim est hoc dissimulandum, quod obscurari non potest; sed præ nobis ferendum: <sup>10</sup> trahimur omnes iudic studio, et optimus quisque maxime gloria dicitur. Ipsi illi philosophi, <sup>12</sup> etiam illis libellis, quos de contemnenda gloria scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt: <sup>13</sup> in eo ipso, in quo meditationem nobilitatemque despiciunt, prædicari de se, ac e nominari volunt. (27.) <sup>14</sup> Decimus quidem Brutus, summus ille vir et imperator, <sup>15</sup> Attii, amicissimi sui, carminibus emplorum ac monumentorum aditus exornavit suorum, tam vero ille, qui cum Ætolis, Ennio comite, bellavit. <sup>16</sup> Fulvius, <sup>17</sup> non dubitavit Martis manubias Musis conse-

barbarous strain." *Pingue* obtains its meaning of "dulness" from the idea of mental inertness being always, in some degree, associated with that of grossness of body. Compare note 10, page 89.

<sup>1</sup> Sed præ nobis ferendum. "But must be openly acknowledged." Equivalent to *aperte profitendum*.

<sup>2</sup> *Trahimur omnes*, &c. "We are all drawn onward by a love of praise, and the best of us are most influenced by the passion for glory." *Optimus quisque*. Literally, "each best person."

<sup>3</sup> *Ipsi illi philosophi*. [The MSS. have *ipsi illi philosophi*. Anthon omitted *illi* with Schütz.]

<sup>4</sup> *Etiam illis libellis*, &c. "Even inscribe their names in the very treatises which they compose on the contempt of glory." More literally "on glory as deserving of contempt," i. e. on the propriety of contemning glory." The idea here expressed is given in almost the same language in *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 15.—*Libellus*. The term *libellus* here denotes "a little book," i. e. a short work or treatise.

<sup>5</sup> *In eo ipso*, &c. "In the very case in which they affect to despise all praise and renown, they actually wish themselves to be talked of as mentioned." We have adopted *se* before *nominari*, with Weiske, from **AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS** (22, 7), who cites this passage of Cicero. The common text has merely *ac nominari*.

<sup>6</sup> *Decimus quidem Brutus*. This individual signalised himself by his successes; [and hence was called *Gallaicus*. He was consul, A.U.C. 516.] Compare **VELL. PATERC.** 2, 5, and consult Historical Index.

<sup>7</sup> *Attii, amicissimi sui*, &c. "Adorned the approaches to the temples and monuments which commemorated his exploits, with the verses of Attius, his most intimate friend." Attius, or, as the name is otherwise written, Accius, was a tragic poet, of whose productions only a few fragments remain. According to **VALERIUS MAXIMUS** (8, 14, 2), Brutus erected a temple with the spoils he had taken from the foe.

<sup>8</sup> *Fulvius*. M. Fulvius Nobilior, who took the poet Ennius along with him into Ætolia. (*Tusc. Disp.* 1, 2.) Consult Historical Index for both names.

<sup>9</sup> *Non dubitavit*, &c. "Hesitated not to consecrate to the Muses the spoils of Mars." By *manubiae* are meant those of the spoils which the commander set apart to defray the expense of erecting some monu-

crare. Quare, in qua urbe imperatores, <sup>1</sup> prope armati poëtarum nomen et Musarum delubra coluerunt, in ea non debent togati judices <sup>2</sup> a Musarum honore et a poetarum salute abhorrere.

(28.) Atque, ut id libentius faciatis, <sup>3</sup> jam me vobis judices, indicabo, et de meo quodam amore gloriae, nimirum acri fortasse, verumtamen honesto, vobis confitebor. Nam <sup>4</sup> quas res nos in consulatu nostro vobiscum simul pro salute hujus urbis atque imperii, et pro vita civium, proque universitate publica gessimus, <sup>5</sup> attigit hic versibus atque inchoavit quibus auditis, quod mihi magna res et jucunda visa est <sup>6</sup> hunc ad perficiendum hortatus sum. Nullam enim virtutem aliam mercedem laborum periculorumque desiderat, praeter hanc laudis et gloriae; qua quidem detracta, judices, <sup>7</sup> qui

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ment of the victory. The expression *Martis* (for *belli*) is elegant, standing as it does in direct opposition to *Musis*. It is not known what act, on the part of Fulvius, is here referred to, or what memorial he erected.

<sup>1</sup> *Prope armati.* "Almost with arms in their hands." — *Togati.* "Arrayed in the robes of peace." The *toga* was the civic robe or gown.

<sup>2</sup> *A Musaram honore, &c.* "To be averse to honouring the Muses and bestowing safety on their votaries."

<sup>3</sup> *Jam me vobis indicabo.* "I will now lay open to you my own secret feelings," i. e. I will unbosom myself unto you.—*De meo quodam amore gloriae.* "Respecting a certain passion for glory by which I myself am influenced."

<sup>4</sup> *Quas res.* Referring to his having crushed the conspiracy of Catiline.—*Vobisrum simul.* The allusion here is extremely adroit.

<sup>5</sup> *Attigit hic versibus atque inchoavit.* "This poet has touched upon and begun to treat of in verse." *Attigit*, when placed, as in the present instance, in conjunction with *inchoavit*, refers not to any slight handling of a subject, but rather to the making of a beginning merely. [It appears that Archias did not finish his design. (*Att. 1, 16, 15.*) *Archias nihil de me scripsit ac vereor, ne Lucullis quoniam Græcum poema continet, nunquam ad Cœcilianam fabulam spectat.*"] He intends to celebrate the *Cœcilius Metelli.*]

<sup>6</sup> *Hunc ad perficiendum hortatus sum.* "I have exhorted him to complete the poem." In many MSS., and early editions, we find *hortatus sum*, at which Ernesti very justly expresses his surprise. The verb *hortor*, it is true, may have been used by the early writers in the active form, as many of the deponents are, but certainly this was not the custom in the age of Cicero. The ancient annotator in the Ambrosian MSS. reads *adoravi*, and asserts that this was used in the sense of *hortatus sum* by Cicero. "*Hoc verbum adoravi significat cohortatus sum adoravit autem orare et petere significat.*" This may all very well be so; it is, nevertheless, not the custom with Cicero, and we have there

in hoc tam exiguo vitæ curriculo, et tam brevi,  
s in laboribus exerceamus? (29.) Certe, <sup>8</sup> si nihil  
præsentiret in posterum, et si, quibus regionibus  
cum circumscripsum est, eisdem omnes cogitationes  
et suas, <sup>9</sup> nec tantis se laboribus frangeret, neque  
vigiliisque angeretur, nec toties de vita ipsa  
. <sup>10</sup> Nunc insidet quædam in optimo quoque virtus,  
es et dies animum gloriæ stimulis concitat, atque  
<sup>11</sup> non cum vitæ tempore esse dimittendam com-  
onem nominis nostri, sed cum omni posteritate  
lam.

30.) <sup>12</sup>AN vero tam parvi animi videamur esse  
ii in re publica, atque in his vitæ periculis labori-  
ersamur, ut, cum usque ad extremum spatum,

ed the reading in the text. [Hortatus is found in Ascens. mon editions, and MS. Barber. Orellius reads from conjecture.]

Madvig and Erf. have *adhortatus sum.*] *quod?* “What reason is there why?” Literally, “What account of which?” With *quod* supply *propter.*

*animus præsentiret in posterum.* “If the mind had no pre-  
of the future.”—*Regionibus.* “Limits.”—*Terminaret.* “It  
ind.”

*frangeret.* “It would neither break down its powers.”  
e remark of DÖRING: “Frangi eleganter dicuntur laboribus,  
ires in iis perferendis consumunt.”

*insidet, &c.* “On the contrary, there dwells in all the noblest  
ind of generous impulse.”

*cum vitæ tempore, &c.* “That the remembrance of our name  
sent away into oblivion along with the period of our mortal  
but is to be made equal with all posterity.” We have re-  
itendam, the reading of the common text. Lambinus con-  
netiendam, which Schütz violently alters into commetiendam.  
ad dimetiendam saw that the phrase *cum vitæ tempore dimit-*  
erroneous, for we require *cum vitæ fine*, or *cum morte*. Orel-  
ined to read *dimetiendam*, although an ἡπαξ λεγομένον!  
*en tempore vitæ est: una cum eo punto temporis, quo finit*  
*huc esset justa mensura, finire etiam nominis commemora-*

*o tam parvi, &c.* “Shall we, indeed, who are engaged in  
rs, and amid these perils of life, and heavy labours, appear  
esessed of so little elevation of spirit, as, after having drawn  
e last period of our lives, not one tranquil and peaceful  
imagine that every thing connected with us is destined to  
our frames?” i. e. as, after having during the whole of our  
d not one moment of tranquil repose, to imagine that death  
he scene for ever, and that no recompence awaits us amid  
of posterity.

nullum tranquillum atque otiosum spiritum duxerimus, nobiscum simul moritura omnia arbitremur? <sup>1</sup>An, cum statuas et imagines, non animorum simulacra, sed corporum, studiose multi summi homines reliquerint, <sup>2</sup>consiliorum relinquere ac virtutum nostrarum effigiem nonne multo malle debemus, summis ingenii expressam et politam? Ego vero omnia, quæ gerebam, <sup>3</sup>jam tum in gerendo spargere me ac disseminare arbitrabar in orbis terræ memoriam sempiternam. <sup>4</sup>Hæc vero sive a meo sensu post mortem abfutura est, sive, ut sapientissimi homines putaverunt, <sup>5</sup>ad aliquam animi mei partem pertinebit; nunc quidem certe cogitatione quadam speque delector.

(31.) Quare conserve, judices, hominem <sup>6</sup>pudore eo

<sup>1</sup> An, cum statuas, &c. Cicero appears here to have had in view the fine passage of ISOCRATES. (*Euag.* c. 30): 'Εγώ δ', ὁ Νικόκλειος, ἤγουρα καλὰ μὲν εἶναι μνημεῖα καὶ τὰς τῶν σωμάτων εἰκόνας, πολὺ δίνει πλείονος ἀξίας τὰς τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῆς διανοίας, κ.τ.λ.

<sup>2</sup> Consiliorum relinquere, &c. "Ought we not to be much more desirous of leaving behind us a delineation of our thoughts and our virtues, traced out and perfected by the most eminent talent?"—All the editions before Ernesti's have *nonne multo*, for which he reads *non multo*.

<sup>3</sup> Jam tum in gerendo. "At the very time I was performing them."

<sup>4</sup> Hæc vero, &c. "Whether this remembrance, indeed, is destined, after death, to be distant from my consciousness; or whether, as the wisest men have thought, it will continue to exercise an influence on some portion of my being, I certainly now, indeed, delight myself with the reflection and the hope that it may be so."—*Hæc* refers to *memoriam* in the previous sentence, and denotes the remembrance of Cicero by his fellow men and posterity.

<sup>5</sup> Ad aliquam animi mei, &c. The MSS. have *animi* after *aliquam*, which makes *mei* a possessive pronoun. It is omitted, in some MSS. and rejected by Beck, Schütz, and others, [but retained by Orelli. For the omission of *animi*, cf. HOR. iii. 30, 6. *Multaque pars mei vixit Libitinam.* For its retention, *de Finn.* v. 13, 36. *Animi autem et quin animi partes.*]

[Some of the old philosophers conceived the soul to consist of various parts or functions, among which there was one that had assigned to it the contemplation of the good actions performed in life; which explains the allusion here. Plato admitted three parts: one by which we learn; another, feel angry; a third, are led to sensual enjoyments. The two latter die with the body. The first, possessing reason, is immortal—DELPH.]

<sup>6</sup> Pudore eo, &c. "Of that degree of modest merit, the existence of which you see plainly proved, as well by the high rank of his friends, as by the long continuance of their intimacy; and of a genius as elevated, as it is right that his should be regarded, from your *notitia*.

amicorum videtis comprobari cum dignitate, tum  
 vetustate: ingenio autem tanto, quantum <sup>8</sup> id con-  
 nit existimari, quod summorum hominum ingeniis expe-  
 xum esse videatis: causa vero ejusmodi, <sup>9</sup>quæ beneficio  
 glia, <sup>10</sup>auctoritate municipii, testimonio Luculli, tabulis  
 etelli comprobetur. Quæ cum ita sint, petimus a vobis,  
 dices, si qua non modo <sup>11</sup>humana, verum etiam divina in-  
 tis negotiis commendatio debet esse, ut eum, qui vos, qui  
 astros imperatores, qui populi Romani res gestas semper  
 rnavit, qui etiam his recentibus nostris, vestrisque <sup>12</sup>domes-  
 tici periculis æternum se testimonium laudum daturum  
 esse profitetur, quique <sup>13</sup>est eo numero, qui semper apud  
 mnes sancti sunt habiti atque dicti, sic in vestram accipiatis  
 dem, ut <sup>14</sup>humanitate vestra levatus potius, quam acerbitate

consequence, eagerly sought after by individuals of the highest order of talents. Compare, as regards the first part of this sentence, the explanation of Döring: "quem quidem (sc. pudorem) vere ei inesse, arguente vobis esse potest, quod viri summi et gravissimi non solum junxerunt cum eo amicitiam, sed eandem quoque per longos annos continuavunt."

<sup>1</sup> *Vetustate.* Although nearly all the MSS. have *venustate*, still the reading *vetustate* is so much superior, and so peculiarly adapted to the context, that Ernesti and the best editors have not hesitated to receive it. The advocates for *venustate* make it equivalent to *morum elegantia*, but Döring very justly asks: "Quomodo morum elegantia aliorum pudorem cuiusdam comprobare potest?" [Vetustate refers to his long intimacy with Cicero, dignitate to the high rank of the Luculli, &c. *Venustas* is used by Cicero regarding female beauty, *de Off.* 1, 36, 130, *venustatem muliebrem ducere debemus, dignitatem virilem.*]

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* Supply *suum ingenium.* "That genius of his."

<sup>3</sup> *Quæ beneficio legis, &c.* "Which is based upon the privilege granted by an express law," &c. He means the privilege of citizenship granted by the law of Silvanus and Carbo.

<sup>4</sup> *Auctoritate municipii.* Referring to Heraclea.

<sup>5</sup> *Humana.* "On the part of men." The recommendation of men from the poets having celebrated in verse their fame and achievements.—*Divina.* "On the part of the gods." The gods will intercede in his behalf, because they inspired him with poetic fervour, and hence are under their special protection..

<sup>6</sup> *Domesticis periculis.* Occasioned by the conspiracy of Catiline.—*Sternum se, &c.* Referring to the completion of his poem, already commenced, on the subject of Cicero's consulship.

<sup>7</sup> *Est eo numero, qui.* "Is of the number of those, who," &c., i. e. a poet.—*In vestram fidem.* "Under your protection."

<sup>8</sup> *Humanitate vestra.* "By your kindness."—Acerbitate violatus. Injured by your rigour."

violatus esse videatur. (32.) Quæ<sup>1</sup> de causa pro n consuetudine breviter simpliciterque dixi, judices, ea conf probata esse omnibus : quæ<sup>2</sup> non fori, neque judiciali c suetudine, et de hominis ingenio,<sup>3</sup> et communiter de ipsi studio locutus sum, ea, judices, a vobis spero esse in bona partem accepta ; <sup>4</sup> ab eo, qui judicium exercet, certe scio.

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<sup>1</sup> *De causa.* “In relation to the legal merits of the case.”—*Simpliciterque.* “And plainly,” i. e. without any attempt at oratorical display.—*Probata esse omnibus.* “Have been approved of by you all.”

<sup>2</sup> *Non fori, neque judiciali consuetudine.* “In accordance with the usage neither of the bar, nor of public trials.” He refers to this eulogium on letters and literary men.

<sup>3</sup> *Et communiter, &c.* “And the nature of his avocation in general.”

<sup>4</sup> *Ab eo, qui, &c.* “By him who presides at this trial I am sure thou have,” i. e. been taken in good part. His brother Quintus Cicero presided as prætor. However consult note 10, page 141, and Introd.

## M. TULLII CICERONIS

## ORATIO

PRO

## M. MARCELLO.

'ULLII CICERONIS, &c. "Oration of Marcus Tullius Cicero in Marcus Marcellus."—This is not so much a speech in defence illus, as a panegyric on Julius Cæsar, for having granted the f the former at the intercession of the senate. Marcellus had e of the most violent opponents of the views of Cæsar. He mmended in the senate, that he should be deprived of the of Gaul: he had insulted the magistrates of one of Cæsar's ed colonies, and had been present at Pharsalia on the side of

After that battle he retired to Mitylene, where he was o remain, being one of his adversaries to whom the conqueror o be reconciled. The senate, however, one day, when Cæsar ent, with a united voice, and in an attitude of supplication, nployed his clemency in favour of Marcellus, and their request een granted, Cicero, though he had resolved to preserve ilence, being moved by the occasion, delivered, in this oration, e highest-strained encomiums that has ever been pronounced.

first part he extols the military exploits of Cæsar; but shows clemency to Marcellus was more glorious than any of his sions, as it depended entirely on himself, while fortune and his d their share in the events of the war. In the second part, he rs to dispel the suspicions which, it appears, Cæsar still ed of the hostile intentions of Marcellus, and takes occasion , the dictator that his life was most dear and valuable to , on it depended the tranquillity of the state, and the hopes storiation of the commonwealth. (DUNLOP'S *Rom. Lit.* ii. 339.)

oration, which Middleton declares to be superior to any thing f the kind in all antiquity, continued to be not only of undi-thenticity, but one of Cicero's most admired productions, till the preface and notes to a new edition of it, printed in 1802, d to show, that it was a spurious production, totally unworthy rator whose name it bears, and that it was written by some r, soon after the Augustan age, not as an imposition on the ut as an exercise; according to the practice of the rhetori- no were wont to choose, as a theme, some subject on which ad spoken. In his letters to Atticus, Cicero says, that he had thanks to Cæsar, *pluribus verbis*. This Middleton translates, speech;" but Wolf alleges, it commonly means a few words, r can be interpreted to denote a full oration, such as that

which we now possess, for Marcellus. That Cicero did not deliver a long or formal speech, is evident, he contends, from the testimony of Plutarch, who mentions, in his life of Cicero, that a short time afterward, when the orator was about to plead for Ligarius, Caesar asked, how it happened that he had not heard Cicero speak for so long a period; which would have been absurd, if he had heard him, a few months before, pleading for Marcellus. Being an extemporaneous effusion, called forth by an unforeseen occasion, it could not (he continues to urge) have been prepared and written beforehand; nor is it at all probable, that, like many other orations of Cicero, it was revised and made public, after having been delivered. The causes which induced the Roman orators to write out their speeches at leisure, were the magnitude and importance of the subject, or the wishes of those in whose defence they were made, and who were anxious to possess a sort of record of their vindication. But none of these motives existed in the present case. The matter was of no importance or difficulty; and we know that Marcellus, who was a stern republican, was not at all gratified by the intercession of the senators, or conciliated by the clemency of Cæsar.

As to internal evidence, deduced from the oration, Wolf admits, that there are interspersed in it some Ciceronian sentences; and how otherwise could the learned have been so egregiously deceived? but the resemblance is more in the varnish of the style, than in the substance. We have the words rather than the thoughts of Cicero; and the rounding of his periods, without their energy and argumentative connexion. He adduces, also, many instances of phrases unusual among the classics, and of conceits which betray the rhetorician or sophist. His extolling the act of that day on which Cæsar pardoned Marcellus, as higher than all his warlike exploits, would but have raised a smile on the lips of the dictator; and the slighting way in which the cause of the public and Pompey are mentioned, is totally different from the manner in which Cicero expresses himself on these delicate topics, even in presence of Cæsar, in his authentic orations for Deiotarus and Ligarius.

It is evident, at first view, that many of Wolf's observations are hypercritical; and that in his argument concerning the encomiums on Cæsar, and the overrated importance of his clemency to Marcellus, he does not make sufficient allowance for Cicero's habit of exaggeration, and the momentary enthusiasm produced by one of those transactions, "*quæ, dum geruntur, percellunt animos.*"

Accordingly, in the year following that of Wolf's edition, Olaus Wormius published, at Copenhagen, a vindication of the authenticity of this oration. To the argument adduced from Plutarch he answers, that some months had elapsed between the orations for Marcellus and Ligarius, which might readily be called a long period by one accustomed to hear Cicero harangue almost daily in the senate or forum. Besides, the phrase of Plutarch, *λέγοντος*, may mean pleading for some one, which was not the nature of the speech for Marcellus. As to the motive which led him to write and publish the oration, Cicero, above all men, was delighted with his own productions, and nothing can be more probable, than that he should have wished to preserve the remembrance of that memorable day, which he calls, in his letters, "*dicm illam pulcherrinam.*" It was natural to send the oration to Marcellus, in order to hasten his return to Rome, and it must have

acceptable thing to Caesar, thus to record his fearlessness and  
y. With regard to the manner in which Pompey and the re-  
party are talked of, it is evident, from his letters, that Cicero  
gusted with the political measures of that faction, that he  
isapproved of their plan of the campaign, and, foreseeing a re-  
Sylla's proscriptions in the triumph of the aristocratic power,  
ot exaggerate in so highly extolling the humanity of Caesar.  
rguments of Wormius were expanded and illustrated by  
in a commentary on the oration for Marcellus, published at  
in 1805, while, on the other hand, Spalding, in a disputation  
d in 1808, supported the opinions of Wolf.

ntroversy was in this state, and was considered as involved  
. doubt and obscurity, when Aug. Jacob, in an academical  
printed at Halle in 1813, adopted a middle course. Finding  
similarity in the different passages of the oration, some being  
werful, elegant, and beautiful, while others were totally futile  
d, he was led to believe that part had actually flowed from  
of Cicero, but that much had been subsequently interpolated  
rhetorician or disclaimer. In the prosecution of his inquiry,  
or successfully reviews the opinions and judgments of his pre-  
i, sometimes agreeing with Wolf and his followers, at other  
id more frequently, with their opposers. He thinks, that the  
ntested phrase, *pluribus verbis*, may mean a long oration, as  
sewhere talks of having pleaded for Cluentius, *pluribus verbis*,  
he speech in his defence consists of fifty-eight chapters. Be-  
cero only says, that he had *returned thanks* to Cæsar, *pluribus*  
Now the whole speech does not consist of thanks to Cæsar,  
rtly occupied in removing the suspicions which he entertained  
llus. With regard to the encomiums on Cæsar, which Spalding  
acterised as abject and fulsome, and totally different from the  
compliments addressed to him in the oration for Deiotarus or  
Jacob reminds his readers, that the harangues could have  
iblance to each other, the latter being pleaded in behalf of  
ed, and the former a professed panegyric. Nor can any one  
he eulogies on Cæsar too extravagant for Cicero, when he re-  
the terms in which the orator had formerly spoken of Ros-  
hias, and Pompey.

has subscribed to the opinions of Wolf, and has published  
ch for Marcellus, along with the four other doubtful ha-  
at the end of the genuine orations. (DUNLOP'S *Rom. Lit.* vol.  
, seqq.)

scoveries of Maio at length threw a new light upon the question,  
ed librarian and scholar having succeeded in bringing to light  
an ancient commentary, a collection of scholia on several of the  
of Cicero, and among them that for Marcellus. This commen-  
earns to have either been written by Asconius Pedianus, or  
from his more extensive scholia; and, as the part relating to  
on we are considering, although brief, makes no mention of  
r author for the speech, this circumstance, together with the  
e oration being joined to others of undoubted authenticity, will  
weak argument in its behalf. Indeed, the latest editor of  
works, Nobbe (*Leips. 1827.*) considers the questions as now con-  
settled, remarking: "Sed ecce nora et pæne insperata lux ora-

I. <sup>1</sup> DIUTURNI silentii, patres conscripti, <sup>2</sup> quo erat temporibus usus, <sup>3</sup> non timore aliquo, sed <sup>4</sup> partim <sup>5</sup> partim verecundia, finem hodiernus dies attulit; id initium, <sup>6</sup> quæ vellem, quæque sentirem, meo pristine dicendi. Tantam enim <sup>7</sup> mansuetudinem, tam inusi inauditamque clementiam, <sup>8</sup> tantum, in summa poterum omnium modum, tam denique incredibilem <sup>9</sup>; tiam ac pæne divinam, tacitus nullo modo præterire posse.

*est, inventis a Maio veterum in hanc orationem scholiorum fratrisque Mediolani (1817) editis. Unde satis certe fit, ab ipso Cicerone haec gratiarum actionem profectam esse."*

[The precise reasons which exasperated Cæsar against Metellus were:—

1. Marcellus proposed that on the 1st of March, the consuls proceed to the distribution of the provinces; this was specially against Cæsar, for it implied that his province should be vacated by him against that time.

2. Cæsar had assumed to give patronage to the Transpadanians and had actually founded a colony at Novum Comum. The padanians also had already acquired from Pompeius Strabo the *jus*. On some slight pretext, Marcellus seized a freeman of Novum and scourged him with the rod. This of course was a violence upon his patron Cæsar. The object of it was to show the Transpadanians that Cæsar could not protect them. Even Cicero speaks of it in severe terms: *Marcellus fæde de Comensi, etsi ille magis non fuerat, erat tamen Transpadanus.*"

Those who reject the "Oratio pro Marcello," on the ground that it shows most extraordinary pusillanimity and adulation, do not take into account sufficiently, the over-cautious disposition of Cicero, the general apprehension of the times. Cicero, and others, distrusted proscription, the terrible effects of which had been so felt by Sylla. To avert this, no attribute was more loudly praised than clemency, and Cæsar was compelled to moderation by praises which he had yet to earn. When after the first burst of his power had passed over without the terror of a proscription, then his flatterers still degradingly panegyrized him, by assuming a boldness which they far from feeling, and the Ligarius exhibits a melancholy instance of the only species of adulation left, to assume the shadow of freedom from chains.]

<sup>1</sup> *Diuturni silentii.* Cicero had avoided taking any active part in public affairs, and mingling in the affairs of the senate, since the time of his return to Rome, after having been pardoned by Cæsar. The reason of this silence he gives us with more openness in a letter to Atticus (*Ep. ad Fam. 4, 4,*) "I had resolved to observe a perpetual silence not from any feeling of indolence, but from one of regret at the loss of my former dignity."

<sup>2</sup> *Quo eram his temporibus usus.* " Which I had adopted during the latter times."

<sup>3</sup> *Von timore aliquo.* Complimentary to Cæsar, and implying even if Cicero had felt inclined to express his sentiments.

ii Marcello vobis, patres conscripti, reique publicæ, non solum illius, sed meam etiam vocem et <sup>10</sup> auctori-  
et vobis et rei publicæ conservatam ac restitutam puto.  
ebam enim, patres conscripti, et vehementer angebar,  
lerem virum talem, <sup>12</sup> in eadem causa in qua ego fuis-  
on in eadem esse fortuna: <sup>13</sup> nec mihi persuadere po-  
nec fas esse ducebam, versari me in <sup>14</sup> nostro veteri

th boldness and freedom, he would have been allowed by Cæsar without any interruption.

*in dolore.* Grief for the absence of his friend Marcellus. Com-  
t follows a little after: “*Dolebam enim,*” &c.

*in verecundia.* “Partly from a feeling of self-restraint.”  
eans to express by *verecundia* the awkwardness he felt at speak-  
e presence of one whom he had opposed in the civil contest.  
the explanation of Manutius: “*Contra quem enim armis pug-  
o præsente in senatu verba facere verecundia prohibebat.*” [Timor  
’s apprehension of Cæsar, as *verecundia* denotes his deep respect  
ian who had pardoned him.]

*rellem, &c.* “Of giving utterance, with my former wonted  
to my wishes and my sentiments.” Compare Manutius: “*It,  
ensu, quemadmodum antea solebam, libere loquar.*”

*suetudinem.* “Humanity.” As displayed by Cæsar in pardon-  
ellus. Compare Manilian law, c. 14, “*Humanitate jam tanta  
ficile dictu sit, utrum hostes magis virtutem ejus pugnantes timu-  
mansuetudinem victi dilexerint.*”

*um, in summa potestate, &c.* “Such moderation in the midst  
ted power.”

*ntiam.* “Policy.” “Wisdom.” As shown by its controlling the  
f private animosity, and restoring a useful citizen to his country.  
*toritatem.* Compare (*Ep. ad Fam. 4, 4*), “*Statueram, non meher-  
ia, sed desiderio pristinæ dignitatis, in perpetuum tacere.*” Cicero  
w to perceive a restoration in some degree of his former “influ-  
consequence of the mildness of Cæsar towards his friend.

*bam.* “I used to grieve.”—*Virum talēm.* Referring to Marcellus.  
*adem causa, &c.* “Who had been engaged in the same cause  
self,” i. e. the party of Pompey.—*Non in eadem esse fortuna.*  
t enjoying the same good fortune.” Cicero, after the battle of  
, obtained pardon from Cæsar, and returned to Rome; Mar-  
the other hand, too stubborn a republican to acknowledge a  
retired to Mitylene, in the island of Lesbos, where he was re-  
ien the news of his pardon reached him.

*mīhi persuadere poteram, &c.* “Nor could I prevail upon  
nor did I deem it lawful that I should engage in our old  
hen he, the rival and imitator of my pursuits and labours,  
iate and companion as it were, was torn from me.” *Fas* has  
to the gods and things of a sacred nature, *jus* to what is of  
rigin or character. (SERV. *ad Virg. Georg. 1, 269.*)

*tro veteri curriculo.* Forensic pursuits and public speaking in  
—*Æmulo atque imitatore, &c.* Marcellus was distinguished for  
y as a speaker. Consult Historical Index.

curriculo, illo æmulo atque imitatore studiorum ac laborum  
meorum, quasi quodam socios a me et comite, distracto.  
Ergo et mihi <sup>1</sup>meæ pristinæ vitæ consuetudinem, C. Cæsar,  
interclusam aperuisti; <sup>2</sup>et his omnibus, ad bene de omni  
re publica sperandum, quasi signum aliquod sustulisti.  
<sup>3</sup>Intellectum est enim, mihi quidem in multis, et maxime in  
me ipso, sed paulo ante omnibus, cum M. Marcellum senatus  
populoque Romano concessisti, commemoratis praesertim  
<sup>4</sup>offensionibus, te auctoritatem hujus ordinis, dignitatemque  
rei publicæ, <sup>5</sup>tuis vel doloribus vel suspicionibus anteferra.

<sup>6</sup>Ille quidem fructum omnis vitæ anteactæ hodierno die  
maximum cepit, cum summo eonsensu senatus, tum pro-  
terea judicio tuo gravissimo et maximo. Ex quo profecto  
intelligis, quanta in dato beneficio sit <sup>7</sup>laus, cum in accepto  
tanta sit gloria. <sup>8</sup>Est vero fortunatus ille, cuius ex salute

<sup>1</sup> *Meæ pristinæ vitæ, &c.* “The habits of my former life, which had long been debarred to me.” We have adopted the reading of Lambinus, Wolfe, Weiske, &c. The common text has *et mihi et meæ pristinæ, &c.*

<sup>2</sup> *Et his omnibus, &c.* “And have raised a signal, as it were, for all who are here present to entertain favourable hopes of the state at large,” i. e. of all, that is connected with the welfare of their country.—*Signum aliquod sustulisti.* A metaphor borrowed from military operations.

<sup>3</sup> *Intellectum est enim, &c.* “For it was apparent to myself, indeed, in many instances, and especially in my own case, but, a moment ago, to all who are here present, that, when you granted Marcus Marcellus to the senate and people of Rome,” &c.

<sup>4</sup> *Offensionibus.* Marcellus, when consul, had moved in the senate, that Cæsar’s command in Gaul should be abrogated, when the latter, after having put an end to the Gallic war, though his commission was near expiring, sought to retain his command, pretending that he could not possibly be safe, if he parted with his army, while Pompey held the province of Spain. Marcellus afterwards endeavoured to get Cæsar proclaimed an enemy to his country; in a public speech he called him a robber; and finally fought against him in the civil contest. These were among his offences against Cæsar.

<sup>5</sup> *Tuis vel doloribus vel suspicionibus.* “To your own indignation or suspicion.” Resentment for the past, suspicion with regard to the future conduct of Marcellus. Cæsar feared lest Marcellus might plot against his life.

<sup>6</sup> *Ille quidem fructum, &c.* “He, indeed, has this day received the recompence for all his past life, both in the unanimous intercession of the senate, and also in your most solemn and generous determination.” Cicero means, that this day has fully repaid the services which the past life of Marcellus had bestowed upon his country. He now obtains glory together with safety, because the unanimous intercession of the senate, and Cæsar’s generous conduct, prove conclusively that Marcellus is a truly virtuous man.

<sup>7</sup> *Laus.* Supply *tibi.*—*Gloria.* Supply *illi.*

on minor pene ad omnes, quam ad ipsum <sup>1</sup> ventura sit, stitia pervenerit. Quod ei quidem merito, atque optimo iure, contigit. Quis enim est illo aut <sup>10</sup> nobilitate, aut probitate, aut optimarum artium studio, aut innocentia, aut illo genere laudis, præstantior?

II. <sup>11</sup> Nullius tantum est flumen ingenii, nullius dicendi ut scribendi tanta vis, tanta copia, quæ, non dicam exorare, sed enarrare, C. Cæsar, res tuas gestas possit. Tamen firmo, (et hoc <sup>12</sup> pace dicam tua,) nullam in his esse laudem ampliorem ea, quam hodierno die consecutus es. Soleo saepente oculos ponere, <sup>13</sup> idque libenter crebris usurpare sermonibus, omnes nostrorum imperatorum, omnes exterarum gentium, potentissimorumque populorum, omnes clarissimorum regum res gestas, cum tuis nec contentionum magnitudine, nec <sup>14</sup> numero præliorum, <sup>15</sup> nec varietate regionum, nec <sup>16</sup> ce-

<sup>1</sup> *Est vero fortunatus ille, &c.* “Fortunate in truth is he from whose safety scarcely less joy will accrue to all, than is likely to be felt by himself.” The relative, from its assigning the *reason*, takes here the subjunctive mood. Compare note 7, page 76.

<sup>2</sup> *Ventura sit.* Because Marcellus is at a distance, and Cicero can only surmise what his feelings will be on the receipt of the intelligence.

<sup>3</sup> *Nobilitate.* “For birth.” The line of the Marcelli was distinguished in Roman history.—*Optimarum artium studio.* “For zealous attachment to the most liberal pursuits.”—*Innocuitia.* “Blamelessness of life.” Moral purity.

<sup>4</sup> *Nullius tantum, &c.* “In no one is there so great a flow of genius, in no one so great power, so great copiousness, of speaking or of writing, as can, I will not say, embellish, but even recount, Caius Cæsar, your exploits,” i. e. all the creative power of the finest geniuses, all the efforts of eloquence and history, will be found inadequate even to give a simple and unadorned narrative of your achievements.

<sup>5</sup> *Pace tua.* “With your permission,” i. e. with all deference.—*Ampliorem.* “More glorious.”—*Ea.* We have here adopted the emendation of Ernesti. The common text has *eam*.

<sup>6</sup> *Idque libenter, &c.* “And gladly to make it a theme of conversation.” Weiske reads *idemque* for *idque*.

<sup>7</sup> *Numero præliorum.* PLINY (*H. N.* 7, 25) states that Cæsar fought fifty pitched battles, the nearest approach to which number was in the case of Marcellus, who fought thirty-nine. He also informs us, that, independently of the carnage of the civil wars, he had slain 1,192,000 men. “*Idem signis collatis quinquagies dimicavit: solus M. Marcellum transgressus, qui undequadrages dimicaverat. Nam præter ciriles victorius, undecies centena et nonaginta duo millia hominum occisa præliis ab eo.*”

<sup>8</sup> *Nec varietate regionum.* Cæsar had carried on war in Gaul, Britain, Spain, Germany, Greece, Egypt, Africa, and Asia. He overcame Pompey at Pharsalia; Ptolemy in Egypt; Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, in Pontus; and the sons of Pompey in Spain.

<sup>9</sup> *Celeritate conficiendi.* This is well illustrated by his famous

leritate conficiendi, <sup>9</sup> nec dissimilitudine bellorum, posse conferri: <sup>10</sup> nec vero disjunctissimas terras citius cujusquam passibus potuisse peragrari, quam tuis, non dicam cursibus, sed victoriis <sup>11</sup> lustratae sint.

<sup>12</sup> Quæ quidem ego nisi ita magna esse fatear, ut ea vir cujusquam mens aut cogitatio capere possit, amens sim: sed tamen sunt <sup>13</sup> alia majora. Nam bellicas laudes solent quidam <sup>14</sup> extenuare verbis, easque detrahere ducibus, communicare cum multis, ne propriæ sint imperatorum. Et certe, <sup>15</sup> in armis, militum virtus, locorum opportunitas, auxilia sociorum, classes, <sup>16</sup> commeatus, multum juvant: maximam vero partem, <sup>17</sup> quasi suo jure, Fortuna sibi vindicat; et, quidquid est prospere gestum, id pæne omne dicit suum.

*ridi, vici.*" The Commentaries on the Gallic War are also full of examples.

<sup>9</sup> *Nec dissimilitudine bellorum.* "Nor in the unlike character of the wars themselves." Occaioned by the unlike characters of the nations with whom, and the countries in which, they were waged.

<sup>10</sup> *Nec vero, &c.* "And that, in truth, lands the most widely remote from each other could not have been travelled through with more rapidity by the footsteps of any one, than they have been traversed, I will not say by your marches, but by your victories." A somewhat similar measure of praise had already been poured out by Cicero upon Pompey, in the oration for the Manilian law (c. 10), "Qui saepius cum hoste conflictit, quam quisquam cum inimico concertavit: plura bella gessit quam ceteri legerunt: plures provincias confecit, quam ceterit conciperunt."

<sup>11</sup> *Lustratae sint.* Compare the remark of Manutius: "Lustrare plus est quam peragrare: nam qui peragrat transit; qui lustrat ambit: quo plus temporis requiritur."

<sup>12</sup> *Quæ quidem ego, &c.* "Now, were I not to confess that these things are so extraordinary," &c.—*Amens sim.* "I should be a mad man," i. e. it were madness not to confess, &c.

<sup>13</sup> *Alia majora.* Alluding to the glory he has acquired by his generous conduct in pardoning Marcellus.

<sup>14</sup> *Extenuare verbis.* "To deprecate by their remarks."—*Communi care cum multis.* "To share the glories with the many," i. e. with the great body of the soldiery.—*Propriæ imperatorum.* "The exclusive property of commanders."

<sup>15</sup> *In armis.* "In military operations."—*Locorum opportunitas.* "The advantage of situation."—*Auxilia sociorum.* "The aid of allies."

<sup>16</sup> *Commeatus.* "Commissariat," i. e. supplies of military stores, &c.

<sup>17</sup> *Quasi suo jure.* "As if by a right peculiarly hers."—*Pene omnes suum.* "As almost entirely her own." Compare Isocrates (*Παραγγελίας Καλλίμ.* c. 12.): Τῶν μὲν τοιούτων ἐργῶν, ὅσα μετὰ τωνέων

At vero <sup>1</sup>hujus gloriae, C. Cæsar, quain es paulo ante deputus, socium habes neminem. Totum hoc, <sup>2</sup>quantumunque est, (quod certe maximum,) totum est, inquam, sum. <sup>3</sup>Nihil sibi ex ista laude centurio, nihil præfectus, nihil cohors, nihil turma <sup>4</sup>decerpit. <sup>5</sup>Quin etiam illa ipsarum humanarum domina, Fortuna, in istius se societatem oris non offert: tibi cedit: <sup>6</sup>tuam esse totam et propriam tetur. Nunquam enim temeritas cum sapientia comiscetur, <sup>7</sup>nec ad consilium casus admittitur.

III. Domuisti gentes <sup>8</sup>immanitate barbaras, multitudine numerabiles, <sup>9</sup>locis infinitas, omni copiarum genere abundantes: sed tamen ea vicisti, <sup>10</sup>quæ naturam et conditionem, t'vinci possent, habebant: nulla est enim tanta vis, quæ

ἰπρακται, τὸ πλεῖστον ἀν τις μένρος τῷ τύχῃ μεταδοίη, κ. τ. λ.

<sup>1</sup> *Hujus gloriae.* "This species of glory." The glory of pardoning a violent political enemy.

<sup>2</sup> *Quantumunque est, &c.* "How great soever it is, (and it certainly is most great," i. e. and nothing certainly can be greater.

<sup>3</sup> *Nihil sibi, &c.* "No centurion, no prefect, no cohort, no troop, take to themselves any portion from this praise of thine." *Centurio* properly means a commander of one hundred infantry. *Præfectus* denotes a leader of cavalry. Both terms are used here, however, in a general sense. So again, *cohors* and *turma* are employed, in this sense, with a general reference to any body of foot or horse. In strictness, *cohors* means a band of 600 foot soldiers; and *turma*, a troop of 10 horse.

<sup>4</sup> *Decerpit.* "Culls for himself," a metaphor from culling flowers.

<sup>5</sup> *Quin etiam, &c.* "Nay, even fortune, that very mistress of human affairs, presents not herself for any share of this thy glory." I. e. lays claim to no share in this thy latest and most glorious act.

<sup>6</sup> *Tuam esse totam et propriam.* "That it is all and lastingly thine own."

<sup>7</sup> *Nec ad consilium, &c.* "Nor is chance admitted to the counsels of prudence." If, therefore, fortune contributes nothing to the success of thy plans, but if they all owe their completion to thy sagacity and prudence, she must be excluded from this last act of thine, in which wisdom and foresight are so happily blended.

<sup>8</sup> *Immanitate barbaras.* "Fiercely barbarous." The Gauls, Germans, Britons, &c. With respect to the Germans and Britons, however, this tale of conquest was a mere idle boast.

<sup>9</sup> *Loci infinitas.* "Infinite in variety of regions."—*Omni copiarum genere.* "In all kinds of resources."

<sup>10</sup> *Quæ naturam et conditionem, &c.* "Which possessed the nature and condition of being able to be overcome," i. e. which by their very nature, and the condition connected with them, were capable of being overcome.—The common text has *vinci vi*, but the latter word is omitted by Lambinus, Grævius, Wolf, and others.

non ferro ac viribus debilitari frangique possit. Animum vincere, iracundiam cohibere, victoriam temperare,<sup>2</sup> adversarium, nobilitate, ingenio, virtute præstantem, non modo extollere jacentem, sed etiam amplificare ejus pristinam dignitatem;—hæc qui faciat, non ego eum cum summis viris comparo, sed <sup>3</sup> simillimum Deo judico.

Itaque, C. Cæsar, <sup>4</sup> bellicæ tuæ laudes celebrabuntur, et quidem non solum nostris, sed pæne omnium gentium literis atque linguis; neque ulla umquam ætas de tuis laudibus conticescet. Sed tamen <sup>5</sup> ejusmodi res, nescio quomodo etiam cum leguntur, obstrepit clamore militum videntur, et tubarum sono. At vero, cum aliquid clementer, mansuete, juste, moderate, sapienter factum, (in <sup>6</sup> iracundia præsertim,

<sup>1</sup> *Animum vincere.* “To conquer one's passions however.”—*Victoriam temperare.* “To make a moderate use of victory.”

<sup>2</sup> *Adversarium non modo extollere jacentem.* “Not only to raise a fallen foe.” *Jacentem*, literally, “lying prostrate.”—*Amplificare ejus pristinam dignitatem.* “To enlarge his former dignity,” i. e. to elevate him to a still higher rank than he previously enjoyed.

<sup>3</sup> *Simillimum Deo judico.* This sounds to modern ears as the grossest flattery. Middleton, however, undertakes Cicero's defence against the charge of insincerity. “It must be remembered,” remarks he, “that the orator was delivering a speech of thanks, not only for himself, but in the name and at the desire of the senate, where his subject naturally required all the embellishments of eloquence; and that all his compliments are grounded on a supposition, that Cæsar intended to restore the republic, of which he entertained no small hopes at this time, as he signifies in a letter to one of Cæsar's principal friends. (*Ep. ad Fam.* 13, 68.) This, therefore, he recommends, enforces, and requires from him in his speech, with the spirit of an old Roman; and no reasonable man will think it strange, that so free an address to a conqueror, in the height of all his power, should want to be tempered with some few strokes of flattery.” (*Life of Cicero*, sect. 8, vol. ii. p. 259.)

<sup>4</sup> *Bellicæ tuæ laudes illæ.* “Those praises of thine derived from war.”—*Literis atque linguis.* “In the literature and languages.”

<sup>5</sup> *Ejusmodi res.* The praises attendant upon warlike achievements.—*Obstrepit clamore militum, &c.* “Seem to be drowned amid the shouts of the soldiers, and the blast of the trumpets.”

<sup>6</sup> *Iracundia præsertim, quæ est inimica consilio.* Compare the language of HORACE, *Ep.* 1, 2, 62, “*Ira furor brevis est.*”

<sup>7</sup> *Non modo in gestis rebus, &c.* “Not only in the case of real occurrences, but even in those of a fictitious nature.”

<sup>8</sup> *Cujus mentem, &c.* “Whose sentiments and feelings we see plainly to be of such a nature, that,” &c. The common text has *cujus mentem sensusque et os cernimus*. For *et os* (“and whose very look,”) we have adopted the elegant emendation of Faernus, *eos*, in the sense of *talor*.

st inimica consilio, et in victoria, quæ natura insolens  
erba est, aut audimus, aut legimus; quo studio incen-  
, non modo in gestis rebus, sed etiam in fictis, ut eos  
quos nunquam vidimus, diligamus! Te vero, quem  
item intuemur, <sup>7</sup> cuius mentem sensusque eos cer-  
, ut, quidquid belli fortuna reliquum rei publicæ  
, id esse <sup>8</sup> salvum velis, quibus laudibus efferemus?  
us studiis prosequemur? qua benevolentia complec-  
? Parietes, <sup>9</sup> me dius fidius, ut mihi videntur,  
curiæ, tibi gratias agere gestiunt, quod brevi tem-  
utura sit illa auctoritas in his majorum suorum et suis  
s.

EQUIDEM, cum <sup>12</sup>C. Marcelli, viri optimi <sup>13</sup> et comme-

has the additional advantage of rendering the connexion of *ut*  
pparent. Weiske makes the same change.

*vnum.* "Secured to her." Compare Middleton's remarks under  
page 184.

*tibus studiis, &c.* "With what zeal shall we honour! with what  
zeal shall we embrace! By Hercules, the very walls of this  
house are desirous, as they seem to me, of returning thanks to  
cause the authority of this body is soon to be re-established in  
their ancestral seats as well as their own." We have given the  
part of this passage according to the common text, although  
us and others suspect some corruption. Our interpretation is  
Ernesti, who remarks: "*Sensus est, quod illa pristina auctoritas*  
*mox rursus habitatura sit in hac curia, in qua et apud majores et*  
*etratores plurimum auctoritate valuerint.*"

*e dius fidius.* The term *dius* is the same as *deus* or *divus*, and  
an adjective formed from *fides*. Hence, *dius fidius*, "the god  
of our," or "good faith," will be the same as the Ζεὺς πίστιος of the  
; and, if we follow the authority of VARRO (*L. L.* 4, 10), identical  
with Sabine Sancus, and Roman Hercules; so that *me dius fidius* is  
more than *me deus fidei* (i. e. Hercules) *adjuret*, or, in other  
words, "by Hercules."

*M. Marcelli.* Caius Marcellus was the brother of Marcus Mar-  
cellus. This appears to be the proper place for introducing Cicero's ac-  
tion in his letter to Sulpicius (*Ep. ad Fam.* 4, 4), of what took place  
on occasion: "Cæsar, after having complained of the moroseness  
of Marcellus, for so he called it, and praised, in the strongest terms, the  
modesty and prudence of your conduct, presently declared, beyond all our  
expectation, whatever offence he had received from the man, he could  
do nothing to the intercession of the senate. What the senate did  
was; upon the mention of Marcellus by Piso, his brother Caius  
had thrown himself at Cæsar's feet, they all rose, and went forward  
in an imploring manner towards Cæsar. In short, the proceeding of  
the senate appeared to me so fair and becoming, that I could not help  
thinking that I saw the image of the old republic reviving, as it were

morabili pietate præditi, lacrymas modo vobiscum viderem, omnium Marcellorum meum <sup>1</sup>pectus memoria obfudit. Quibus tu etiam mortuis, M. Marcello conservato, dignitatem suam reddidisti; <sup>2</sup>nobilissimamque familiam, jam ad panes redactam, pæne ab interitu vindicâsti. Hunc tu igitur idem <sup>3</sup>tuis maximis et innumerabilibus gratulationibus jure antepones. Hæc enim res unius <sup>4</sup>est propria Cæsaris: cetera, <sup>5</sup>duce te gestæ, magnæ illæ quidem, sed tamen multo magnoque comitatu. <sup>6</sup>Hujus autem rei tu idem et dux es, et comes: <sup>7</sup>quæ quidem tanta est, ut tropæis monumentisque tuis allatura finem sit ætas; nihil enim est <sup>8</sup>opere et manu factum, quod aliquando non conficiat et consumat vetustas:

When all, therefore, who were asked their opinions before me, had returned thanks to Cæsar, except Volcatius, (for he declared that he would not have done it, though he had been in Marcellus's place,) I, as soon as I was called upon, changed my mind; for I had resolved with myself to observe an eternal silence, not from any feelings of indolence, but from regret for the loss of my former dignity; Cæsar's greatness of mind, however, and the laudable zeal of the senate, got the better of my resolution. I gave thanks, therefore, to Cæsar, in a long speech, and have deprived myself by it, I fear, on other occasions, of that honest quiet which was my only comfort in these unhappy times, &c.

<sup>13</sup> *Et commemorabili. &c.* "And possessed of fraternal affection deserving of all mention." Compare, as regards the force of *pictus* note 11, page 145.

<sup>1</sup> *Pectus obfudit.* "Came gushing over me." The common text has *effudit*, which is far inferior. The greater number of MSS. give the latter, but the better class the former reading.

<sup>2</sup> *Nobilissimamque familiam.* Cicero uses the term *familia* to denote the individual family of the Marcelli. They formed a branch of the *gens Claudia*, or Claudian house.

<sup>3</sup> *Tuis maximis, &c.* "To the greatest of your countless felicitations," i. e. to the greatest of those many victories, on which you have been felicitated by others. Some commentators confound *gratulatione* here with the same term when denoting a thanksgiving to the gods. It refers, on the contrary, merely to the private feelings of Cæsar, and the felicitations offered him by friends for his numerous and eminent successes. For Cicero to have said, that Cæsar would regard this day as a source of higher pleasure than the greatest of the many *thank-givings* which had been decreed in his name, would have shocked the religious feelings of his auditors.

<sup>4</sup> *Est propria Cæsaris.* "Is the act of Cæsar alone." Literally, "is peculiar to Cæsar."

<sup>5</sup> *Duce te gestæ—quidem, &c.* Anthon had rejected, on the suggestion of Ernesti, the words *magnæ illæ*, which appear in the common text.

hæc tua <sup>9</sup> justitia et lenitas animi florescat quotidie, ta <sup>10</sup> ut, quantum operibus tuis diuturnitas detrahet, afferat laudibus. Et ceteros quidem omnes <sup>11</sup> victores a civilium jam ante æquitate et misericordia viceras: vero die te ipsum vicisti. <sup>12</sup> Vereor, ne hoc, quod <sup>13</sup> non perinde intelligi auditu possit, atque ipse sentio. Ipsam victoriam viciisse videris, cum ea, illa erat adepta, victis remisisti. Nam, cum ipsius conditione jure <sup>14</sup> omnes victi occidisset, <sup>15</sup> clementia judicio conservati sumus. Recte igitur unus es, a quo etiam ipsius victoriæ conditio visque est.

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*restæ* and *quidem*. [We have restored them, with Steinmetz s.]

*autem rei*. "In the present affair, however," i. e. in the act *re*, the pardoning of Marcellus.

*quidem tanta est*. "And so great indeed is it."—*Tropæis* *isque tuis*. "To your other trophies and monuments."

*et manu*. "By the labour and hand of man."—*Vetustas*. of days."

*ia et lenitas animi*. The term *justitia* has reference here to and merits of Marcellus. It would have been unjust in Cæsar to keep such a man any longer away from his country. *Lenitas*, id not *clementia*, is employed, in order that Cæsar may not have been sparing a foe, and the remembrance of former be in this way renewed.

*quantum, &c.* "That as much as length of time shall take r monuments, so much it will add to your glory." *Operibus* *sk* to *tropæis monumentisque*.

*res bellorum civilium*. "Victors in our civil wars." Alluding Marius, Cinna, &c.

*or ne*. We have adopted the emendation of Ernesti. The text has *vereor ut*, but this can only be allowed if *non* be ut before *perinde*. Consult note 9, page 123.

*perinde, &c.* "May not be understood, on the mere hearing the same degree that I, reflecting upon it, feel it in mind to lest what I say may fall far short of what I feel. *Perinde* is iivalent to *æque*. Compare TURSELLINUS, *de Part. Lat.* c. 176.

*illa erat adepta*. "Which it had obtained for you," i. e. the power which it gave him over his political opponents, and the hich it afforded him of gratifying private animosity.

*nes victi occidisset*. "All of us the vanquished might have . e. been cut off by the sword. Cicero means, that this would n the case if Cæsar had followed the usual course, and taken or Sylla for his model.

*nentia tue judicio*. "By the decision of your clemency," i. e. merciful determination. *Clementia* is now employed because

V. <sup>1</sup> Atque hoc C. Caesaris judicium, prius conscripsit, quam late pateat, attendite: omnes enim, <sup>2</sup> qui ad illa arma fato sumus <sup>3</sup> nescio quo rei publice misere funestoque compulsi, <sup>4</sup> et si aliqua culpa tenemur erroris humani, si scelera certe liberati sumus. Nam, cum M. Marcellum de precentibus vobis, rei publice conservavit; manet mihi, <sup>5</sup> et iterum rei publice, nullo deprecante, <sup>6</sup> reliquos amplissimos viros et sibi ipsis et patria, reddidit: quoniam et frequentiam et dignitatem hoc ipso in conditum videlicet

*occiditatem* precedes, and more besides Marcellus are omitted. Consult note 9, page 187.

<sup>1</sup> Atque hoc C. Caesaris, &c. "And mark, conscript fathers, how widely this determination of Caius Caesar extends," i. e. Marcellus alone is not the only one benefited by this generous conduct of Caesar.

<sup>2</sup> Qui ad illa arma, &c. "Who were driven by some wretched and lamentable fatality of the republic, to take up arms in that contest." The contest referred to is the civil war, and the opposition made to Caesar, by his political antagonists, is flatteringly ascribed by the speaker to mere blind fatality; implying, of course, that, had they exercised any judgment or reflection, they would never have renounced him.

<sup>3</sup> Nescio quo. Equivalent to *quo fato id factum facit nescia*. In translating, however, it is to be regarded as analogous merely to our phrases, "some or other," "I know not what," &c. — *Nescio quis*, and its other forms, *nescio quid*, *nescio quem*, *nescio quo*, &c., are employed to denote something more or less obscure, or which we wish to pass over by considering it as such. It is used also, especially in the case of persons, to indicate contempt. The ellipsis is worth noting. Thus *nescio quis fecit* is put for *aliquis fecit*, *nescio quis sit*; and again, *nescio quem vidi* is equivalent to *aliquem vidi*, *nescio quem viderim*, &c. Consult SCHELLER, *Præcept. Styl.* vol. i. p. 329.

<sup>4</sup> Etsi aliqua culpa, &c. "Although we are in some degree liable to the imputation of human infirmity," i. e. blindness in not pursuing the true course which we ought to have pursued.

<sup>5</sup> A scdere certe liberati sumus. "Have (by this act of Caesar's) been evidently acquitted of guilt;" i. e. in pardoning Marcellus, Caesar has clearly shown, that he acquits not only that individual, but all of us who followed the standard of Pompey, of any evil feelings towards himself, and only considers us to have been actuated by an honest though mistaken love of country.

<sup>6</sup> Et iterum. "And once more." The earlier reading is *et item*, for which Grævius first substituted *et iterum*, on the authority of B. MS. He is followed by Ernesti and others.

<sup>7</sup> Reliquos amplissimos viros. "Those other very illustrious men." Referring to the other individuals of the old Pompeian party, perhaps by Caesar, and restored to their rank.

<sup>8</sup> Non illæ hostes, &c. "He has brought no enemies into the camp," i. e. the individuals, whom he has thus restored, he has not deprived

<sup>1</sup> Non ille hostes induxit in curiam: sed <sup>2</sup> judicavit, a plerisque, ignoratione potius, et falso atque inani metu, <sup>3</sup> quam cupiditate aut <sup>4</sup> crudelitate, bellum esse susceptum. Quo quidem in bello <sup>12</sup> semper de pace audiendum putavi; semperque dolui, non modo pacem, sed <sup>13</sup> orationem etiam civium, pacem flagitantium, repudiari. <sup>14</sup> Neque enim ego illa, nec ulla unquam, secutus sum arma civilia; semperque mea consilia pacis et togæ <sup>15</sup> socia, non belli atque armorum, fuerunt. <sup>16</sup> Hominem sum secutus privato officio, non pub-

all hostile feelings towards himself. Had he thought that they cherished such feelings, he would never have re-admitted them.

<sup>1</sup> *Judicavit.* "He concluded."—*Ignoratione, &c.* "From ignorance (of his real intentions), and from a false and groundless fear." The lottery here begins to be very apparent.

<sup>2</sup> *Quam cupiditate.* "Than from cupidity," i. e. desire of gratifying spacious spirit, and seizing upon the property of others.

<sup>3</sup> *Crudelitate.* "A spirit of revenge." A feeling of cruel hatred.

<sup>4</sup> *Semper de pace, &c.* "I always was of opinion that proposals of peace ought to be listened to." Cicero had done every thing, in the beginning of the civil troubles, to prevent a rupture between Cæsar and Pompey. He was convinced that an intestine war would inevitably end in the establishment of absolute power. His letters, which make us acquainted with his secret thoughts, fully substantiate this: "*Pace pacis est; ex Victoria quum multa mala, tum certe tyrannis existet.*" (*Ep. ad Att. 7, 5.*) So again: "*Evidem ad pacem hortari non desino, ne, vel injusta, utilior est quam justissimum bellum.*" (*Ad Att. 7, 14.*) He foresaw all that happened, and it was with this view before him that he writes to Atticus and his other friends. Cæsar, who affected great moderation, made some very plausible proposals of peace, and Cicero was desirous that they should be listened to, but Pompey absolutely refused. When the latter had been compelled to quit Rome as fugitive, Cicero, after some delay, followed him from attachment and reluctance, but still full of gloomy forebodings, and foreseeing nought but lamentable results, since on one side was all the right, and on the other all the power: "*Valuit apud me plus pudor meus, quam timor. Veritus sum deceere Pompeii saluti. Itaque vel officio, vel fama bonorum, vel pudore vicius, ut in fabulis Amphiaraus, sic ego, prudens et sciens, ad matrem ante oculos positam sum profectus.*" (*Ep. ad Fam. 6, 6.*)

<sup>5</sup> *Orationem etiam civium, &c.* "That even the entreaties of those citizens who earnestly begged for peace, were totally rejected," i. e. by Pompey. Consult preceding note.

<sup>6</sup> *Neque enim ego illa, &c.* "For I never took an active part in these or any other civil commotions."

<sup>7</sup> *Socia.* "Allied to," i. e. in favour of. Compare the English form of expression, "went hand in hand with."

<sup>8</sup> *Hominem sum secutus, &c.* "I followed an individual from a sense of private, not of public, duty." The allusion is to Pompey, who is mentioned in guarded terms, not from any fear of the consequences

lico: <sup>1</sup> tantumque apud me grati animi fiducia valuit, <sup>2</sup> ut nulla non modo cupiditate, sed ne appetitum, prudens et sciens, tanquam ad interitum ruerem.

<sup>3</sup> Quod quidem meum consilium minime obscurum videtur. Nam et in hoc ordine, integra re, multa de pace. <sup>4</sup> ipso bello <sup>5</sup> eadem, etiam cum capitis mei periculo. <sup>6</sup> Ex quo jam nemo erit tam injustus rerum existimans, dubitet, quae Cæsaris voluntas de bello fuerit, cum auctores conservandos statim censuerit, <sup>7</sup> ceteris fuit. Atque id minus mirum fortasse tum, cum esset in se.

in case he had called him by name, but from a becoming propriety.

<sup>1</sup> *Tantumque apud me, &c.* "And so powerfully did the remembrance of a grateful mind influence me," i. e. so sincerely I influenced by gratitude for the various favours I had received from him.

<sup>2</sup> *Ut nulla, &c.* "That not only without any desire of advancement, but even without any hope, although fully aware of my situation, and well knowing what was about to happen, I regarded it were to voluntary ruin."

<sup>3</sup> *Quod quidem meum consilium.* "And these views of mine."—*Integra re.* "Before hostilities broke out." Literally, "the being as yet entire," i. e. no part having as yet been acted upon, no hostile steps having as yet been taken. The primitive meaning of *integer* is "untouched," from *in* and *tago*, the old form of *tango*.

<sup>4</sup> *Eadem sensi.* "I entertained the same sentiments."—*Etiam et capitum periculo.* When Cato the younger, who had been left at Dyrrachium, by Pompey, to guard the arms and treasures deposited there had, after the battle of Pharsalia, passed over into Corcyra, where his fleet was stationed, he there offered Cicero the command of the fleet which he had brought with him, consisting of fifteen cohorts. Cicero however, declined it; which so exasperated the younger Pompey, that he was about to lay violent hands upon the orator, when Cato interceded and saved his life. (PLUT. *Vit. Cat. Min.* c. 55.) It is to this circumstance very probably that Cicero alludes in the text.

<sup>5</sup> *Ex quo.* "And hence."—*Tam injustus rerum existimat.* "unfair a judge of passing events," i. e. so unfair and biased in the conclusions which he draws from events.

<sup>6</sup> *Pacis auctores.* "The advisers of peace."—*Statim.* "From the very first," i. e. from the very commencement of hostilities; in the very beginning of the civil war.

<sup>7</sup> *Ceteris fuerit iratior.* "But displayed increased resentment towards the rest." The object of the whole argument is to show, that Cæsar's wishes were always in favour of peace, and that, in consequence of this, he was always well disposed towards those of the opposite party whom he endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation, while he displayed increased resentment against those who were bent on continuing hostilities. This, of course, is the mere language of flattery.

exitus, et anceps fortuna belli: qui vero, <sup>8</sup> victor, pacis auctores diligit, is profecto declarat, <sup>9</sup> se maluisse non dimicare, quam vincere.

VI. <sup>10</sup> Atque hujus quidem rei M. Marcelllo sum testis. <sup>11</sup> Nostri enim sensus, ut in pace semper, sic tum etiam in bello congruebant. Quoties ego eum, et quanto cum dolore, ridi, cum insolentiam <sup>12</sup> certorum hominum, tum etiam ipsius <sup>13</sup> victoriae ferocitatem, extimescentem! Quo gratior <sup>14</sup> tua liberalitas, C. Cæsar, nobis, qui illa vidimus, debet esse. <sup>15</sup> Non enim jam causæ sunt inter se, sed victoriae, compa-

<sup>8</sup> Victor. "When victorious," i. e. as Cæsar now is.—*Pacis auctores.* Alluding to himself, among others, and to the kind treatment he had received from Cæsar.

<sup>9</sup> Se maluisse, &c. "That he would rather not have contended at all, than have come off victorious," i. e. that great as the glory of the victory had been, he would rather have had no civil contest at all, as his feelings had always been in favour of peace.

<sup>10</sup> Atque hujus quidem rei, &c. "And on this particular point I am a witness for Marcus Marcellus." The point referred to is the wish for peace during the civil contest, which Cicero asserts Marcellus felt in common with himself.

<sup>11</sup> Nostri enim sensus, &c. "For our sentiments, as they always had in peace, so then coincided during the war," i. e. our sentiments, namely, mine and those of Marcellus, were always in unison during both the civil contest and the times which immediately preceded it.

<sup>12</sup> Certorum hominum. "Of certain individuals." *Certus vir* is generally used to denote "a sure," or "trusty person." Here, however, *certus* has the force of *quidam*. Compare note 13, page 89. The individuals alluded to are thought, by Manutius, to have been, in particular, L. Lentulus and L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. Compare *Ep. ad Fam.* 6, 21.

<sup>13</sup> Victoriae ferocitatem. "The cruel excesses of victory itself," i. e. the ferocious spirit, that would, in all probability, characterize the party of Pompey, if success were to crown their efforts. Had Pompey proved victorious, the proscriptions of Marius and Sylla would inevitably have been renewed. Compare the language of Cicero's letter to Marcellus (*Ep. ad Fam.* 4, 9): "*An tu non videbas mecum simul quam illa crudelis esset futura victoria?*"

<sup>14</sup> Tua liberalitas. "Your generosity," i. e. your generous conduct towards your former foes.—*Illa.* Alluding to the insolent conduct and the menaces of Pompey's followers.

<sup>15</sup> Non enim jam causæ, &c. "For the two parties are no longer to be compared, but the consequences of victory on either side." Cicero seems to say, that he will be silent now respecting the merits of the two causes, namely, that of Cæsar and that of Pompey. He will merely institute a comparison between the very different modes in which either party would have made use of victory. He then proceeds to show how Cæsar has acted since his success, and next briefly

randæ. Vidi<sup>m</sup> tuam victoriam præliorum exitu terminatam : gladium vagina vacuum in Urbe non vidi<sup>m</sup>. Quos amisimus cives, eos<sup>1</sup> Martis vis percultit, non ira victorie; ut dubitare debeat nemo, quin multos, si fieri posset, C. Cæsar ab inferis excitaret; quoniam<sup>2</sup> ex eadem acie conservat, quos potest. <sup>3</sup> Alterius vero partis, nihil amplius dicam, quam (id, quod omnes verebamur,) <sup>4</sup> nimis iracundam futuram fuisse victoriam. Quidam enim, non modo<sup>5</sup> armatis, sed interdum etiam<sup>6</sup> otiosis, minabantur: nec,<sup>7</sup> quid quisque sensisset, sed ubi fuisset, cogitandum esse dicebant; ut mihi quidem videantur Dii immortales, (<sup>8</sup> etiamsi pœnas a populo Romano ob aliquod delictum expetiverint, qui civile bellum tantum et tam luctuosum excitaverint,) vel placati jam, vel satiati aliquando,<sup>9</sup> omnem spem salutis ad clementiam victoris et sapientiam contulisse.

sketches what would have been the results of victory on the side of Pompey.

<sup>1</sup> *Martis vis percultit.* "The violence of war smote down."—*Ira victoriae.* "The angry feelings generally attendant upon victory." Cicero means, that whoever fell in that conflict, fell with arms in their hands. No one was put to death, after the victory, by any mandate or proscription.

<sup>2</sup> *Ex eadem acie.* "From that same army," i. e. the army of Pompey.

<sup>3</sup> *Alterius vero partis.* "As regards the opposite party, however." The genitive is here used in imitation of the Greek idiom. The Greek rule is as follows: "To words of all kinds other words are added in the genitive, which show the respect in which the sense of those words must be taken, in which case the genitive properly signifies 'as regards,' or 'with regard to.'" (MATTHIÆ, G. G. vol. ii. p. 555, KERRICK's transl.)

<sup>4</sup> *Nimis iracundam, &c.* "That victory would have been accompanied by too much angry feeling," i. e. that they would have made an angry and cruel use of victory.

<sup>5</sup> *Armatis.* "Those who were actually in arms." Referring to the followers of Cæsar. Compare MANUTIUS: "*Armatis, h. e. Cæsarianis.*"

<sup>6</sup> *Otiosis.* "Those who took no part in the conflict," i. e. who wished to remain neutral. Compare the language of Cicero's letter to Varro (Ep. ad Fam. 9, 6): "*Crudeliter otiosis minabantur: eratque iis et tua invisa voluntas, et mea oratio.*" And again, Ep. ad Att. 11, 6: "*Omnes qui in Italia manserant, hostium numero habebantur.*"

<sup>7</sup> *Quid quisque sensisset, &c.* "What sentiments each had entertained, but where he had been during the contest," i. e. whether with the army, and taking an active part against the foe, or remaining inactive and neutral at home.

<sup>8</sup> *Etiamsi pœnas, &c.* "Even though they may have sought atonement from the Roman people, on account of some offence, since they

<sup>10</sup> Quare gaudet tuo isto tam excellenti bono; et fruere  
<sup>11</sup> sum fortuna et gloria, tum etiam natura et moribus tuis;  
<sup>12</sup> ex quo quidem maximus est fructus jucunditasque sapienti.  
<sup>13</sup> Cetera cum tua recordabere, etsi persæpe virtuti, tamen  
 plerumque felicitati tuae congratulabere. De nobis quos  
 in re publica tecum simul salvos esse voluisti, quoties cogi-  
 abis, toties <sup>14</sup> de maximis tuis beneficiis, toties de incredibili  
 liberalitate, toties de singulari sapientia tua, cogitabis:  
<sup>15</sup> quae non modo summa bona, sed nimurum audebo vel sola  
 licere. Tantus est enim splendor <sup>16</sup> in laude vera, tanta in  
 magnitudine animi et consilii dignitas, ut haec a virtute  
 donata, cetera a fortuna commodata esse videantur. Noli  
 igitur in conservandis bonis viris defatigari, non cupiditate  
 pressertim aut pravitate aliqua <sup>17</sup> lapsis, <sup>18</sup> sed opinione officii,

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excited so great and so mournful a civil war," i. e. even though they may have raised this destructive and mournful war to punish the Roman people for some aggravated offence. We have given *expetiv-ent*, with Ernesti, in place of *expetiverunt*, the reading of the common text. The relative *qui* takes the subjunctive *excitaverint*, because equivalent here to "since they," or "inasmuch as they."

<sup>19</sup> *Omnem spem salutis, &c.* "To have referred our every hope of safety to the clemency and wisdom of the conqueror," i. e. to have made all our safety depend upon, &c.

<sup>20</sup> *Quare gaudet, &c.* "Rejoice then in this so exalted a privilege," i. e. the privilege of having the safety of the whole Roman people dependent on thy clemency and wisdom.

<sup>21</sup> *Fortuna.* "Your good fortune."—*Natura et moribus tuis.* "Your kind disposition and noble character."—*Ex quo quidem, &c.* "From all which a wise man derives his highest recompense and pleasure."

<sup>22</sup> *Cetera.* "The other actions of your life."—*Virtuti.* "Upon your virtue."—*Congratulabere.* "You will have occasion to felicitate yourself." Some read *gratulabere*, which is much inferior.

<sup>23</sup> *De maximis tuis beneficiis.* "Of the boundless favours you have bestowed upon us."

<sup>24</sup> *Quae non modo, &c.* "Virtues which, I will venture to affirm, constitute not only our highest, but in fact our only true source of gratification." Literally, "which, I will venture to say, are not only the greatest, but in fact even the only goods."

<sup>25</sup> *In laude vera.* "In well-merited applause."—*Donata.* "Bestowed," for a lasting possession; *commodata*, "lent," only for a season.

<sup>26</sup> *Lapsis.* "Who have been led astray." Literally, "who have slipped."—*Aut pravitate aliqua.* "Or by any corrupt motive."

<sup>27</sup> *Sed opinione, &c.* "But by an idea of duty, foolish perhaps, certainly not criminal, and by what appeared to be the public good." More literally, "by a certain appearance of public benefit." Compare the language of Cicero's letter to Torquatus, (*Ep. ad Fam. 61*), "Quod-

stulta fortasse, certe non improba, et species quadam re publicæ. <sup>1</sup> Non enim tua illa culpa est, si te aliqui timuerunt: contraque, summa laus, quod plerique minime timendum fuisse senserunt.

VII. <sup>2</sup> NUNC vero venio ad gravissimam querelam, et atrociissimam suspicionem tuam; <sup>3</sup> que non tibi ipsi magis, quam cum omnibus civibus, tum maxime nobis, qui a te conservati sumus, providenda est: quam etiam spero esse falsam. <sup>4</sup> Nunquam tamen verbis extenuabo. Tua enim cautio noctis cautio est; <sup>5</sup> ut, si in alterutro peccandum sit, malum vide nimis timidus, quam parum prudens. <sup>6</sup> Sed quisnam est istam demens? <sup>7</sup> de tuiane? tametsi qui magis sunt tui, quam quibus tu salutem insperantibus reddidisti? an ex eo numero, <sup>8</sup> qui una tecum fuerunt? Non est credibilis <sup>9</sup> tantus in ulla furor, ut, quo duce omnia summa sit adepta hujus vitam non anteponat esse. At, si, tui nihil cogitare sceleris, <sup>10</sup> cavendum est, ne quid inimici. Qui? omnes enim

dom nobis officium justum, et pius, et debitus rei publicæ sententia dignitati videbamus sequi."

<sup>1</sup> Non enim tua, &c. "For it is no fault of thine." Because they have mistaken thy character. The fault is theirs for not knowing thee better.—Senserunt. "Have felt," i. e. after having been conquered by thee.

<sup>2</sup> Nunc vero venio, &c. "But now I come to that most heavy complaint and horrid suspicion of thine." Caesar had complained before the senate of the hostile feelings and moroseness (*acerbitas*) of Marcellus, and had expressed his suspicions that the latter still harboured evil designs against his personal safety.

<sup>3</sup> Quæ non tibi ipsi, &c. "A suspicion, the realising of which ought to be guarded against not more by your own self," &c. Compare MANUTIUS: "Providenda est, ne vera sit: providenda autem curia, ne ciliisque nostris."

<sup>4</sup> Nunquam tamen verbis extenuabo. Cicero's meaning is this: Although I trust that your suspicion is a groundless one, still I will seek to "lessen" it by any thing that I can say. For were I to leave it, I should at the same time be throwing you more off your guard, whereas we all wish you to be careful about your own safety, since our safety is closely connected, and in fact identified, with it.

<sup>5</sup> Ut, si in alterutro peccandum sit. "So that if we must err in either or the other extreme," i. e. of too much or too little precaution.—Parem prudens. "Not sufficiently prudent." Or simply, "imprudent."

<sup>6</sup> Sed quisnam est iste, &c. "But who is that one so lost to all judgment?" i. e. Who is the infatuated man whom you suspect of harbouring this design against you? The student will mark the force of it. Compare note 3, page 8.

<sup>7</sup> De tuiane? "Is he one of your own?" i. e. one of your own friends? —Qui magis sunt tui? "Who are more of your own?"

runt, aut sua pertinacia vitam amiserunt, aut tua  
ordia retinuerunt; ut aut nulli supersint de inimicis,  
i <sup>11</sup> supersunt, sint amicissimi.

tamen, cum in animis hominum <sup>12</sup> tantæ latebræ sint  
i recessus, augeamus sane suspicionem tuam: simul  
agebimus diligentiam. Nam quis est omnium <sup>13</sup> tam  
rurum, tam rudis in re publica, tam nihil umquam  
sua nec de communi salute cogitans, qui non intel-  
luta salute contineri suam, et <sup>14</sup> ex unius tua vita  
> omnium? Evidem, de te dies noctesque (<sup>15</sup> ut  
cogitans, <sup>16</sup> casus duntaxat humanos, et incertos  
valetudinis, et naturæ communis fragilitatem, exti-  
<sup>17</sup> doleoque, cum res publica immortalis esse debeat,  
unius mortalis anima consistere. Si vero, ad  
casus, incertosque eventus valetudinis, <sup>18</sup> sceleris  
accedat insidiarumque consensio: quem Deum, si  
opitulari posse rei publicæ credamus?

*una tecum fuerunt?* “Who were with you in the war?”  
; to his followers generally.

*us furor.* “So great madness.”—*Omnia summa.* “Every thing  
most desirable,” i. e. the full completion of his wishes.

*ndum est.* “You must take care, I suppose.”—*Qui?* “Who  
!” i. e. where are they now to be found?

*rsunt.* We have adopted here the conjecture of Lambinus,  
approved of by Ernesti. The common text has *superfuerunt.*  
*æ latebrae,* &c. “Lurking places so deep, and recesses so  
—*Diligentiam.* “Your circumspection.”

*ignarus rerum,* &c. “So ignorant of events, so inexperienced  
affairs.”

*unius tua vita.* “On your individual existence.” Literally,  
life of thee alone.” The genitive *unius* is put in apposition  
genitive implied in the possessive *tua.*—*Omnium.* Supply

*ebeo.* “As I ought to do,” i. e. as I am in duty bound, con-  
the many favours you have hitherto bestowed upon me.

*is duntaxat humanos,* &c. “I dread merely the common acci-  
life, and the uncertain issues of health,” &c.

*oque, cum res publica,* &c. The republic, remarks Cicero, ought  
immortal; but it depends entirely on your existence: you,  
, ought to be as immortal as the republic ought to be. But  
is mortal, and I mourn, therefore, as well on account of its  
as the shortness and limitation of your own career. The  
of flattery can hardly go farther.

*ris insidiarumque consensio.* “The conspiring force of guilt  
hersy.”

VIII. OMNIA sunt <sup>1</sup> excitanda tibi, C. Cæsar, jacere sentis, belli ipsius impetu (quod necesse iculsa atque prostrata: <sup>2</sup> constituenda judicia, r fides, <sup>3</sup> comprimendæ libidines, <sup>4</sup> propaganda <sup>5</sup> omnia, quæ dilapsa jam fluxerunt, severis legibus sunt. <sup>6</sup> Non fuit recusandum, in tanto civili bello, animorum ardore et armorum, quin quassata res quicunque belli eventus fuisse, multa perderet et dignitatis, et præsidia stabilitatis suæ: multaque dux ficeret <sup>7</sup> armatus, quæ idem togatus fieri prot

<sup>1</sup> *Excitanda*. “Are to be raised to their former state.” exhortation to Cæsar to restore the former state of things too, so managed as to render it impossible for him to take *Jacere*. “Lie prostrate.”—*Belli ipsius impetu*, &c. “Struck laid low (as was of necessity to be expected), by the very sh war.”

<sup>2</sup> *Constituenda judicia*. “Justice is to be re-established.” “trials,” i. e. the dispensing of justice must be placed upon a as formerly.—*Revocanda fides*. “Public credit is to be re Literally, “is to be recalled,” i. e. to the position it formerl in the opinions of all.

<sup>3</sup> *Comprimendæ libidines*. “Licentiousness must be repre the license attendant upon a state of warfare.

<sup>4</sup> *Propaganda soboles*. “Population be increased.” Lite spring be propagated,” i. e. an increase of population enco repair the losses occasioned by the carnage of the civil wars. DIO CASSIUS (43, 25): Ἐπειδὴ τε δεινὴ δλιγανθρωπία, δι ἀπολωλότων πλῆθος . . . πολυπαιδίας ἀθλα ἐπέθηκεν. Augustus, at the close of the civil contest between himself an caused the famous *Lex Julia, de maritandis ordinibus*, to b Consult Legal Index.

<sup>5</sup> *Omnia, quæ dilapsa*, &c. “All those things, which hav away are now going fast to ruin, are to be bound firmly b laws.” A metaphor taken from the component parts c becoming disunited, and the whole falling to ruins. Such, to the orator, has been the influence of civil war on the inst Rome, an evil which Cæsar is entreated to remedy by vig salutary ordinances.

<sup>6</sup> *Non fuit recusandum quin*. “It was not to be denied br *Ardore*. “Excitement.”—*Quassata res publica*. “The shattec lic”—*Præsidia stabilitatis suæ*. “The supports of its stabi its stable supports.

<sup>7</sup> *Armatus*. “When in arms.”—*Togatus*. “If arrayed ir of peace,” i. e. if acting in a civil capacity, and if no intestin been raging. Compare note 1, page 88.

<sup>8</sup> *Quibus, præter te, &c.* “For no one can heal them save the power, which you now enjoy in the state, makes you person to restore peace and happiness to your country.

Quæ quidem tibi omnia belli vulnera curanda sunt; <sup>8</sup> quibus  
preter te, mederi nemo potest.

<sup>9</sup> Itaque illam tuam præclarissimam et sapientissimam  
vocem invitus audivi: "Satis diu vel naturæ vixi, vel  
gloriæ." Satis, si ita vis, naturæ fortasse; addo etiam, si  
placet, gloriæ: at (quod maximum est) <sup>10</sup>patriæ certe parum.  
<sup>11</sup> Quare, omitte, quæso, istam <sup>12</sup>doctorum hominum in con-  
demnanda morte prudentiam: noli nostro periculo sapiens  
esse. Sæpe enim venit ad aures meas, te idem istud <sup>13</sup>nimis  
crebro dicere, satis te <sup>14</sup>tibi vixisse. <sup>15</sup>Credo: sed tum id

<sup>9</sup> *Itaque illam tuam*, &c. "And hence it was with concern I heard  
that most remarkable and philosophic saying of yours, 'I have lived  
long enough for the purposes either of nature or of glory.'" The  
remark here alluded to formed part of Cæsar's observations in the  
senate, when the affair of Marcellus was brought before them. After  
having complained of the undiminished hostility of that individual  
towards him, and stated his own suspicions of secret treachery from  
Marcellus in case he were pardoned, he went on to remark, that, after  
all, this last was a matter of little moment to himself, since he had  
already lived long enough and enjoyed sufficient of glory. When he  
made this remark he was in the fifty-fourth year of his age.

<sup>10</sup> *Patriæ certe parum*. "Not long enough certainly for your coun-  
try." His country still wants the presence of Cæsar to give her  
tranquillity and a settled order of things.

<sup>11</sup> *Quare, omitte*, &c. "Discard then that wisdom assumed by some  
philosophers in contemning death; do not wish to be wise at our  
risk," i. e. leave to its authors that stoical indifference which would  
inculcate the contempt of death; such pretended wisdom would be  
 fraught with the most ruinous consequences to ourselves, whose lives  
depend on yours. *Istam* here denotes contempt, and, in accordance  
with this idea, we have rendered it by the words "that assumed."

<sup>12</sup> *Doctorum hominum*. Literally, "of the learned." *Docti homines* is  
here, however, only a periphrasis for *philosophi*, and the Stoic sect are  
particularly meant. The followers of this school taught that life and  
death are among those things which are in their nature indifferent.  
(FIELD'S *Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 350, seqq.)

<sup>13</sup> *Nimis crebro dicere*, &c. Suetonius informs us, that Cæsar had, in  
fact, led some of his friends to entertain the opinion, that he did not  
wish to live any longer, and did not regret the feeble health under  
which he was then labouring: "Suscipcionem Cæsar quibusdam suo-  
rum reliquit, neque voluisse se diutius vivere, neque curasse quod valetudine  
sua prospera uteatur." (SUET. Vit. Jul. c. 86.)

<sup>14</sup> *Tibi*. "For yourself," i. e. for all that you care to live for; for all  
that your own feelings told you was worth enjoying in life.

<sup>15</sup> *Credo*. "I believe it," i. e. I have no doubt that such is the state  
of your present feelings, and that you frequently indulge in such  
remarks as these.

audirem, <sup>1</sup> si tibi soli viveres, aut si tibi etiam s<sup>e</sup>sses. <sup>2</sup> Nunc, cum omnium salutem civium cunrem publicam <sup>3</sup> res tuæ gestæ complexæ sint; <sup>4</sup> tant a perfectione maximorum operum, ut fundamen cogitas, nondum jeceris. <sup>5</sup> Hic tu modum tuæ v salute rei publicæ, sed æquitate animi, definies? <sup>6</sup> istud ne gloriæ quidem tuæ satis est? cujus te dissimum, quamvis sis sapiens, non negabis.

<sup>7</sup> Parumne igitur, inquieris, gloriam magnam relin<sup>c</sup> Immo vero <sup>8</sup> aliis, quamvis multis, satis; tibi uni <sup>9</sup> Quidquid enim est, quamvis amplum sit, id cert est tum, cum est aliquid amplius. Quod si <sup>10</sup> rerum

<sup>1</sup> *Si tibi soli viveres.* “If you were living for yourself al for yourself alone, and not for your country also.

<sup>2</sup> *Nunc.* “But now.” Equivalent to *sed*. Compare *Pro A* “*Nunc insidet quædam in optimo quoque virtus,*” &c.

<sup>3</sup> *Res tuæ gestæ complexæ sint.* “Your actions have embra have been and continue to be closely identified with. Faern gestæ, of which emendation Ernesti approves, on the ground tuæ gestæ ought to be at least *res a te gestæ.* He retains, how common reading, *res tuæ gestæ*, because the same form occur the 9th chapter.

<sup>4</sup> *Tantum abes, a, &c.* “You are so far from the completi greatest works, that you have not yet laid the very foundati you think you have.” The phraseology *tantum abes . . .* is also translated, “you not only have not completed, &c., but even laid,” &c. Compare, as regards this form of expre remarks of SCHELLER, *Præcept. Styl.* vol. i. p. 65.

<sup>5</sup> *Hic tu modum tuæ vitæ, &c.* “Will you here bound y ence, not by the safety of the state, but by the moderatio own mind?” Compare the explanation of BUDÆUS: “*I propterea satis virisse, quod aequo animo et circa indignatio potes, et annos præteritos non requiris?*”

<sup>6</sup> *Istud.* “That portion of existence which you have th joyed.” With *istud* we may supply *vitæ.* Literally, “th which is yours.”

<sup>7</sup> *Parumne igitur, &c.* “Shall we then, you will ask, leav us, no great degree of glory?” i. e. shall I, if my existence minate, leave behind me no great degree of fame for posterit

<sup>8</sup> *Aliis, quamvis multis, &c.* “Enough for others, hows merous they may be; for yourself alone not enough,” i. e. you have thus far acquired might suffice for any other bi His destinies, interwoven as they are with those of his co mand a larger share.

<sup>9</sup> *Quidquid enim est, &c.* “For whatever there is, how soever it may be, this certainly is but small, when there is still more extensive than itself,” i. e. your glory, Cæsar, is

iuri, C. Cæsar, hic exitus futurus fuit, ut, devictis  
is, rem publicam in eo statu relinqueres, in quo  
; <sup>11</sup> vide, quæso, ne tua divina virtus admirationis  
iabitura, quam gloriæ : <sup>12</sup> siquidem gloria est illustris  
gata multorum et magnorum, vel in suos, vel in  
vel in omne genus hominum, fama meritorum.

**H**ec igitur tibi reliqua pars est ; <sup>14</sup> hic restat actus,  
elaborandum est, ut rem publicam constituas, eaque  
mis composita, <sup>16</sup> cum summa tranquillitate et otio,  
: tum te, si voles, cum et patriæ, quod debes,  
et naturam ipsam expleveris satietate vivendi, satis  
se dicio. <sup>18</sup> Quid est enim omnino hoc ipsum diu,

great, but still it sinks into comparative insignificance when  
with that higher glory to which you have it in your power

*tuarum immortalium.* “ Of thy immortal achievements.”  
quæso, &c. “ Beware lest your divine virtues be likely to  
of admiration than of glory,” i. e. be likely to excite the  
of others, rather than add to your own glory.

*em gloria est, &c.* “ Since glory is the brilliant and wide-  
own arising from many and important services, either to  
ids, or country, or the whole human race.” Some MSS.  
*n suos cives*, but this would be pleonastic, as *in patriam*

*igitur tibi reliqua pars est.* “ This character, therefore, yet  
r you to sustain.” A metaphor borrowed from the language  
ge. Compare ERNESTI, *Clav. Cic.* : “ *Pars in scena est per-*  
*quis suscepit agendam.*” Hence the expressions in the Latin  
*actores primarum partium*, “ *actores secundarum partium*,”  
rst-rate actors, second-rate, &c.

*estat actus.* “ This act remains to be performed,” i. e. this  
drama of your glory.

*elaborandum est, &c.* “ For this end must you exert your  
voirs, that you may place our republic on a firm basis, and  
nong the first to enjoy it, in its settled state, amid perfect  
y and retirement.” In some good MSS. the word *composita*  
appear ; and hence Faernus, Lambinus, and Grævius have  
it from the text. It is retained, however, by Ernesti,  
*s composita* too good a term to have owed its origin to a

*summa tranquillitate et otio.* Of which Cæsar had thus far  
little. Compare MANUTIUS : “ *Nam adhuc tranquillitate,*  
*io caruerat, perpetuis bellis, Pharsalico, Alexandrino, Afri-*  
*us.*”

*uram ipsam expleveris, &c.* “ And shall have satisfied nature  
th a sufficient term of existence,” i. e. when nature herself is  
living ; when you shall have reached a good old age.  
*est enim, &c.* “ For, after all, what is this same living long,

in quo est aliquid extre<sup>m</sup>um ; quod cum venit, omnis voluptas præterita pro nihilo est, quia postea nulla futura est? <sup>1</sup> Quamquam iste tuus animus nunquam <sup>2</sup> his angustiis, quas natura nobis ad vivendum dedit, contentus fuit ; semperque immortalitatis amore flagravit.

<sup>3</sup> Nec vero hæc tua vita ducenda est, quæ corpore et spiritu continetur. Illa, illa, inquam, <sup>4</sup> vita est tua, quæ vigebit memoria sæculorum omnium ; quam posteritas alet, quam ipsa æternitas semper tuebitur. <sup>5</sup> Huic tu inservias, huic te ostentes, oportet : quæ quidem, quæ miretur, jam-pridem multa habet ; nunc, etiam quæ laudet, exspectat.

in which there is always something that closes the scene, and, when this has arrived, all past pleasure goes for nothing, because there is none to be thereafter?" Cicero's argument is this. What is a long life, considered merely as such? It is only a space of time which eventually is to have an end, and, when this end arrives, all that went before passes for a mere blank, because a mere blank comes after. How much better is it to lead a glorious life, which knows no limits, but will be perpetuated amid the praises of posterity! Say not then, Cæsar, that you have now lived for a sufficient period, but rather turn your view to the career of glory which awaits you. When you have completed this, then say that you have lived long enough, for then your fame will be immortal.

<sup>1</sup> *Quamquam iste*, &c. Cicero here corrects himself, in order that Cæsar may not take offence at what precedes.

<sup>2</sup> *His angustiis*, &c. "With these narrow limits which nature has prescribed unto us for the mere purposes of existence," i. e. with the narrow limits of life which nature has prescribed.

<sup>3</sup> *Nec vero hæc tua vita*, &c. "Nor, in truth, can this be regarded as your life, which is bounded by the body and the soul," i. e. by the union of the soul with the body.—Some MSS. have *dicenda est* in place of *ducenda est*, and it is adopted also by Lambinus, Wolf, Schütz, and others.

<sup>4</sup> *Vita est tua*. "Is your true existence."—*Sæculorum omnium* "Of all coming ages."—*Alet*. "Shall cherish."—*Tuebitur*. "Shall guard as its own," i. e. shall preserve. Equivalent to *conservabit et sustinebit*.

<sup>5</sup> *Huic tu inservias*, &c. "It is for this existence you should labour, for this show forth your glory; an existence, which has long since possessed many things at which to wonder, which now looks for those that it may praise," i. e. an existence which already possesses many claims to our wonder, which now looks for claims to our applause.

<sup>6</sup> *Imperia, provincias*. "Your commands, your provinces," i. e. the variety of important military commands which you have filled, the numerous countries which have been the theatres of those commands.

<sup>7</sup> *Rhenum*. Referring to Cæsar's victories over the Gauls and Germans.—*Oceanum*. Alluding to his invasion of Britain.—*Nilum*. His operations in Egypt.

cent posteri certe, <sup>6</sup> imperia, provincias, <sup>7</sup> Rhenum, Nilum, pugnas innumerabiles, incredibiles victoria  
umenta innumera, triumphos, audientes et legentes l, nisi haec urbs <sup>9</sup> stabilita tuis consiliis et institutis  
bitur modo nomen tuum longe atque late; sedem  
stabilem et domicilium certum non habebit. Erit,  
etiam qui nascentur, sicut inter nos fuit, <sup>10</sup> magna  
cum alii laudibus ad cœlum res tuas gestas  
<sup>11</sup> alii fortasse aliquid requirent, idque vel maximum,  
civilis incendium <sup>12</sup> salute patriæ restinxeris; <sup>13</sup> ut  
fuisse videatur, hoc consilii. <sup>14</sup> Servi igitur iis

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*nenta innumera.* "The countless monuments that personate victories." We have adopted *innumera*, the reading of all MSS. and early editions, in place of the common lection, *munera*. The term *munera*, as referring to mere gladiators, and public exhibitions, seems out of place here, the parallel as *triumphos* follows.

*a tuis consiliis, &c.* "Firmly established by your counsels

*a dissensio.* "A great difference of opinion."

*fortasse aliquid requirent.* "While others, perhaps, will miss lack of something else." Literally, "will seek for," i. e. will and not.—This "something" is explained immediately after. Extinguishing of the flames of civil war, by giving peace and his country; or, in other words, the removing of every trace of dissension, and the introduction of good order and public

In order to bring about these desirable results, the presence of Caesar is necessary, and he has, therefore, not yet lived long. If he stop now, there is a chance lest posterity may assign his death to the mere operation of the decrees of destiny. He has something still, which shall render his wisdom and sound fame spicuous to after ages.

*et patriæ.* "By the safety of your country," i. e. by placing this basis the safety and happiness of the Roman state.

*illud, &c.* "That the former may appear to have been the life, the latter of wisdom." *Illud* refers to Caesar's previous acts, *hoc* to what Cicero and posterity expect from him, in his repose of his country.

*igitur, &c.* "Have regard then for the opinions of those who, many ages after this, will decide concerning thee, and indeed, more impartially than we ourselves." *Servire* is here used to *rationem habere*, and carries with it the idea of labouring hard to secure some advantage, or to gain the good opinion of (Compare SCHUTZ, *Index Lat.* s. v.) The judges to whom we are posterity, and their tribunal will be any but a

etiam judicibus, qui multis post sæculis de te judicabunt, et quidem <sup>1</sup> haud scio, an incorruptius, quam nos: nam et sine amore et sine cupiditate, et rursus sine odio et sine invidia, judicabunt. <sup>2</sup> Id autem etiam si tunc ad te (ut quidam falso putant) non pertinebit; nunc certe pertinet, esse te talem, ut tuas laudes obscuratura nulla umquam sit oblivio.

X. <sup>3</sup> DIVERSÆ voluntates civium fuerunt, distractæque sententiæ: non enim <sup>4</sup> consiliis solum et studiis, sed armis etiam et castris, dissidebamus. <sup>5</sup> Erat autem obscuritas quædam, erat certamen <sup>6</sup> inter clarissimos duces: <sup>7</sup> multi dubitabant, quid optimum esset; multi, quid sibi expediret; multi, quid deceret; nonnulli etiam, quid liceret. <sup>8</sup> Perfuncta res publica est hoc misero fatalique bello: vicit is, <sup>9</sup> qui non

<sup>1</sup> *Haud scio, an.* Consult note 11, page 115.—*Et sine amore et sine cupiditate, &c.* “Unbiased by both affection and love of self, and free on the other hand from hatred and envy. *Cupiditas* refers here to schemes of personal advancement, which may be furthered by flattering the feelings of the powerful.

<sup>2</sup> *Id autem etiam, &c.* “And even if this shall, (as some falsely imagine,) in no respect concern you then; it certainly concerns you now,” &c. i. e. and even if the praises of posterity shall in no respect affect you, (supposing that erroneous doctrine to be true which teaches that there is no existence beyond the grave,) still, &c. The expression *ut quidam falso putant* expresses Cicero’s disbelief in the doctrine of materialism which was then prevalent at Rome among the upper classes. The remark comes in here with great beauty, and still greater force, since Cæsar himself was a believer in the non-existence of a future state, and had openly avowed this opinion, on a former occasion, during the debate in the senate respecting the punishment of the accomplices of Catiline. The future glory of Cæsar, as far as he himself shall be sensible of it, is here placed in full opposition to his own dark and chilling belief.

<sup>3</sup> *Diversæ voluntates, &c.* “The inclinations of the citizens were various, and their opinions wholly divided.” Alluding to the period of the civil contest.

<sup>4</sup> *Consiliis et studiis.* “In sentiments and wishes.” Compare MANUTIUS: “*Consiliis ad sententias refertur, studiis ad voluntates.*”

<sup>5</sup> *Erat autem obscuritas quædam.* “There was also an air of obscurity thrown, as it were, over the whole affair,” i. e. the merits of the cause were dubious, and it was hard to say on which side the justice of the contest lay. An adroit extenuation, on the part of Cicero, of his own error and that of his friends in espousing the cause of Pompey.

<sup>6</sup> *Inter clarissimos duces.* “Between two most illustrious leaders,” i. e. Cæsar and Pompey.

<sup>7</sup> *Multi dubitabant, &c.* “Many were in doubt which of the two causes might be the most just; many, what might be most expedient

ortuna inflammaret odium suum, sed bonitate leniret; nec ui omnes, quibus iratus esset, eosdem etiam exsilio aut morte dignos judicaret. <sup>11</sup> Arma ab aliis posita, ab aliis repta sunt. Ingratus est injustusque civis, qui, <sup>12</sup> armorum periculo liberatus, animum tamen retinet armatum; <sup>13</sup> ut tiam ille sit melior, qui in acie cecidit, qui in causa animani refudit. Quæ enim pertinacia quibusdam, eadem aliis constantia, videri potest. <sup>14</sup> Sed jam omnis fracta dissensio est armis, et extincta æquitate victoris: restat, ut omnes unum velint, qui modo habent aliquid, non solum sapientiæ, sed etiam sanitatis. Nisi te, C. Cæsar, salvo, et in ista sententia, qua cum antea, tum hodie vel maxime usus es, manente, salvi esse non possumus. Quare omnes te, qui

or themselves; many, what might be becoming in their case; some few, what it might be permitted them to do." Cicero here gives us four distinct classes of persons, all engaging more or less in the civil contest, and all actuated by different sentiments.

<sup>1</sup> *Perfuncta est.* "Has at last gone through with," i. e. is at last freed from. According to the rule of the ancient grammarians, *infungor* is generally said of what is bad, and *perfunctor* of what is good. We have here, however, an exception to the remark. Compare HAR. *Resp.* 8, and *Ep. ad Fam.* 5, 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Qui non fortuna, &c.* "Who would not inflame his resentment by reason of success," i. e. who would not act as victors are accustomed to act, and make victory the occasion and means for indulging in fiercer resentment than ever against his political foes.—*Sed bonitate leniret.* "But would soften it down by clemency," i. e. would make a mild and merciful use of it.

<sup>3</sup> *Morte.* Cæsar, after proving victorious, is said to have put none to death except Faustus Sylla, Afranius, and L. Cæsar. (SUETON. *Vit. Jul.* c. 75.)

<sup>4</sup> *Arma ab aliis, &c.* "Their arms were laid down by some, were forced from others." Graevius condemns the use of *ab* in this sentence, as violating correct Latinity: but it is employed in a similar way by the best writers, and by Cicero himself in the following instances: *In Verr.* 3, 48, *In Vatin.* 12, 5. Compare ERNESTI, *ad loc.* and DUKER, *ad Liv.* 41, 14.

<sup>5</sup> *Armorum periculo liberatus, &c.* "After having been freed from the danger of war, retains a spirit of warfare," i. e. who, after having been forgiven, still cherishes hostile feelings.

<sup>6</sup> *Ut etiam ille sit melior.* "So that even he is more worthy of excuse."—*In causa.* "In defence of the cause which he has espoused."

<sup>7</sup> *Sed jam omnis, &c.* "Now, however, all civil disunion has been completely overcome by arms." Compare MANUTIUS: "*Fracta, h. c. sublata, spoliata viribus.*"

<sup>8</sup> *Unum velint.* "Unite in their wishes."—*Nisi.* "For unless."—*Qua uous es.* "Which you have expressed."

hæc salva esse volumus, et hortamur et obsecramu  
vitæ, ut saluti tuæ consulas: omnesque tibi, (ut pr  
etiam loquar, quod <sup>2</sup> de me ipse sentio,) quoniam <sup>3</sup> s  
aliquid putas, quod cavendum sit, non modo excul  
custodias, sed etiam <sup>4</sup> laterum nostrorum oppositus e  
porum, pollicemur.

XI. <sup>5</sup> SED, unde est orsa, in eodem terminetur.  
Maxima tibi omnes gratias agimus, C. Cæsar: <sup>6</sup> m  
etiam habemus. Nam omnes idem sentiunt; qu  
omnium precibus et lacrymis sentire potuisti. Sed  
non est <sup>7</sup> stantibus omnibus necesse <sup>8</sup> dicere; a me  
dici volunt, cui necesse est quodammodo, et quod  
et quod decet, et quod (M. Marcello a te huic ordini

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<sup>1</sup> Ut vitæ, &c. Because on Cæsar's safety, and on the continu  
his life, depend the lives and safety of all.

<sup>2</sup> De me. "As far as regards myself."

<sup>3</sup> Subesse aliquid. "That something lies concealed." *Subesse*  
equivalent to *latere*. Compare *Ep. ad Fam.* 10, 18: "Non poss  
exhorrescere, si quid intra cutem subest vulneris, quod prius nocere  
quam sciri curarique possit."

<sup>4</sup> Laterum nostrorum oppositus, &c. "The intervention of ou  
and of our bodies," i. e. we are willing to present our own bodi  
rampart between you and your foes.

<sup>5</sup> Sed, unde est orsa, &c. "But let my remarks terminate a  
began." Literally, "let my speech be ended in the same place  
it began," i. e. let me end as I began, with an expression of than

<sup>6</sup> Majores etiam habemus. "We have still greater gratitude,  
language cannot express." Compare MANUTIUS: "Plus enim  
comprehendit, quam quod exsequi verbis liceat."

<sup>7</sup> Stantibus. When any senator spoke he stood up, except  
he merely assented to another. Cicero means, therefore, that it  
necessary for all the assembled senators to address Cæsar sta  
i. e. personally or individually. Some of the early editions have  
*tibus*, which appears in a few MSS.

<sup>8</sup> Dicere. "To give utterance to those feelings in words."  
certe dici volunt. "They wish them to be expressed by me at le  
Et quod. "Both because."

<sup>9</sup> Præcipue id, &c. Ernesti rejects *præcipue id a me fieri*, and cl  
debere to *deberi*. But this is too bold, although resting in some  
on MS. authority.

<sup>10</sup> Non ut. "Not as it were."

<sup>11</sup> Quod autem summae, &c. "What constitutes, moreover, a  
of the most intimate friendship (such as mine towards him was)  
by all on every occasion to have been, so that I scarcely yield  
Caius Marcellus, his most excellent and affectionate brother,  
him, indeed, to no one), this, after having displayed it as long as  
was any doubt about his personal safety, by my solicitude, my

que Romano et rei publicæ reddito) <sup>9</sup> præcipue id a me eri debere intelligo. Nam lætari omnes, <sup>10</sup> non ut de nius solum, sed ut de communi omnium salute, sentio : quod autem summæ benevolentia est, (quæ mea erga illum mnibus semper nota fuit, ut vix C. Marcello, optimo et mantissimo fratri, præter eum quidem, cederem nemini,) am id sollicitudine, cura, labore tamdiu præstiterim, quam- iu est de illius salute dubitatum, certe hoc tempore, magnis uris, molestiis, doloribus liberatus, præstare debeo. <sup>12</sup> Itaque, ! Cæsar, sic tibi gratias ago, ut omnibus me rebus a te non unservato solum, sed etiam ornato, tamen ad tua in me num innumerabilia merita, (quod fieri jam posse non arbitrabar,) maximus hoc tuo facto cumulus accesserit.

ly exertions in his behalf, I certainly ought to exhibit on the present occasion, freed as I now am from anxieties, troubles, sorrows of no ordinary magnitude."—In the regular grammatical construction of this sentence the antecedent *id*, understood before *quod*, is governed by *restare*. We have preferred, however, in order to render the whole more intelligible, to consider *quod* as elliptical for *quod attinet ad id meum*, and to understand another *id* before *præstare*.

"*Itaque, C. Cæsar, &c.* The elegance of the idiom *sic . . . ut*, in his passage, is worthy of particular notice. It is the same, in effect, as *ab hoc, quod*. "Wherefore, Caius Cæsar, I return you my thanks for this, because, after having been not only restored by you in all respects to a state of safety, but even graced with honours, a crowning favour has nevertheless been added, by your conduct on this occasion, your countless acts of kindness already conferred upon me individually; a circumstance which I thought no longer able to be brought about."

It remains but to add a few words relative to Marcellus. The story of his fate is a singular one. After being pardoned by Cæsar, he left Mytilene, and had come as far as the Piræus, or harbour of Athens, on his way to Rome. Here he spent a day with his old friend and colleague, Servius Sulpicius, intending to pursue his journey the following day by sea. But in the night, after Sulpicius had taken leave of him, on 23rd of May, he was killed by his friend and client Magius, who stabbed himself instantly with the same poignard. Sulpicius sent an account of the whole affair to Cicero (*Ep. ad Fam. 4, 12*), of which the following is an extract:—

"On the 22nd of May, I came by sea from Epidaurus to the Piræus, to meet my colleague Marcellus, and, for the sake of his company, spent that day with him there. The next day, when I took my leave of him with the intention of going from Athens into Boeotia, to finish the remaining part of my jurisdiction, he, as he told me, intended to

set sail, at the same time, for Italy. The day following, about the morning, when I was preparing to set out for Athens, L. P. Postumius came to let me know that Marcellus was stabbed by his companion, P. Magius Chilo, after supper, and had received two wounds, the one in his stomach, the other in his head near the ear; but in hopes still that he might live; that Magius presently killed him, and that Marcellus sent him to inform me of the case, and that I would bring some physicians to him. I got some physicians immediately, and went away with them before break of day; when I was come near the Piræus, Acidinus' boy met me with a message from his master, in which it was signified, that Marcellus died before day."

Magius, who killed him, was of a family which had borne the public offices, and had himself been quæstor. Having himself devoted to the fortunes of Marcellus, and followed him through all his wars and his exile, he was now returning with him to Italy. Cicero gives no hint of any cause that induced him to commit this homicide, which, by the immediate death of Magius, could never be known. Cicero's conjecture was, that Magius, oppressed with apprehension and some trouble, on that score, upon his return, had been urging Marcellus, who was his surety for some part of his debts, to furnish him with money to pay the whole, and, on receiving a refusal, was provoked to the madness of killing his patron. (*Ep. ad Att.* 9, 11.) According to others, however, he was prompted to the deed, by other friends more favoured by Marcellus than himself. (V 9, 11.)

## M. TULLII CICERONIS

ORATIO

PRO

LEGE MANILIA.

TULLI CICERONIS, &c. "The oration of Marcus Tullius Cicero  
or of the Manilian law."—This oration, which is accounted one  
most splendid of his productions, was the first in which Cicero  
had the whole people from the rostra. It was pronounced in  
of a law proposed by Manilius, a tribune of the commons  
(87), for constituting Pompey sole general, with extraordinary  
powers in the war against Mithridates and Tigranes, in which Lucullus  
had previously commanded. The Mithridatic war had now continued  
space of twenty-three years, with some intermission, and with  
variations of fortune on both sides. [Manilius was already famous  
for attempting to re-enact a law of Carbo, "that the *Libertini* should be  
in all the tribes, instead of merely in the four city tribes.  
It had been repealed by Sylla. Manilius carried it by proposing  
it on the day, when but a few, and those his own partizans, re-  
mained in the forum. It was, however, immediately annulled by the  
(We shall find another attempt to carry it made by Clodius,  
90.) Manilius, however, dreaded the still continued animosity of  
the senate, and in order to procure for himself the aid of Pompey, he  
had this law.]

chiefs of the senate regarded the law in question as a dangerous  
agent in the republic; and all the authority of Catulus, and elo-  
quence of Hortensius, were directed against it, [but the bill was sup-  
ported by Cæsar and Cicero.] Cicero, in advocating its passing, divides  
the course into two parts,—showing, first, that the importance and  
dangers of the contest, in which the state was engaged, re-  
quired the unusual remedy proposed, and—secondly, that Pompey was  
the best person to be entrusted with the conduct of the war. This  
is a splendid panegyric on that commander, in which, while he  
speaks to the merits of Lucullus, he enlarges on the military skill,

I. (1.) <sup>1</sup> QUAMQUAM mihi semper frequens conspectus vester, multo jucundissimus, <sup>2</sup> hic autem locus, <sup>3</sup> ad agendum amplissimus, ad dicendum ornatissimus est virus, Quicquid tamen <sup>4</sup> hoc aditu laudis, qui semper optimo cuique maxime patuit, non <sup>5</sup> mea me voluntas adhuc, sed <sup>6</sup> mea vita ratione, ab ineunte æstate susceptæ, prohibuerunt. Nam, cum aucto-

valour, authority, and good fortune of his favourite chief, with all the force and beauty which language can afford. By dwelling on these topics, and by adducing examples from all antiquity, of the states having been benefited, or saved, by entrusting unlimited power to a single person, he allays all fears of the dangers, which, it was apprehended, might result to the constitution from such extensive authority being vested in one individual.

The Manilian law was passed, and the success of Pompey was brilliant and decisive, without any of those evil effects resulting to the state which the foes of the measure had predicted. [Yet this extraordinary power given to one individual served afterwards as a pretext for Caesar's assumption of it.]

<sup>1</sup> *Quamquam mihi, &c.* “Although, Romans, frequently to behold your assemblies has always appeared to me by far most pleasing, although this place the most dignified for addressing you, the most honourable for haranguing, yet,” &c. [Cicero gives a reason why he did not frequently come before the Roman people; namely, his literary life. The passage is usually rendered “Although the frequent sight of your crowded assemblies,” but it simply means “the frequent sight of you,” i. e. frequently to behold you. We may say in this sense both *conspectus vester* and *conspectus vestri*; the former is usual with Cicero. Cf. *pro PLANC.* 1 and 2. *Vester, judices, conspectus et concorsus repletum recreat mentem meam.*]

<sup>2</sup> *Hic autem locus.* Alluding to the *rostra*, where he was standing at the time. The *rostra* (more commonly, but less correctly, called *rostrum*) was a pulpit or tribunal, in the Roman forum, before the *Civis Hostilia*, where those who addressed the people stood. It was so called, because adorned with the *beaks* of the vessels said to have been taken from the Antiates. (LIV. 8, 14.—VARRO, *L.L.* 4, 32.) There were at Rome the old and new *rostra* (*vetera et nova*); the former, which are here meant, stood in the centre of the forum, APPIAN, *ad. V.* 94), the latter at the base of the Palatine, in the southern angle of the forum. This last was erected by Cæsar. (NARDINI, *R. V.* 5, 2—RASCHE, *Lex. Rei Num.* vol. vii. col. 1286.)

<sup>3</sup> *Ad agendum.* The phrase *agere cum populo* signifies, “to treat with the people,” i. e. to address them, soliciting their votes for or against a particular measure. Thus Aulus Gellius remarks (12, 14): “*Cum populo agere est rogare quid populum, quod suffragio cuiuscumque jubeat aut vetet.*”

<sup>4</sup> *Amplissimus.* This epithet is here applied to the *rostra*, because magistrates alone were allowed to address the people from this place. Compare HOTOMANN. “*Ad agendum amplissimum appellat, quod ad*

<sup>8</sup> per aetatem nondum <sup>9</sup> hujus auctoritatem loci attingero auderem, statueremque, nihil huc, <sup>10</sup> nisi perfectum ingenio, elaboratum industria, afferri oportere; <sup>11</sup> omne meum tempus amicorum temporibus transmittendum putavi. (2.) Ita neque hic locus vacuus unquam fuit ab iis, qui <sup>12</sup> vestram causam

*in nisi amplitudine præditis viris agere cum populo liceret; ad dicendum eratissimum autem, quod ornamento esset iis qui concionabantur.*"

<sup>1</sup> *Hoc aditu laudis*, &c. "From this avenue to praise, which has always lain most freely open to each most meritorious individual," &c. By *optiono cuique* are meant the patriotic and loyal. With a magistrate's permission, private persons were allowed to address the people from the rostra, [i. e. provided the tribunes permitted. This privilege was first gained by Spurius Lucretius. *Dion. Hal.* 5, 11.]

<sup>2</sup> *Mea voluntas*. "My own inclinations."

<sup>3</sup> *Mecu virtus rationes*, &c. "My way of life," &c. Cicero here refers to his rule of attending to the private concerns of his friends, until age and experience should qualify him for addressing the people from the rostra. By *aetate* in this sentence is meant, not boyhood, but the period of Cicero's entering on active and professional pursuits.

<sup>4</sup> *Per aetatem*. Cicero had already held the offices of quæstor and aule before he addressed the people on this occasion. He was now in his 41st year.

<sup>5</sup> *Hujus auctoritatem loci attingere*. "To have aught to do with the authority of this place," i. e. to aspire, in the slightest degree, to the honour of addressing you from such a place as this.—*Attingere* probably means, "to touch gently," "to come in slight contact with," and is, therefore, the very term to employ in the present case. It is sanctioned by the authority of many MSS., and is adopted by Graevius, Ernesti, and others. The common reading *contingere* is too strong, implying, "to come in full contact with," "to reach," &c.

<sup>6</sup> *Nisi perfectum ingenio*, &c. "But what had been perfected by talent, wrought out by assiduous application." Cicero assigns three reasons for not ascending the rostra at an earlier period; first, the rule of conduct which he had prescribed to himself, in devoting his chief attention to the private cases of his friends; secondly, the modesty and diffidence arising from his consciousness of the want of experience; and thirdly, the conviction, that no one ought to address the people from the place where he then stood, except after his abilities had become matured by age, and sharpened by application and extensive experience.

<sup>7</sup> *Omne meum tempus*, &c. "I thought that all my time ought to be devoted to the exigencies of my friends," i.e. to my friends standing in need of my assistance and advice. [*Temporibus*, "exigencies," "dangers," used like the Greek *καιρὸς*.]—*Transmittendum*. "Ought to be transferred." [Steinmetz compares *Stat.* iii. 278. *Vigilesque operi transmittere noctes gaudeat.*]

<sup>8</sup> *Vestram causam*. "Your interests." Compare the remark of Manutius: "*Rostra enim nemo nisi pro populo dicturus ascendit.*"

defenderent; <sup>1</sup> et meus labor, in privatorum periculi integreque versatus, ex vestro judicio fructum est annum consecutus. Nam cum<sup>2</sup> propter dilationem orum, <sup>3</sup>ter prætor primus <sup>4</sup>centuriis cunctis rensum, facile intellexi, Quirites, et quid de me judicare quid aliis præscriberetis. Nunc, cum et auctoritatum tantum sit, <sup>6</sup>quantum vos honoribus mandandis essistis; <sup>7</sup> et ad agendum facultatis tantum, quantum vigilanti ex forensi usu prope quotidiana dicendi exe

<sup>1</sup> *Et meus labor, &c.* “And my exertions, purely and faithfully employed in the dangers of private individuals, have reaped from suffrages a most ample reward.” Some commentators consider expressions *caste integreque* as having reference to the Cincian which advocates were not allowed to take any fees or present their clients, (*vid. Legal Index.*) The allusion, however, seems general one, to professional fidelity and [freedom from co*Caste=ἀδωροκήτως.*]

<sup>2</sup> *Propter dilationem comitiorum.* “On account of the adjournment of the comitia.” The comitia were adjourned, i. e. stopped, off to another day, for various reasons. Any magistrate of greater authority than the one who presided, might, as well as the latter, take the auspices before the meeting was held, especially if he wished to hinder an election, or prevent a law from being passed. Such magistrate, therefore, declared that he had heard thunder or lightning, the comitia was broken off, and deferred to another day. The same result was produced if any person, while they were sitting, was seized with epilepsy, if a tempest arose, if a tribune of the commons interposed his veto, &c.

<sup>3</sup> *Ter prætor primus, &c.* “I was thrice declared first prætor of the centuries,” i. e. twice at the two comitia that were broken off the third time when he was actually elected. The number of centuries at this time was eight. He was called *prætor primus*, or first, who had the largest number of votes, and the result of the election was always proclaimed by the voice of a herald, who was said to *ciare*, “to declare” the result, just as the successful candidate was said to *renunciari*. Plutarch informs us, that, on this occasion there had many persons of distinction for competitors, and yet he was elected first. (*Vit. Cis. c. 9.*) [Moëbius is wrong in rendering *prætor primus* = *prætor urbanus*, for Cicero never was *prætor urbanus*. As prætor he presided over trials *de pecuniis repetundis*. See Rab. P. STEINMETZ.]

<sup>4</sup> *Centuriis cunctis.* The prætors were chosen at the *comitiata*, as were also the consuls, censors, &c. The inferior magistrates such as the aediles, tribunes, quæstors, &c., were elected at the *tributa*. At the latter of these comitia, the vote of each citizen counted, whereas at the *centuriata* the centuries of the different classes counted *as such*. Thus, there were 193 centuries, forming six classes, of which the first and richest class consisted of 97 centuries. If

uit afferre: certe, et, si quid auctoritatis in me est,<sup>8</sup> ea d eos utar, qui eam mihi dederunt; et, si quid in xendo consequi possum, iis ostendam potissimum, qui quoque rei<sup>10</sup> fructum suo judicio tribuendum esse cernunt. (3.) <sup>11</sup>Atque illud in primis mihi lætandum jure video, quod <sup>12</sup>in hac insolita mihi ex hoc loco ratione mudi, causa talis oblata est, in qua <sup>13</sup>oratio deesse nemini est. Dicendum est enim de Cn. Pompeii singulari ex que virtute: hujus autem orationis <sup>14</sup>difficilius est exitum,

as of the first class agreed, the affair was decided. This arrangement, which dated back as far as the time of Servius Tullius, was intended to place the power mainly in the hands of the upper classes.

[EXCURSUS, on second Philippic.]

*Et quid aliis praescriberetis.* "And what course of conduct you prescribed to others." The course prescribed was the one which Cicero pursued, namely, to devote their earlier efforts to the concerns of friends and clients, until the experience which this brought along with entitled them to come forward with strong claims on the favour of people.

*Quantum vos honoribus, &c.* "As you have willed there should be our conferring honours upon me," i. e. as you have willed should be annexed to the offices which you have bestowed upon me.—*Honorinandis.* Literally, "in assigning honours." Compare the explanation of Fabricius: "*dum honores mihi mandatis.*" The common has *mandandum*, for which we have given *mandandis* with Fabri-Ernesti, and others, on the authority of several MSS.

*Et ad agendum, &c.* "And as much fitness for addressing you, as almost daily exercise of speaking could bring to a man of industrious habits, from the practice of the bar," i. e. to one who has thus been merely a pleader at the bar.

*Ea apud eos utar, &c.* "I will exert it in presence of those." The ion is to the Roman people assembled in comitia.

*Dicendo.* This serves to explain *ad agendum*, in the previous part sentence, with which it is synonymous.

*Fructum.* The recompence alluded to was the prætorship, which ad obtained that very year, A.U.C. 687.

*Atque, illud, &c.* "And I see that the following circumstance, in icular ought with good reason to afford me a ground for rejoicing." that I ought, with good reason, to congratulate myself on the wing account.

*In hac insolita mihi, &c.* "In this, to me unusual, mode of speak from the place where I now stand," i. e. unaccustomed as I am to ngue in this manner and from this place. The pronoun *hoc*, with indicates the gesture of the orator.

*Oratio.* "Eloquence." The subject is so noble and grand, as of f to supply an abundant flow of language.

*Difficilis est exitum, &c.* Cicero's harangue here will remind the lent of the exordium of Lysias, in the speech against Eratosthenes.

quam principium invenire. Ita mihi non tam <sup>1</sup> copia, modus in dicendo quærendus est.

II. (4.) Atque, ut inde oratio mea proficiscatur, <sup>1</sup> hæc omnis causa dicitur: bellum grave et periculosa vestris vectigalibus atque sociis a duobus potentibus regibus infertur, <sup>2</sup> Mithridate et Tigrane; <sup>3</sup> quorum relictus, <sup>4</sup> alter lacessitus, occasionem sibi ad occupare <sup>5</sup> Asiam oblatam esse arbitratur. <sup>6</sup> Equitibus Ro-

Οὐκ ἀρξασθαι μοι δοκεῖ ἀπορον εἶναι, ὃ ἀνδρες δικασται . . παύσασθαι λέγονται.

<sup>1</sup> Copia. "An abundant supply of materials."—Modus. limit."

<sup>2</sup> Unde hæc omnis causa dicitur. "Whence the whole of the proposal is derived." We have adopted *dicitur*; *ducitur* is exhibited in the common text.

<sup>3</sup> Vestris vectigalibus atque sociis. "Against your tributary allies." The *vectigales* were they who paid taxes or tribute in proportion of their lands; the *stipendiarii*, on the contrary, in money. The former were in a better condition than the latter, since the proportion of produce paid by them depended always on the nature of the year being less in years of scarcity than in those when the harvest was abundant: whereas, in the case of the *stipendiarii*, the amount was always the same one year with another. Consult ERNESTI, *Cf. s. v. stipendiarius*, and the authorities there cited.

<sup>4</sup> Mithridate et Tigrane. The former, king of Pontus, the latter of Armenia. Tigrane was son-in-law to Mithridates. Consult HISTORICAL INDEX.

<sup>5</sup> Quorum alter relictus. "The one of whom being left unprovided after defeat," i. e. not being pushed further after his defeat; the other on the part of the Romans not being followed up. The allusion is to Mithridates, who, after being repeatedly overcome by Lucullus, again became powerful, the Roman general not being able to follow up his successes, in consequence of the mutinous spirit of his army. Part of his army had been discharged and disembodied, the rest transferred to Glabrio. Compare the end of chapter 9: "Hic illo malo," &c.

<sup>6</sup> Alter lacessitus. "The other provoked by your arms," i. e. to action by the movements of Lucullus. This is a mere literary oratorical exaggeration. The truth was, Mithridates and Tigrane were on the point of entering Lycaonia and Cilicia with their whole army when Lucullus marched into Armenia. (PLUT. *Vit. Lucull.* c. 2)

<sup>7</sup> Asiam. The Roman province of Asia is here meant, comprising Mysia, Lydia, Caria, and Phrygia. Consult GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX. The revenues of this province were extremely rich, and hence the tempting nature of the prize. Compare the remark of MANILIUS: "Asiam cuius certissima et magna vectigalia."

<sup>8</sup> Equitibus Romanis. The Roman knights, or equites, farm the public revenues from the censors.—*Honestissimis viris.* "

onestissimis viris, afferuntur ex Asia quotidie literæ, quorum magnæ res aguntur, in vestris vectigalibus exercendis <sup>10</sup>occupatæ; <sup>11</sup>qui ad me, pro necessitudine, quæ mihi cum illo ordine, causam rei publicæ <sup>12</sup>periculaque rerum arum detulerunt :) (5.) <sup>13</sup>Bithyniæ, quæ nunc vestra provincia est, vicos exustos esse complures: <sup>14</sup>regnum Ariobarzani, quod finitimum est vestris vectigalibus, totum esse in stium potestate: Lucullum, magnis rebus gestis, <sup>15</sup>ab eo

nourable class of men." Cicero, himself of equestrian origin, always uses this and similar language in speaking of the equites.

<sup>1</sup> Quorum magnæ res aguntur, &c. "Large sums belonging to whom are now at stake there, being vested by them in the farming of your revenues." The equites, or, as they were more commonly called, *publui*, had purchased the revenues of the province of Asia from the *duces*, for a large amount, and were to look to the actual collection of those revenues for reimbursement and profit. The large sums of money, thus advanced by them to the state, were endangered by the aspect of war, since success on the part of the foe, and the consequent ravaging of the fields, would impair of course the productiveness of the province, and lessen materially the chances of repayment.

<sup>2</sup> Occupatæ. "Vested." Equivalent here to *collocatæ*. Compare in *Flacc.* 21: "Pecuniam adolescentulo, grandi fenore, fiducia tamen apta, occupavisti;" and also *In Verr.* 1, 36: "Pecunias occuparat ad populos, et syngraphas fecerat."

<sup>3</sup> Qui. "These."—*Pro necessitudine*, &c. "On account of the intimate connexion which exists between me and that order." Cicero, as we have already remarked, was himself of equestrian family. Compare *Pro Rab.* 6: "Vos equites Romani rideate: scitis me ortum a vobis." *Necessitudine*. Because Cicero himself was of equestrian rank, (*Municipis eques JUVEN.*) and because he always favoured them.]

<sup>4</sup> Periculaque rerum suarum. "And the dangers to which their private fortunes are exposed."

<sup>5</sup> Bithyniæ. Consult Geographical Index.—Quæ nunc vestra provincia est. "Which is now a province of yours." Nicomedes, the last sovereign of Bithynia, had, by his will, made the Roman people his heirs. The ostensible cause of this bequest was gratitude to the Romans, for having been restored to his dominions by Sylla after having been driven out by Mithridates. (EUTROP. 6, 6.—APPIAN, *B. M.* 7.)

<sup>6</sup> Regnum Ariobarzani. Cappadocia. Ariobarzanes was thrice driven from his throne by Mithridates. The first and second time he was restored by Lucullus, the third by Pompey. The period alluded to in the text is that which intervened between his second expulsion and final restoration, and during which Mithridates had again become powerful, in consequence of the recall of Lucullus. (APPIAN, *B. S.* 48.—*Id. B. M.* 10, seqq.)

<sup>7</sup> Ab eo bello discedere. It was now about eight years since Lucullus was sent to the Mithridatic war, and he had, during this period, by

bello discedere <sup>1</sup> huic qui successerit, non satis esse paratum ad tantum bellum administrandum: <sup>2</sup> unum ab omnibus sociis et civibus ad id bellum imperatorem deposci atque expeti: eundem hunc unum ab hostibus metui, praetera neminem.

(6.) <sup>3</sup> Causa quæ sit, videtis: nunc, quid agendum sit, considerate. Primum mihi videtur <sup>4</sup> de genere belli, deinde de magnitudine, tum de imperatore diligendo esse dicendum.— Genus est belli ejusmodi, quod maxime vestros animos excitare atque inflammare <sup>5</sup> ad studium persequendi debeat: <sup>6</sup> in quo agitur populi Romani gloria, quæ vobis

a series of brilliant successes, acquired for himself a high military representation. He had driven Mithridates out of his kingdom of Pontus, and gained several memorable victories over him and his son-in-law Tigranes. His success, however, occasioned envious feelings at Rome, and it was alleged against him, that he had not pushed the war with vigour against either Mithridates or Tigranes, that he might furnish a pretext for his being still continued in command. His army, besides, had become restless and mutinous, from the perpetual fatigues to which they were exposed, but principally from the factious arts of Clodius, brother-in-law to Lucullus, who was an officer in the army, and conceived himself neglected by the commander. The disaffection of the troops was still farther increased by an unlucky defeat of Triarius, one of the lieutenants of Lucullus, who, in a rash engagement with Mithridates, was destroyed, with the loss of his camp and the best of his troops. As soon, therefore, as they heard that Glabrio, the consul of the previous year, was appointed to succeed him, and had actually arrived in Asia, they broke out into open mutiny, and refused to follow Lucullus any longer, declaring that they had ceased to be his soldiers.

<sup>1</sup> *Huic qui successerit, &c.* “That the individual who has succeeded him is but ill prepared for the management of so important a war.” The allusion is to Glabrio, who was appointed to succeed Lucullus. The words *non satis esse paratum* ostensibly refer to the inadequate state of his resources; but they contain also a covert allusion to his mental incapacity. Cicero (*Brut.* 68) describes Glabrio, as “*socius ipsius natura, negligensque.*” The student will mark the force of the subjunctive mood in *successerit*. The speaker gives merely the language of rumour, and does not state as a fact within his own knowledge, that Glabrio has, by this time, actually assumed the command. So that *qui successerit* means, in truth, “who is said, by this time, to have succeeded him.” In place of *successerit* some read *succurrerit*, which last Hotomann endeavours to defend, as exposing the eagerness with which Glabrio seized the command, when superseding Lucullus. [And this is supported by the *ιφαρπάσων* of Dio. Cass.] But *successerit* is every way preferable.

<sup>2</sup> *Unum.* “That one individual.” Alluding to Pompey.—*Exadū hunc unum, &c.* “That this same one individual is feared by the enemy, no one besides.”

majoribus, cum magna in rebus omnibus, tum summa in e militari tradita est; agitur salus sociorum atque amicorum, pro qua multa majores vestri magna et gravia bella esserunt: aguntur <sup>7</sup> certissima populi Romani vectigalia et maxima: quibus amissis, <sup>8</sup> et pacis ornamenta, et subsidia elli requiretis: aguntur bona multorum civium, quibus est a vobis et ipsorum et rei publicæ causa consulendum.

III. (7.) Er quoniam semper appetentes gloriæ præter eteras gentes atque avidi laudis fuistis, <sup>10</sup> delenda vobis est la macula, Mithridatico bello superiore suscepta, quæ enitus jam insedit ac nimis inveteravit in populi Romani

<sup>9</sup> *Causa quæ sit.* "What is the nature of our cause," i. e. what is the nature of the discussion which now claims your attention.

<sup>10</sup> *De genere belli.* "Of the character of the war."

<sup>11</sup> *Ad studium persequendi.* ["To a desire to pursue it to the end."] These words are omitted in the common text, but supplied by Grævius and Ernesti from MSS.

<sup>12</sup> *In quo agitur, &c.* "For in it the glory of the Roman people is at stake." *In quo*, beginning the clause, is equivalent to *nam in eo*.

<sup>13</sup> *Certissima vectigalia et maxima.* "The surest and most important revenues." Elsewhere (*De Leg. Agr.* 2, 29) Cicero speaks of the Campanian vectigalia as the surest and the best: "*An ignoratis, cetera illa magnifica populi Romani vectigalia, pérlevi sæpe momento fortunæ, inclinatione temporis pendere?* Quid nos Asice portus, quid Syriæ rura quid maria transmarina vectigalia jurabunt, tenuissima suspicione prædonum ut hostium injecta? At vero hoc agri Campani vectigal cum ejusmodi sit, ut domi sit, et omnibus præsidiis oppidorum tegatur: tum neque bellis infestum, nec fructibus varium, nec cælo ac loco calamitosum esse solet."

<sup>14</sup> *Et pacis ornamenta, &c.* "You will have to seek anew for both the ornaments of peace, and the sinews of war," i. e. you will miss, you will feel the want of what constitute the ornaments of peace, &c. M. BULLUS (c. 29): "*Pacis ornamennum, subsidium belli, fundamentum vectigalium:*" and chapter 6 of the present speech: "*Si et belli utilitatem et pacis dignitatem sustinere vultis.*"

<sup>15</sup> *A vobis et ipsorum, &c.* In the early editions, and in most MSS. we find *a vobis et imperatoribus rei publicæ consulendum*. Lambinus obtained the reading in the text from three MSS., and it has been adopted by Grævius, Ernesti, and others. Ernesti remarks: "*Ego vero nullam causam idoneam video quare hic imperatores populi Romani commemorentur, cum de uno diligendo agatur, et quidem per populum Romanum.*" [Cicero uses the preposition with *a vobis* to guard against ambiguity, otherwise, *vobis consulendum* would be correct Latinity.]

<sup>16</sup> *Delenda vobis, &c.* "That stain, contracted in the previous Mithridatic war, must be effaced by you, which has now sunk deeply in, and grown too old on the name of the Roman people." *Inreterasco*, means literally, "to grow old in," "to gather strength by age or time," "to become deeply rooted," &c.

nomine : <sup>1</sup>quod is, qui, <sup>2</sup>uno die, tota Asia, <sup>3</sup>tot in cibus, uno nuntio, <sup>4</sup>atque una literarum significatione, Romanos necandos trucidandosque denotavit, non adhuc pœnam nullam suo dignam scelere suscepit, <sup>6</sup>illo tempore annum jam tertium et vicesimum regnat regnat, ut se non Ponto, <sup>7</sup>neque Cappadociae latebris tare velit, sed emergere <sup>8</sup>e patrio regno, atque in vectigalibus, hoc est, in Asiæ luce versari. (8.) ] adhuc ita vestri cum illo rege contenderunt imperato

<sup>1</sup> *Quod is, &c.* “That he,” &c. Referring to Mithridates, indiscriminate slaughter of the Romans in Asia. This mono secret orders to all the governors of his Asiatic provinces, e them to massacre, on the thirtieth day after the receipt of these tions, all the Romans and Italians in their several districts, regard to age or sex, and to leave their bodies without the burial. (APPIAN, *B. M.* 22.) Plutarch makes the number this occasion to have been 150,000. (*Vit. Syll.* c. 24.) Maximus (9, 2, 3) gives it as 80,000, which is probably ne truth. This event occurred in the consulship of Sylla and Q. P Rufus, A.U.C. 666 ; B.C. 88.

<sup>2</sup> *Uno die.* The massacre took place on the same day thr the cities of Asia. The interval of thirty days was prescr order that the secret intelligence might be communicated in the more distant cities. The messengers would have time to in thirty days, and all would then be prepared to act in conci

<sup>3</sup> *Tot in civitatibus.* Appian (*B. M.* 23) enumerates severa Greek cities of Asia which obeyed the cruel directions of Mit and mentions also the different ways in which the order was e Temples and altars afforded no refuge. The only two sta remained faithful to the Romans, amid the general defectio followed this disaster, were Magnesia and Rhodes.

<sup>4</sup> *Atque una literarum significatione.* “And by the import of letter.” The confidential messenger had a letter, or general which he showed to each of the governors of the cities.

<sup>5</sup> *Cires Romanos, &c.* “Marked out Roman citizens for butch death.” *Trucidare* is to put to death with circumstances of cr butcher, &c. from *tauro-cædo*.

<sup>6</sup> *Sed ab illo tempore, &c.* “But is now reigning for the twer year from that period.” This oration was delivered A.U.C. 68 massacre took place A.U.C. 666.

<sup>7</sup> *Neque Cappadociae latebris.* “Nor in the retreats of Capi The term *latebræ* refers to the inland situation of this count pared with the other regions that border upon Pontus. THIUS: “*Quia gentium universarum, quæ Pontum accolunt, una introrsus recedit.*” and also CICERO (*Agr.* 2, 21), “*In Pap tenebris, atque in Cappadociae solitudine.*”—[*Occultare, emergere* phors from the setting and rising of a star : the same idea is on in *Asiæ luce versari.*]”

illo <sup>9</sup>insignia victoriæ, non victoriam reportarent. Trium-  
avit <sup>10</sup> L. Murena de Mithridate, duo fortissimi viri, et  
mmi imperatores: sed ita triumpharunt, ut ille <sup>11</sup>pulsus  
peratusque regnaret. Verumtamen illis imperatoribus laus  
t tribuenda, <sup>12</sup>quod egerunt: venia danda, quod reli-  
erunt: propterea quod ab eo bello Sullam in Italiam <sup>13</sup>res-  
ublica, <sup>14</sup>Murenam Sulla revocavit.

IV. (9.) MITHRIDATES autem <sup>15</sup>omne reliquum tempus,  
in ad oblivionem veteris belli, sed ad comparationem novi

<sup>8</sup> *E patrio regno.* Pontus. Mithridates was the seventh monarch of a name that ruled over this country.—*Atque in vestris vectigaliis, &c.* “And to carry on his operations in the midst of your tribu-  
ria, that is, in the most brilliant realms of Asia.” The force of *luce*,  
this clause, is apparent from its being contrasted with *latebris occulre*. Compare *Ep. ad Quint. Fratr.* 1, 1, 2: “*Istam virtutem non  
tare in tenebris, neque esse abditam, sed in luce Asie, in oculis clarissimis  
provinciarum, atque in auribus omnium gentium esse positam.*”

<sup>9</sup> *Insignia victoriæ.* “The badges of victory,” i. e. standards and other emblems of success. Some commentators consider the allusion to be to triumphs, but erroneously.—*Non victoriam.* “Not victory  
itself.”

<sup>10</sup> *L. Murena.* L. Licinius Murena was the lieutenant of Sylla. [He was who broke the treaty; seizing his opportunity when Mithridates was engaged in war with the Colchians and Bosporani, he made a sudden inroad into Cappadocia and rifled the temples of an immense sum of booty. He was shortly afterwards utterly routed by Mithridates and driven into Phrygia, where he gained assistance from L. Gabinius.]

<sup>11</sup> *Pulsus superatusque regnaret.* “Though repulsed and vanquished, till reigned.”

<sup>12</sup> *Quod egerunt.* “For what they did,” i. e. *propter id quod egerunt*.—*Quod reliquerunt.* “For what they left undone.” Matthiae considers *mod* a conjunction here, and after *reliquerunt* understands *Mithridatem*. The construction we have adopted is much simpler. If *quod* be a conjunction with *reliquerunt*, it must also be a conjunction with *egerunt*, than which nothing can be more awkward.

<sup>13</sup> *Res publica.* “The state of public affairs at home.” The successes of the Marian faction at home induced Sylla to return to Italy. He made one treaty with Mithridates; and Murena, his lieutenant, when recalled by him, made another. Hence, in strictness, the present was the third Mithridatic war.

<sup>14</sup> *Murenam Sulla revocarit.* Sylla had pressing occasion, very probably, for all these troops in Italy. According to Plutarch (who obtained his information from the commentaries of Sylla), he had to encounter on his return home, upon this occasion, fifteen generals, who had under them not less than twenty-five legions. (*Vit. Sull.* 427.)

<sup>15</sup> *Omne reliquum tempus.* Referring to the interval between the de-

contulit: <sup>1</sup> qui posteaquam maximas ædificasset orn classes, exercitusque permagnos, quibuscunque ex potuisset, comparasset; et se <sup>2</sup> Bosporanis, finiti bellum inferre simulasset; usque in Hispaniam <sup>3</sup> leg literas misit <sup>4</sup> ad eos duces, quibuscum tum bellbamus: ut, cum, duobus in locis disjunctissimis ma diversis, <sup>5</sup> uno consilio a binis hostium copiis bell marique gereretur, <sup>6</sup> vos, ancipi contentione dist

parture of Murena and the renewal of hostilities by the Ron comparationem novi. "To preparations for a new one."

<sup>1</sup> *Qui posteaquam, &c.* "For after he had built and equi Qui beginning a clause is here equivalent to *ille*.

<sup>2</sup> *Bosporanis.* "Against the inhabitants on the Bospor people of the Cimmerian Bosporus are meant, who had revc him to the Romans.

<sup>3</sup> *Legatos.* L. Magius and L. Fannius, expatriated citizens and belonging to the Marian faction, who had fled to Mithri had persuaded him to send them as ambassadors to Sertorius of the Marian party, who was now very powerful in Spain. *B. M.* 68.) Asconius, in his comments on the first oratic Verres, (c. 34,) remarks as follows: "*Hi transfugæ facti, a exercitu, apud Mithridatem agentes, ab eodem rege ad Sertor erant de paciscenda societate belli adversus Romanos: quos in positos, et ad Sertorium festinantes, et hostes judicaverat, et i mandaverat senatus.*"

<sup>4</sup> *Ac literas.* "And letters," i. e. proposals or despatc MSS. vary considerably here. Some have *Ecbatanis*, which is ing adopted in the common text, others *Electanis*, *Electari tanis*, *ac literas*. This latter reading has been adopted by Orellius, and others. It is certainly far preferable to *Ecbat* Ecbatana, in Media, does not appear to have been visited l dates, or even Tigranes.

<sup>5</sup> *Ad eos duces.* Referring to Sertorius and his followers. mander had formed a senate, composed of the senators pros Sylla, as well as others of his own choosing, and endeavoured possible respect, to imitate the form of government at ho leaders referred to were, besides himself, his lieutenants : officers.—*Duobus in locis.* Pontus and Spain.

<sup>6</sup> *Uno consilio.* "With one plan of operations."—*A bini copiis.* The distributive numerals are used with words whil singular, or whose singular, as in the present instance, has signification from the plural. (ZUMPT, *L. G.* p. 72.) This use in translating: thus *duæ literæ*, "two letters of the alpha binae literæ, "two epistles." *Tria vestimenta*, "three pieces of but *terna vestimenta*, "three suits of clothing." *Quatuor cast fortresses," or "castles," but *quaterna castra*, "four camps," &*

<sup>7</sup> *Vos, ancipi contentione districti, &c.* "You, embarras contest on both sides, might have to contend at the risk of

iperio dimicaretis. (10.) <sup>8</sup>Sed tamen alterius partis per-  
lum, Sertorianæ atque Hispaniensis, quæ multo plus  
irmamenti ac roboris habebat. <sup>10</sup>Cn. Pompeii divino  
nsilio ac singulari virtute depulsum est: <sup>11</sup>in altera parte  
res a Lucullo, summo viro, est administrata, ut <sup>12</sup>initia  
a gestarum rerum magna atque præclara, non felicitati  
is, sed virtuti; <sup>13</sup>hæc autem extrema, quæ nuper acci-  
runt, <sup>14</sup>non culpæ, sed fortunæ tribuenda esse videantur.  
d de Lucullo dicam <sup>15</sup>alio loco, et ita dicam, Quirites, ut

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a. for the very existence of your empire. *Districti* is here equivalent  
*in angustias redacti*. Some read *destricti*, others *distracti*, but both  
inferior.

<sup>8</sup>*Sed tamen alterius partis*, &c. “The danger, however, which  
rested on one side, from Sertorius and Spain.” Manutius suspect-  
words *Sertorianæ atque Hispaniensis* of being a gloss.

<sup>9</sup>*Firmamenti ac roboris*. “Of stability and strength.” Owing  
mely, to the military talents of Sertorius.

<sup>10</sup>*Cn. Pompeii divino consilio*, &c. “Was repelled by the godlike  
tem and unequalled valour of Cneius Pompeius.” Sertorius was  
better general of the two, and had he not lost his life by the  
achery of some of his followers, would most likely have proved  
erior in the contest. Cicero had the consulship in view, and his  
act, therefore, was to gain the good will of the people by extolling  
ir favourite, and secure also by this means the friendship of  
npey.

<sup>11</sup>*In altera parte*. “In the opposite quarter. Referring to Asia.—  
res a L. Lucullo, &c. Cicero’s object is to depreciate Lucullus, in  
portion as he seeks to elevate the character of Pompey. He  
ages this, however, with great adroitness, for he apparently allows  
t praise to Lucullus, but then there is always something added  
ch diminishes its force. Whereas, in Pompey’s case, his com-  
ndations are unbounded, and even fulsome. Lucullus, like Ser-  
us, was superior to Pompey in military talents.

<sup>12</sup>*Initia gestarum rerum*. “Commencement of his exploits.” Allud-  
to the earlier movements of Lucullus in the Mithridatic war.

<sup>13</sup>*Hac autem extrema*. “These latter reverses, however.” Mithri-  
es had, on the departure of Lucullus, not only regained possession  
Pontus, but had even made an inroad into the Roman province of  
a. He had defeated also the lieutenants of Lucullus, and made  
self master of a large part of Asia Minor. Compare chapter 9.

<sup>14</sup>*Non culpa, sed fortuna*. “Not to any fault of his, but to his ill-  
tune.” This, though apparently fair, is in fact very invidiously  
red. Cicero, afterwards, in enumerating the qualities of an able  
ral, gives good fortune a very conspicuous place, and finds, of  
use, a very great abundance of it in his favourite Pompey.

<sup>15</sup>*Alio loco*. He returns to Lucullus in the 8th chapter.—*Oratione*  
tra. “By any remarks of mine.”

neque vera laus ei detracta oratione nostra, nequ' afficta esse videatur. (11.) De vestri imperii di atque gloria, quoniam is est <sup>2</sup> exorsus orationis mess, quem vobis animum suscipiendum putetis.

V. MAJORES vestri s<sup>ae</sup>p<sup>e</sup>, <sup>3</sup> mercatoribus ac navi injuriosius tractatis, bella gesserunt: vos, <sup>4</sup> tot Romanorum millibus uno nuntio atque uno tempore: quo tandem animo esse debetis? <sup>5</sup> Legati quod appellati superbius, Corinthum patres vestri, totius lumen, <sup>6</sup> extinctum esse voluerunt: vos eum regem i esse patiemini, qui <sup>7</sup> legatum populi Romani, cons vinculis ac verberibus, atque omni supplicio excr necavit? <sup>8</sup> Illi libertatem civium Romanorum imm

<sup>1</sup> *Afficta esse.* "To be bestowed upon him." *Affingere* means to add by framing, devising, or inventing. Compare Pr. c. 4: "*Faciam ut intelligatis . . . quid error affinxerit, quid conflarit.*"

<sup>2</sup> *Exorsus.* "The true beginning."—*Quem vobis, &c.* "What you are to think ought to be entertained by you."

<sup>3</sup> *Mercatoribus ac naviculariis, &c.* "Because their traders & owners were treated with injustice." The *mercatores*, am Romans, remained a very short time in a place, visited many c and were almost constantly occupied with exporting and ir articles of merchandise. The *negotiatores*, on the other h mained for some considerable time in a particular spot.—*Nav* This is the reading of Lambinus, and is adopted also by Ernesti, and others. It is found in good MSS. The early have *naviculatoribus*, which occurs nowhere else in the ancient [The *navicularii* are shipowners who bring corn to Rome, or wh Roman general may be stationed.]

<sup>4</sup> *Tot millibus.* Plutarch, as we have already remarked, m number 150,000, but Valerius Maximus 80,000.

<sup>5</sup> *Legati quod erant appellati superbius, &c.* "Because th bassadours were addressed in too haughty a manner." Cicero p lessens the nature of the offence, that it may be contrasted t forcibly with the conduct of Mithridates. He makes it to h merely an employment of haughty language on the part of rinthians. What the insult really was, is differently represente ancient writers, and nowhere clearly appears. Strabo (8, p. 381, says, that filth was thrown upon the Roman ambassadors fro the houses of the city, as they were passing by: Τινὲς πρέσβεων παρίοντων τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῶν, ἐθάρρησαν καὶ βόρβορον. Livy, on the other hand (*Epit. lib. 52*), states that violence was offered them: "*Corinthum ex senatus-consulto diri ibi legati Romani violati erant.*"

<sup>6</sup> *Extinctum.* Referring grammatically to *lumen*. Some *stinctam*, agreeing with *Corinthum*. Corinth was destroyed b

on tulerunt: vos vitam ereptam negligetis? Jus legationis verbo violatum illi persecuti sunt: <sup>10</sup> vos legatum omni supplicio interfictum relinquetis? (12.) Videte, ne, ut illis ulcherrimum fuit, tantam vobis imperii gloriam relinquere; ic vobis turpissimum sit, id, quod accepistis, tueri et conservare non posse. <sup>11</sup> Quid, quod salus sociorum sumnum in ericulum ac discrimin vocatur? Regno expulsus est Ariobarzanes rex, socius populi Romani atque amicus: imminent <sup>12</sup> duo reges toti Asiæ, non solum vobis inimicissimi, ed etiam vestris sociis atque amicis: civitates autem omnes, cuncta Asia atque Græcia, vestrum auxilium exspectare propter periculi magnitudinem coguntur: <sup>14</sup> imperatorem a vobis certum deposcere, cum præsertim vos alium miseritis,

nius, the Roman consul, and with it fell the Achæan league. Consult Geographical Index.

<sup>7</sup> *Legatum populi Romani*, &c. The allusion is to Manius Aquilius, who had defeated the slaves in Sicily. He was sent at the head of the Roman commissioners to restore to their kingdoms Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes, who had been driven out by Mithridates. His haughty demeanour soon brought matters to an open rupture with that monarch, who defeated and took him prisoner. The conqueror led him about the country on an ass, and obliged him by blows and scourging to proclaim, from time to time, to the assembled spectators, that he was Manius Aquilius. At length he brought him to Pergamus, where he caused melted gold to be poured down his throat, as a sarcasm upon the cupidity of the Romans. (APPLIAN, *B. M.* 21.—PLIN. *H. N.* 33, 14.)

<sup>8</sup> *Illi libertatem civium*, &c. “They brooked not even an infringement of the personal privileges of Roman citizens.”

<sup>9</sup> *Verbo*. “Only by word.” Compare the language of the speaker just above: “*Legati quod erant appellati superbius*”—*Illi persecuti sunt*. “They avenged.”

<sup>10</sup> *Vos legatum*, &c. “Will you leave unnoticed an ambassador put to death by every species of torture?” Before *relinquetis* some editions have *inultum* expressed, but it arose probably from a marginal gloss. *Relinquetis* is far better without the presence of *inultum*, and is equally opposed to *persecuti sunt*.

<sup>11</sup> *Quid, quod salus sociorum*, &c. “What shall I say of this, that the safety of your allies is brought into the most imminent danger?” The ellipsis in *quid, quod*, is to be supplied as follows: *Quid, dicam de hoc, quod*.

<sup>12</sup> *Duo reges*. Mithridates and his son-in-law Tigranes.

<sup>13</sup> *Cuncta Asia atque Græcia*. Weiske considers *Asia* and *Græcia* as substantives, “throughout all Asia and Greece.” The nominative, however, appears neater, “the whole of Asia and of Greece.”

<sup>14</sup> *Imperatorem certum*. “A particular commander.” Pompey.—Albus Glabrio, the *consul* of the previous year, now, of course, *pro-consul*.

neque audent, neque se id facere <sup>1</sup> summo sine posse arbitrantur. (13.) Vident et sentiunt hoc id vos, <sup>2</sup> unum virum esse in quo summa sint omnia <sup>3</sup> prope esse, ("quo etiam carent ægrius,) cuius adve atque nomine, tametsi ille ad <sup>5</sup> maritimum bellum tamen <sup>6</sup> impetus hostium repressos esse intelligur tardatos. Hi vos, <sup>7</sup> quoniam libere loqui non licet rogant, ut se quoque, sicut ceterarum provinciarum dignos existimetis, <sup>8</sup> quorum salutem tali viro committatque hoc etiam magis, quam ceteros, quod ejus

<sup>1</sup> *Summo sine periculo.* The risk alluded to is that of offe commander actually appointed.

<sup>2</sup> *Unum virum.* Pompey.—*In quo summa sint omnia.* “the highest qualities centre,” i. e. the highest qualification successful management of the war.

<sup>3</sup> *Prope.* Pompey had just brought the war with the pirates to a successful issue, settling many of them in the little towns. He was now employed in visiting some of the cities of the east.

<sup>4</sup> *Quo etiam carent ægrius.* “Wherefore they even feel themselves the more sensibly.”

<sup>5</sup> *Maritimum bellum.* “The war with the Cilician pirates was the result of the power of the pirates, as Plutarch remarks (*Vit. Pomp.* c. 24). They had founded their kingdom in Cilicia. Their progress was the more dangerous because at first it was little noticed. In the Mithridatic war they assumed confidence and courage, on account of some services which rendered the king. Afterward, in the interval between the second Mithridatic wars, the Romans being engaged in civil contests, the pirates by degrees attempted higher things; not only attacking the very gates of their capital, the sea was left unguarded, but islands, and maritime towns. They had, in various places, ports, and watch-towers, all strongly fortified. The number of their galleys amounted to a thousand, and the cities taken to four. They not only insulted the Romans frequently, but also infested their convoys, and made prisoners of their generals. Nay, they only attacked the Romans at sea, but infested the great rivers, and plundered the villas near the coast. Two praetors, Sextilius and Linus, were carried off with all their servants and lictors; the daughter of Antonius, a man who had been honoured with a triumph, was seized by them as she was going to her country-house near Antioch, and the father was forced to pay a large ransom for her release. After a short time, by the Gabinian law, Pompey was sent against them, and speedily reduced them to subjection and broke up their haunts.

<sup>6</sup> *Impetus hostium.* Referring to the forces of Mithridate, Cicero says that the movements, according to Cicero, were “checked and retarded by the mere knowledge that Pompey was in Asia, though in a different part of the country.”

<sup>7</sup> *Quoniam libere loqui non licet.* Through fear, namely, of the Roman commander who then had charge of the Mithridatic

iam homines <sup>10</sup> cum imperio mittimus, ut, etiam si ab efendant, tamen ipsorum adventus in urbes sociorum ultum ab hostili expugnatione differant. <sup>11</sup> Hunc nt antea, nunc præsentem vident, <sup>12</sup> tanta tempe-tanta mansuetudine, tanta humanitate, ut ii beatissi-videantur, apud quos ille diutissime commoratur.

(14.) QUARE, si propter socios, nulla ipsi injuria, majores vestri <sup>13</sup> cum Antiocho, cum Philippo, cum cum Pœnis bella gesserunt; quanto vos studio con-injuriis provocatos, sociorum salutem una cum

um salutem tali viro commendetis. "Of having their safety by you to such an individual." Literally, "whose safety you ust," &c.

: hoc etiam magis, quam ceteros. "And on this account even u the rather deem them worthy than the rest," i. e. atque ut : se hoc etiam magis dignos quam ceteros socios, &c.

imperio. "With military command."—*Ipsorum adventus*, entrance of these same individuals into the cities of our urs," &c. Literally, "the entrances," &c., *adventus* being the e plural. Among the Latin writers, abstract and verbal often put in the plural, to mark that the action designated e at various times, where in English we only use the singular. audiebant antea. Alluding to his previous operations in ica, Spain, &c. Consult Historical Index.

z temperantia. "Of so much self-control." This virtue is osely named first, that it may be contrasted in a more agree with the rapacity that characterised the other Roman era.

*Antiocho*. The order of time is not observed. The war with ignitians should, strictly speaking, have been named first. It A.U.C. 489, and the ostensible cause was the lending of aid, t of the Romans, to the Mamertines, in Messana, who had their aid against the forces of Carthage. The true motive to as the spirit of rivalry between Rome and Carthage. It is istory the First Punic War. Next in order was the contest p, king of Macedonia. He was the third of that name, and be confounded with the father of Alexander, who lived long The Romans made war upon him because he had attacked ianis, the allies of the republic. This occurred A.U.C. 553. ion with Antiochus the Great took place A.U.C. 562, and the s terminated by his defeat and submission the ensuing year. inected with the war against the Ætolians, who had raised is in Greece against the allies of Rome, and had invited , monarch of Syria, to their aid.

*ius provocatos*. "Irritated by a series of personal injuries," is offered, not to your allies, but to yourselves.

imperii vestri dignitate defendere; <sup>1</sup> præsertim et  
vestris maximis vectigalibus agatur? Nam ceterari  
vinciarum vectigalia, Quirites, <sup>2</sup> tanta sunt, ut iis a  
provincias tutandas vix contenti esse possimus: <sup>3</sup> As  
tam opima est et fertilis, <sup>4</sup> ut et ubertate agrorum  
varietate fructuum, et magnitudine pastionis, et multi  
earum rerum, quæ exportantur, facile omnibus terris  
cellat. Itaque hæc vobis provincia, Quirites, si <sup>5</sup>  
utilitatem et pacis dignitatem sustinere vultis, non  
calamitate, sed etiam a metu calamitatis est defensio.  
(15.) Nam ceteris in rebus, <sup>6</sup> cum venit calamitas,  
detrimentum accipitur: at in vectigalibus non sol

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<sup>1</sup> *Præsertim cum, &c.* “Especially when your most important  
venues are at stake.”

<sup>2</sup> *Tanta sunt.* “Are so inconsiderable.” *Tanta* is here equivalent to *tantilla*, or, more correctly speaking, its literal meaning in the passage is, “so great, and no greater.” Hence arises the idea of greatness and diminution. Instances of a similar usage occur in *B. G.* 6, 34: “*Præsidii tantum est*” (“there is so small a garrison”) and *Cic. Ep. Ad. Fam.* 8, 10: *lum tantum erit* (“so unimportant”) *ut vos aut successores sustinere possint.”*

<sup>3</sup> *Asia.* Referring to the Roman province of that name. See note 7, page 216.

<sup>4</sup> *Ut et ubertate agrorum, &c.* Cicero here enumerates the sources of Roman revenue, the productions of the earth, the pastures, and the exports generally.

<sup>5</sup> *Et belli utilitatem, &c.* “To uphold both the means of safety in war, and of dignity in peace.” We have retained the reading with Ernesti and many others. Grævius gives *ad bellum*, &c., instead of *et bellum*, from one of his MSS., and makes *sustinere* refer to the understood. The common lection is more Ciceronian.

<sup>6</sup> *Cum venit calamitas.* “When calamity has actually come.” *co* *vectigalibus.* “In the case of your revenues.”—*Affert calamitas.* “Brings ruinous consequences along with it.”

<sup>7</sup> *Pecora relinquuntur.* “The flocks are abandoned.” Servius’ commentary (*ad Virg. Georg.* 3, 64), cites this passage apparently, and reads *pecua* from *pecu*. But *pecua* does not occur in any of the MSS.

<sup>8</sup> *Mercatorum navigatio conquiescit.* “The trading of the merchants begins to subside.”

<sup>9</sup> *Ita neque ex portu, &c.* Cicero here enumerates the principal sources of the revenue obtained from the Roman provinces. 1. *Ex portu.* “From the harbour,” i. e. from duties imposed on imports. 2. *Ex decumis,* “from tithes.” The *decumæ* were a part of corn, and a fifth of other produce, paid by those who had public lands.—3. *Ex scriptura.* “From the public woods and pastures. [Scriptura, a tax on cattle allowed to graze on the public lands.]

tus mali, sed etiam metus ipse affert calamitatem. Nam i hostium copiæ non longe absunt, etiam si irruptio facta la sit, tamen <sup>7</sup> pecora relinquuntur, agricultura deseritur, mercatorum navigatio conquiescit. <sup>9</sup> Ita neque ex portu, ne ex decumis, neque ex scriptura <sup>10</sup> vectigal conservari est. Quare saepe totius anni fructus uno rumore periculi, ne uno belli terrore amittitur. (16.) Quo tandem animo existimatis aut eos, <sup>11</sup> qui vectigalia nobis pensitant, aut qui exercent atque exigunt, cum duo reges cum maximis iis prope adsint? cum una excursio equitatus perbrevi spore totius anni vectigal auferre possit? <sup>12</sup> cum publicani illas maximas, quas in <sup>13</sup> salinis habent, quas in agris,

ain land, the most ancient and for a long time the only revenue of Roman state. The herdsmen appearing before the officer enumera-  
to him the number and kind of cattle they wished to feed; he took  
down in writing, and from this document made up the amount,  
the name, *scriptura*. When this tax was paid by patricians it  
called *pascua*.]

*Vectigal conservari potest.* "Can any imposts be obtained."—*Totius fructus.* "The revenue of an entire year."

*Qui vectigalia nobis pensitant.* "Who pay duties unto us."—*Qui exercent atque exigunt.* "Who farm and collect them."

*Cum publicani, &c.* "When the farmers of the revenue think that maintain at great risk, the very numerous bodies of slaves whom have employed in the pasture-grounds, in the fields, in the harbors, and custom-houses." *Familia* is here used in its primitive sense, denoting a body of slaves belonging to a particular master. Com-  
the remark of *FESTUS*: "Famuli origo ab Oscis dependet, apud quos us famal nominabatur, unde et familia vocata."

*Salinis.* Anthon reads, *saltibus*; and thus remarks, the common has *salinis*, ("salt-works,") but no other trace has been discovered revenue derived from salt-works in Asia Minor; and, what is of greater weight, if we retain the common lection, mention will only made, in this passage, of two branches of revenue, the *decumæ* and *ex portu*, while the third branch, *scriptura*, will be passed over silence. Influenced by these considerations, Lipsius first conjectured *ibus* for *salinis*, and his emendation has been approved of by Grotius, Burmann, Ernesti, Schütz, and others, and admitted by some them into the text. We have followed their authority. One MSS. Lambinus's has *silvis*. Aldus conjectured *salictis*, as referring to pasture grounds, which abounded with groves of willows. (?) [I restored *salinis*, there is no occasion that the three species of *salsina* should be continually enumerated. There were famous salt *opus* in Asia, (PLIN. xxxi. 7,) and that a tax was collected from salt only at Rome, (even so early as the time of the kings,) but in Asia, plain from Fr. 17, D. 50. *Publica vectigalia intelligere debemus,*

quas in portibus atque<sup>1</sup> custodiis, magno periculo s  
arbitrentur? Putatisne vos<sup>2</sup> illis rebus frui posse,  
qui vobis fructui sunt, conservaveritis, non sol  
antea dixi,) calamitate, sed etiam calamitatis fa  
liberatos?

VII. (17.) Ac ne illud quidem vobis negligendi  
quod mihi ego<sup>3</sup> extremum proposueram, cum essem  
genere dicturus, quod<sup>4</sup> ad multorum bona civium  
norum pertinet: <sup>5</sup> quorum vobis pro vestra sapientia  
rites, habenda est ratio diligenter. <sup>6</sup> Nam et p  
<sup>7</sup> homines et honestissimi et ornatissimi, <sup>8</sup> suas rat  
corias in illam provinciam contulerunt: quorum  
per se res et fortunae curae vobis esse debent. E  
vectigalia<sup>9</sup> nervos esse rei publicae semper duxim  
certe ordinem, qui exercet illa, firmamentum ce

*quibus vectigal fiscus capit: quale est vectigal portus, vel venalium  
item salinarum et metallorum.]*

<sup>1</sup> *Custodiis.* By *custodie* are here meant a kind of custodes where a number of persons, generally slaves, were stationed *publicani*, to guard against evasion of the taxes, especial *scripturæ*. Sometimes the term is applied to the persons themselves and is then analogous to our modern expression, “*custom officers*.”

<sup>2</sup> *Illi rebus frui posse.* “Can reap any advantage from those—*Qui vobis fructui sunt.* “Who are the source of advantage i. e. whose exertions enable you to reap this advantage. The text has *fructuosi*, for which we have given *fructui*, the reading of the MSS. It was first adopted by Lambinus, and after Grævius and others, as more elegant than *fructuosi*.

<sup>3</sup> *Extremum.* “As the last point on which to touch”—*dicturus.* “When I should come to speak.”

<sup>4</sup> *Ad multorum bona civium.* The individuals here mean Roman knights, who farmed the Asiatic revenues, and those who were carrying on mercantile operations in that quarter: which classes of persons had large sums of money laid out in Asia, and which were consequently endangered by the war.

<sup>5</sup> *Quorum vobis, &c.* “For whom you, in your wisdom, ought to have an especial regard,” i. e. over whose interests you carefully to watch.

<sup>6</sup> *Nam et publicani.* The particle *et* (“both”), is here opposed (*deinde* (“and in the next place”)), at the commencement of section.

<sup>7</sup> *Homines et honestissimi, &c.* “Very honourable as well as intelligent men.” *Ornatissimi* is considered by some to refer here to persons distinguished in the state. It has relation rather to general information and intelligence on the part of the individuals alluded to.

<sup>8</sup> *Suas rationes, &c.* “Have transferred all their business to

rdinum recte esse dicemus. (18.) Deinde <sup>10</sup>ceteris ex ordinibus homines gnari et industrii partim ipsi in Asia <sup>11</sup> negotiantur, quibus vos absentibus consulere debetis : <sup>12</sup> partim suas et suorum in ea provincia pecunias magnas collocatas abent. Erit igitur humanitatis vestræ, magnum eorum ivium numerum calamitate <sup>13</sup> prohibere : sapientiæ, videre, multorum civium calamitatem a re publica sejunctam esse non posse. <sup>14</sup>Etenim illud primum parvi refert, vos publicis amissa vectigalia postea victoria recuperare. Neque nim iisdem redimendi facultas erit, propter calamitatem, eque aliis voluntas, propter timorem. (19.) Deinde, quod eadem Asia, atque idem iste Mithridates <sup>15</sup> initio belli Asiatici docuit ; id quidem certe calamitate docti memoria etinere debemus. Nam tum, cum in Asia <sup>16</sup> res magnas permulti amiserant, <sup>17</sup> scimus, Romæ, solutione impedita,

ad means to that province." *Rationes* and *copiae* are explained immediately after by *res* and *fortunæ*, "affairs and fortunes."

<sup>9</sup> *Nervos*. "The sinews."—*Eum ordinem*. The equestrian order.

<sup>10</sup> *Ceteris ex ordinibus*. Excepting of course the senate, the members of which order were not allowed to engage in trade.

<sup>11</sup> *Negotiantur*. "Carry on trade." As regards the distinction between the *negociatores* and the *mercatores*, consult note 4, page 220.

<sup>12</sup> *Partim suas et suorum*, &c. The early editions and the MSS. give *partim eorum*, for which we have substituted the reading in our text, with Ernesti, Schütz, and others. *Partim eorum* is a good Ciceronian phrase, but it makes an awkward collocation here after *homines gnari industrii partim ipsi . . . negotiantur*.

<sup>13</sup> *Prohibere*. "To shield."—*Videre*. "To foresee."—*A re publica junctam esse non posse*. "Cannot be separated from that of the state," i.e. cannot fail to affect the public prosperity.

<sup>14</sup> *Etenim illud primum*, &c. "For, in the first place, it avails but little, that you afterward recover by a victory the revenues that have been lost by the farmers of them ; for neither will the same individuals possess the means of making a new contract, by reason of their losses, nor will others have the inclination so to do, on account of their fears," i.e. their fears of being involved in similar ruin with the previous contractors.

<sup>15</sup> *Initio belli Asiatici*. He refers to the period of the general massacre of the Romans in Asia, by order of Mithridates. About twenty-three years had elapsed since that event.

<sup>16</sup> *Res magnas*. "Large amounts." Referring to the large sums of money which very many farmers of the revenue had lost in the troubles and confusion that ensued.

<sup>17</sup> *Scimus, Romæ, &c.* "We know, that, payments becoming embarrassed, public credit fell at Rome." Very many of the *publicani* in Asia having lost large sums of money there, in consequence of the disastrous state of public affairs, and others having been killed during

fidem concidisse. Non enim possunt una in civitate multi rem atque fortunas amittere, ut non plures secum in eandem calamitatem trahant. A quo periculo prohibete rem publicam, et, mihi credite, (id quod ipsi videtis,) <sup>2</sup> hac fides atque haec ratio pecuniarum, quae Romæ, quæ in foro versatur, implicita est cum illis pecuniis Asiaticis, et cohæret. <sup>3</sup> Ruere illa non possunt, ut haec non eodem labefactata motu concidant. Quare videte, num dubitandum vobis sit, omni studio ad id bellum incumbere, <sup>4</sup> in quo gloria nominis vestri, salus sociorum, vectigalia maxima, fortunæ plurimorum civium <sup>5</sup> cum re publica defendantur.

VIII. (20.) QUONIAM de genere belli dixi, nunc de magnitudine pauca dicam. <sup>6</sup> Potest enim hoc dici; belli

the massacre of the Romans, there ensued of course a non-payment of large amounts due to the bankers at Rome, and which had been loaned to the former to enable them to meet their contracts. Hence a general embarrassment was felt in the money-market, and public credit fell.

<sup>1</sup> *Rem atque fortunas.* “Their property and fortunes.” By *rem* is here meant their actual property and resources at the time; by *fortunas*, their prospects in business.

<sup>2</sup> *Hæc fides atque haec ratio pecuniarum, &c.* “This system of public credit, and these moneyed operations that are carried on at Rome, and in the forum, are connected with those sums laid out in Asia, and form a close union with them.” Literally, “are bound up with and cling to them.” The offices of the bankers were situate around the forum, which hence became their usual place for meeting and transacting business.

<sup>3</sup> *Ruere illa non possunt, &c.* “The latter cannot fall without the former’s being shaken by the same movement and falling along with them.” *Illa* and *haec* become here, when adapted to our idiom, “the latter,” and “the former,” but in strictness *illa* refers to what is more remote, the moneyed operations in Asia, and *haec* to what is nearer home, the state of business in the Roman forum.

<sup>4</sup> [In quo. “In endeavouring to prove which.” Scil. That the war is highly important.]

<sup>5</sup> *Cum re publica.* “Together with the interests of the state.” Three MSS. have *cum re publica conjunctæ defendantur*, but *conjunctæ* savours of a gloss. Gruter, Graevius, and others, read *defendantur*, but Ernesti defends the common form; “Defendantur recipi, quomodo Ciceronem scripsisse semper putavi, nam ita ratio Latinitatis postulat.”

<sup>6</sup> *Potest enim hoc dici.* “For this may possibly be affirmed,” i.e. this assertion may be made by some who would oppose the motion I urge, and who endeavour to persuade you that there is no cause for alarm.

<sup>7</sup> *Ne forte a vobis.* [This whole passage seems carelessly written.—*Gerendum, pertimescendum, laborandum—providenda, contemnenda.* Weiske proposes *ne a vobis contempta esse videantur.* Schütz *ne forte an, vobis, &c.* Anthon has *ne forte ea vobis.* For the construction *a vobis contemnenda*, cf. end of chap. 2. *Quibus est a vobis consulendum.* Yet some editors omit the preposition.]

e ita necessarium, ut sit gerendum; non esse ita ut sit pertimescendum. In quo maxime labo-  
st, <sup>7</sup>ne forte a vobis, quæ diligentissime providenda emnenda esse videantur. <sup>8</sup>Atque, ut omnes in-  
ne L. Lucullo tantum impertire laudis, quantum  
et sapientissimo homini, et magno imperatori  
dico, ejus adventu maximas <sup>9</sup>Mithridatis copias,  
rebus ornatas atque instructas, fuisse; <sup>11</sup>urbem-  
clarissimam, nobisque amicissimam, Cyzicenorum,  
esse ab ipso rege <sup>12</sup>maxima multitudine, et oppug-  
nementissime; quam L. Lucullus virtute, assidui-  
lio, summis obsidionis periculis liberavit: (21.) ab  
peratore <sup>13</sup>classem magnam et ornatam, <sup>14</sup>quæ

*et omnes, &c.* He now returns to Lucullus, whom he has mentioned in chapter 4.

*utis.* Anthon reads *Mithridati*, the dative, as occurring in MSS., and depending on *fuisse*: "Mithridates was in pos-  
sery great forces." Ernesti also approves of *Mithridati*, gives the genitive in his text. Some of the earlier editions  
after *fuisse*, on conjecture, but then *obsessam esse* must be  
*liberatam esse*.

*s rebus, &c.* "Equipped and supplied with all things,"  
d with arms and provisions of all kinds. According to  
*M.* 72,) and PLUTARCH, (*Vit. Lucull.* c. 8, *seqq.*) the forces  
es were very scantily supplied with provisions, which was  
incipital causes of his abandoning the siege of Cyzicus.

*ue Cyzicenorum.* Consult Historical Index, s. v. *Lucullus*,  
hical Index, s. v. *Cyzicus*.

*i multitudine, &c.* According to Plutarch (*Vit. Lucull.* c. 7),  
Mithridates consisted of 120,000 infantry, 16,000 cavalry,  
riots armed with scythes. Appian (*B. M.* 72) gives the  
it, in round numbers, as about 300,000 men. The Roman  
Lucullus, was 30,000 foot and 600 horse, according to  
Plutarch makes the horse to have been 2500.

*magnam, &c.* After Cyzicus had been relieved, and the  
hridates defeated at the river Granicus, Lucullus received  
hat thirteen of the king's large galleys had been seen off  
Troas, steering towards Lemnos. He instantly went in  
them, and killed their admiral Isidorus, [having over-  
ose under Tenedos.] When this was done, he made all  
ie others, which were in advance of them, and were lying  
the island. Here again he was successful; and among  
taken was Marius, (or, as Appian calls him, Varius,) an  
by Sertorius. (PLUT. *Vit. Lucull.* c. 12.) Appian makes  
f vessels left by Mithridates under the command of Varius  
r leaders to have been fifty. (*B. M.* 77.)

*cibus, &c.* "Which, inflamed with desire for vengeance,  
towards Italy, under leaders sent by Sertorius." It do-

gentes supplicem contulisse: atque hæc omnia populi Romani sociis atque integris vectigalibus, es Satis opinor hoc esse laudis; atque ita, Quirites, ut intelligatis, a nullo <sup>7</sup> istorum, qui huic obtrectat atque causæ, L. Lucullum similiter ex hoc loco e datum.

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not appear from any other authority, except Cicero's own as in the oration for Murena (c. 15), that the destination of the Italy; and as for the leaders sent by Sertorius, there was indeed one. Consult preceding note.

<sup>1</sup> *Magnas hostium, &c.* Plutarch makes the enemy to have had the whole campaign nearly 300,000 men, including the servile army. In the battle of the Granicus alone, 20,000 were slain.

<sup>2</sup> *Patefactumque, &c.* Compare the oration for Archias, c. *pulus Romanus aperuit, Lucullo imperante, Pontum, &c.*—*Qui* “Which had hitherto been shut on every side against the people.” Literally, “from (i. e.) in every avenue of approach” compare the language of Cicero, in the passage just referred to, oration for Archias: “*et regiis quondam opibus, et ipsa natura vallatum.*”

<sup>3</sup> *Domicilia.* “Palaces.”—*Omnibus rebus, &c.* “Adorned and stored with all things.” *Referta* from *refercio*.

<sup>4</sup> *Uno aditu aique adventu.* “By his mere arrival and a Lucullus spent, however, a long time before Amisus, and finished the siege in the hands of Murena his lieutenant. (PLUT. VI c. 15.)

<sup>5</sup> *Ad alios reges.* To Tigranes, king of Armenia, his successors. Plural for singular.

<sup>6</sup> *Salvis populi Romani sociis, &c.* “The allies of the Romans being safe from injury, and your tributaries uninjured.”

<sup>7</sup> *Istorum.* Scil. Catulus and Hortensius. It was incumbent upon them, in their speeches against the proposed law, to do justice to Lucullus, and to show that he was abundantly qualified, by various exhibitions of military talent, to bring the war to a successful termination.

<sup>8</sup> *Quemadmodum, &c.* “How, if these things are so, what then of the war can be at all important.”

<sup>9</sup> *[Profugit.* “Fled onward.” *Fato profugus.* (VIRG. AENEAS, viii. 666)

IX. (22.) REQUIRETUR fortasse nunc, <sup>8</sup> quemadmodum, um hæc ita sint, reliquum possit esse magnum bellum. Vgnoscite, Quirites: non enim hoc sine causa quæri vide- ir. Primum ex suo regno sic Mithridates <sup>9</sup> profugit, ut eodem Ponto <sup>10</sup> Medea illa quondam profugisse dicitur: um prædicant in fuga, <sup>11</sup> fratris sui membra in iis locis, se parens persequeretur, dissipavisse, ut <sup>12</sup> eorum collectio dispersa, mœrorque patrius, celeritatem perse- undi retardaret. <sup>13</sup> Sic Mithridates, fugiens, <sup>14</sup> maximam in auri atque argenti, pulcherrimaruinque rerum omnium, us et a majoribus acceperat, et ipse, bello superiore ex ta Asia direptas, in suum regnum congesserat, in Ponto mem reliquit. Hæc dum nostri colligunt omnia dili- ntius, rex ipse e manibus effugit. Ita <sup>15</sup> illum in perse- undi studio mœror, hos lætitia retardavit. (23.) <sup>16</sup> Hunc

*Ex eodem Ponto.* Medea fled from Colchis, but it is here included under one common name with Pontus, on account of its proximity, and the sake of the figure.

<sup>9</sup> *Medea illa.* "The far-famed Medea." Literally, "that Medea," of whom we all have heard.

<sup>10</sup> *Fratris sui.* Absyrtus. [Cf. OVID, *Trist.* iii. ix. 23.]

"*Atque ita divellit, dirulsaque membra per agros  
Dissipat in multis invenienda locis.*"]

*Persequeretur.* "Would pursue her," i. e. would have to pass in pursuit of her.

<sup>11</sup> *Forum collectio dispersa.* "The collecting of them in their scat- ed state. Gœrenz (*ad Cic. de Fin.* 3, 4) suggests *dispersorum* for *persa*; and Schütz adopts the emendation in his text, calling at the same time the common reading an absurd one. He mistakes, however, elegance for an absurdity.

<sup>12</sup> *Sic Mithridates, &c.* Plutarch states, (*Vit. Lucull.* 17,) that Mithridates, being hard pressed in his flight, was nearly taken, when a mule loaded with gold, either by accident or the king's contrivance, ran between him and his pursuers. The soldiers immediately began to rifle the load, and quarrelled about the contents, which gave Mithridates time to escape. Appian (*B. M.* 82,) informs us, that the king's mule's happened to strike the load of one of the mules that were trying away the treasure, and that the gold in consequence fell on the ground.

<sup>13</sup> *Maximam vim omnem.* "All that vast store."—*Direptas conges- ut.* To be rendered as two verbs with the connective: "had plun- red from the whole of Asia and accumulated in his own kingdom."

<sup>14</sup> *Illum.* "The former." Alluding to Æetes, the father of Medea. Consult Ov. *Trist.* 3, 9, 21, and Cic. *Tusc.* 3, 12.—*Hos.* "These latter," i. e. the Roman soldiery.

<sup>15</sup> *Hunc.* "This Mithridates."—*Excepit.* "Took in," i. e. afforded

in illo timore et fuga Tigranes, rex Armenius, excepit, diffidentemque rebus suis confirmavit, et afflictum erexit, perditumque recreavit. Cujus in regnum posteaquam L. Lucullus cum exercitu venit,<sup>1</sup> plures etiam gentes contra imperatorem nostrum concitatæ sunt. Erat enim metus injectus iis nationibus, quas nunquam populus Romanus<sup>2</sup> neque lacesendas bello neque tentandas putavit. <sup>3</sup> Erat etiam alia gravis atque vehemens opinio, quæ per animos gentium barbararum pervaserat, <sup>4</sup> fani locupletissimi et religiosissimi diripiendi causa in eas oras nostrum exercitum esse adductum. Ita nationes multæ atque magnæ<sup>5</sup> novo quodam terrore ac metu concitabantur. Noster autem exercitus, etsi<sup>6</sup> urbem ex Tigranis regno ceperat, et proelii usus erat secundis, <sup>7</sup> tamen nimia longinquitate locorum<sup>8</sup>

him shelter.—*Confirmavit.* “Encouraged him.”—*Et afflictum erexit,* &c. “And raised him from his fallen state, and relieved him in his ruin.”

<sup>1</sup> *Plures etiam gentes.* Alluding to the numerous nations that swelled the ranks of Tigranes, the Medes, Arabians, Albanians, Iberians, &c. (PLUT. *Vit. Lucull.* c. 26.)

<sup>2</sup> *Neque lacesendas, &c.* “Ought neither to be assailed nor even menaced with war.” *Tentare* itself is frequently employed in the sense of attacking; here, however, it yields that meaning to *lacesto*. The idea of menacing arises very naturally from the general import of the verb, viz. “to make trial of one.”

<sup>3</sup> *Erat etiam alia, &c.* “There was also, besides this, a strong and powerfully exciting opinion.”

<sup>4</sup> *Fani locupletissimi, &c.* “For the purpose of plundering a very rich and revered temple.” The temple was that of Bellona, at Communa in Cappadocia. (Consult Geographical Index.) These apprehensions were far from being ill-founded, since this same shrine had been already plundered by Murena; [and therefore this temple is not likely to be the one intended here. See WEISKE.] (APPIAN, *B. C.* 64.)

<sup>5</sup> *Novo terrore ac metu.* “By a new cause of terror and alarm.” Their religious fears were now excited.

<sup>6</sup> *Urbem.* Tigranocerta, the capital of the kingdom. Compare PLUT. *Vit. Lucull.* 26, seqq., and consult Geographical Index. [Lucullus is stated to have found here 8000 talents of gold.]

<sup>7</sup> *Tamen nimia, &c.* “Were, nevertheless, strongly influenced by the excessive distance of these regions, as well as by a longing desire for their families.” Plutarch states, that Lucullus was anxious to reach Artaxata, in Upper Armenia, but that his troops were discouraged by the severity of the climate, and refused to proceed. (*Vit. Lucull.* 32.)

<sup>8</sup> *Hic jam plura non dicam, &c.* Cicero purposely avoids entering upon the question respecting the movements of Lucullus in his Asiatic campaign. The merits and demerits of that commander were canvassed very freely about this time at Rome, and the orator is care-

» suorum commovebatur. (24.) <sup>8</sup> Hic jam plura non  
fuit enim illud extremum, ut ex iis locis a militibus  
editus magis maturus, quam processio longior quæ-

<sup>10</sup> Mithridates autem et suam manum jam confir-  
t eorum, qui se ex ejus regno collegerant, et magnis  
iis multorum regum et nationum copiis juvabatur.  
1 fere sic <sup>11</sup> fieri solere accepimus, ut regum afflictæ  
facile multorum opes allicant ad misericordiam,  
que eorum, qui aut reges sunt, aut vivunt in regno;  
nale iis nomen <sup>12</sup> magnum et sanctum esse videatur.  
[taque tantum victus efficere potuit, quantum inco-  
inquam est ausus optare. Nam cum se in regnum  
st suum, non fuit eo contentus, quod ei præter spem  
; <sup>14</sup> ut illam, posteaquam pulsus erat, terram umquam  
et : <sup>15</sup> sed in exercitum vestrum, clarum atque victo-

ore, to give offence, if possible, to neither his friends nor  
enemies. One thing is very certain, that Lucullus eventually lost  
will of his soldiers, a result which Plutarch ascribes to his  
isposition, and others to his cupidity and avarice. There is  
but that the intrigues of the infamous Clodius, his brother-  
in-law was an officer in his army, operated very powerfully in  
this unfortunate result.

*enim illud extremum, &c.* “For the issue of all this was,  
or a speedy return from these regions was sought for by our  
than a farther advance.”

*Mithridates autem, &c.* “Mithridates, however, had both revived  
the spirit of his immediate band of followers, and was strengthened  
by numbers of those who had collected from his kingdom, and  
by forces that had come from many kings and nations.”  
proposes *animum* for *manum*, but *suam manum* means the  
men who had firmly adhered to him in defeat and disaster; *eorum*  
*runt*, to the fugitives who had fled from the battle, but after-  
lected and joined him.]

In the sense of *accidere*, “to happen.”—*Regum afflictæ* for  
“The fallen fortunes of monarchs.”

*magnum et sanctum.* “Something great, and worthy of venera-

*cæ tantum, &c.* “Accordingly, he was able to effect more after  
, than he ever dared to hope for in the season of prosperity.”  
vis, i. e. uninjured by the attacks of any foe.

*nam, posteaquam, &c.* “That he should ever set foot again in  
after he had been once driven from it.” The allusion is to

*in exercitum vestrum, &c.* Mithridates, once more entering  
all upon Fabius, whom Lucullus had left in command there,  
in the point of defeating him, when he himself was wounded  
called to retire from the fight. After a cessation of hostilities

rem, impetum fecit. Sinite hoc loco, Quirites, (sicut<sup>1</sup> solent, qui res Romanos scribunt,) præterire me nō calamitatem: quæ tanta fuit, ut eam, ad aures L. L<sup>2</sup> non ex prælio nuntius, sed ex sermone rumor aī (26.)<sup>3</sup> Hic in ipso illo malo, gravissimaque belli offer L. Lucullus, qui tamen, aliqua ex parte, iis incom mederi fortasse potuisset, vestro jussu coactus, <sup>4</sup>quod i diuturnitati modum statuendum veteri exemplo put<sup>5</sup> partem militum, <sup>5</sup>qui jam stipendiis confectis erant, d partem Glabroni tradidit. <sup>6</sup>Multa prætereo consulto ea vos conjectura perspicitis, <sup>7</sup>quantum illud bellum i putetis, quod conjungant reges potentissimi, renovent a nationes, suscipient integræ gentes, <sup>8</sup>novus imperator accipiat, vetere pulso exercitu?

for several days, Triarius, another of the lieutenants of Lu came to the aid of Fabius, who resigned the command to him. T thereupon, hearing that Lucullus was upon the march himself the army, and desiring to engross the whole glory of the victor battle to Mithridates. The Romans, however, met with a signa throw; above 7000 were slain, among whom were 150 centurie 24 tribunes. This was the most severe defeat which the Rom perienceed in all their wars against Mithridates. Compare the of Plutarch (*Vit. Lucull.* 35), with that of Appian (*B. M.* 89), it is stated, that, in consequence of a wound received by Mith his friends were on the point of sounding a retreat, when the pearance of the monarch in the fight secured to him the day.

<sup>1</sup> Poëtæ. Perhaps in allusion to Nævius, who wrote a n chronicle of the first Punic war; and to Ennius, who composed likewise in verse, comprising the history of Rome, from the periods down to the close of the second Punic, or, more co speaking, the Istrian war. Nævius flourished from B.C. 235 and Ennius lived from B.C. 239 to 169. [Cicero alludes rather poetic writers of Roman history.]

<sup>2</sup> Non ex prælio nuntius, &c. "No messenger from the field tle, at Zelia, but rumour from the converse of men." This, of is oratorical exaggeration.

<sup>3</sup> Hic in ipso illo malo, &c. "Here, in the midst of this mist itself, and heaviest disaster of the war."

<sup>4</sup> Quod imperii diuturnitati, &c. Because you thought that, cordance with ancient precedent, a limit should be set to loi tinuance of command." The army had been under the comr Lucullus for the space of seven years, from A.U.C. 630 to 636.

<sup>5</sup> Qui jam stipendiis, &c. "Who had now served out their The oldest of the troops, including the Fimbrian legions, as the called, were sent home by Lucullus. The period of their legal was nine campaigns, and they had now served nearly ten.

<sup>6</sup> Multa prætereo consulto, &c. "I purposely pass over many

X. (27.) SATIS mihi multa verba fecisse videor, quare hoc clum esset genere ipso necessarium, magnitudine periculum: restat, ut de imperatore ad id bellum deligendo, <sup>9</sup> ac tnis rebus præficiendo, dicendum esse videatur. Utinam, virites, virorum fortium atque <sup>10</sup>innocentium copiam tantam aberetis, ut haec vobis deliberatio difficilis esset, quemnam otissimum tantis rebus ac tanto bello præficiendum putare! Nunc vero cum sit unus Cn. Pompeius, qui non modo nam hominum, qui nunc sunt, gloriam, sed etiam <sup>11</sup>antiquitatis memoriam virtute superarit; quæ res est, quæ usquam animum in hac causa dubium facere possit? 8.) Ego enim sic existimo, <sup>12</sup>in summo imperatore quatuor res inesse oportere, scientiam rei militaris, virtutem, auctoritatem, felicitatem. Quis igitur hoc homine <sup>13</sup>scientior aquam aut fuit, aut esse debuit? qui <sup>14</sup>e ludo atque

you yourselves clearly perceive them, by putting these instances other." The usual text has a colon after *consulto*, and a comma or *perspicitis*, connecting, of course, the clause *ac ea vos*, &c., with as follows: but Ernesti objects that *ea* in the plural can never refer the simple idea expressed in *quantum illud bellum*, and he conveniently puts a comma after *perspicitis*, &c.

*Quantum illud*, &c. "Of how much importance, then, are you imagine that war has become, which two very powerful monarchs ite in waging, which irritated nations renew, which communities herto untouched by your arms are taking up as their own, which a commander of yours is to receive, the former army having been even from the field."

<sup>1</sup> *Novus imperator*. Alluding to Glabrio. The epithet *novus* appears have here a covert meaning also, in relation to Glabrio's want of experience compared with Lucullus, who had been seven years in command.

<sup>2</sup> *Ac tantis rebus præficiendo*, &c. "And the setting him over so important operations."

<sup>3</sup> *Innocentium*. "Uncorrupt," i.e. men of strict probity, of principle superior to all corruption, and who would not convert the facilities, which supreme command might afford, into the means of enriching themselves and oppressing others.

<sup>4</sup> *Antiquitatis memoriam*. "The remembrance of all antiquity," i.e. the brightest examples that antiquity can recall to our remembrance. *Virtute*. "By his merit."

<sup>5</sup> *In summo imperatore*, &c. "That in a consummate general these our qualities ought to centre, a full acquaintance with the military art, honour, reputation, and good fortune." By *auctoritatem* is here meant the weight of character which a series of successful operations atown.

<sup>6</sup> *Scientior*. "More profoundly versed in military science."

<sup>7</sup> *E ludo*. "From school." On leaving school, at the age of 17,

pueritiæ disciplina, <sup>1</sup> bello maximo, atque acerrimis l  
ad patris exercitum atque in militiæ disciplinam p  
est; <sup>2</sup> qui extrema pueritia miles fuit summi imp  
<sup>3</sup> ineunte adolescentia maximi ipse exercitus imperat  
sæpius cum hoste confixit, quam quisquam cum  
concertavit, plura bella gessit, quam ceteri legerunt,

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Pompey served under his father, Cn. Pompeius Strabo, in t  
war.

<sup>1</sup> *Bello maximo.* “During a most dangerous war.” The S  
is meant. It arose from the refusal of the senate and people  
the rights of citizenship to the Italian allies. This was the :  
gerous war in which the Romans had ever been engaged, s  
were compelled to contend with those who were well acquai  
their discipline, and had hitherto formed the main strength  
armies.

<sup>2</sup> *Qui extrema pueritia, &c.* “Who, at the close of his boy  
a soldier under a very able commander.” The allusion is th  
in the preceding clause, viz. to his serving in the army of his  
the early age of 17. Some commentators very erroneously  
Sylla to be meant by the words *summi imperatoris*. Pompey,  
repaired to Sylla as the leader of a large body of forces, not  
ple soldier; see next note.—*Extrema pueritia.* Among the  
boyhood, or *pueritia*, ended at 17 years of age, when *adoles*  
youth, commenced, and continued on until about 30 or ove  
the end of *adolescentia* until 45 or 50, they were called *junes*  
precise limit, however, of each of these periods, is far fr  
clearly ascertained.

<sup>3</sup> *Ineunte adolescentia.* “In the beginning of his youth.”  
alludes to Pompey’s having, at the age of 23, by his own  
raised three legions, and marched with them to the aid of  
feating on the way the leaders of the opposite party. Sylla  
him with great honour, and saluted him with the title of *i*.  
This compliment was the more remarkable as Pompey was no  
enough to be admitted into the senate.

<sup>4</sup> *Qui sæpius cum hoste confixit, &c.* “Who has engaged  
quently with a public foe, than any one has contended with  
enemy.” *Hostis*, “a public foe,” “an enemy to one’s  
*Inimicus*, “a private foe,” “a personal enemy.” The differe  
also be marked between *configere* and *concertare*: the form  
“to engage,” “to come into actual collision with,” “to figh  
with arms;” the latter, “to contend in words,” “to quar  
Compare MANUTIUS: “*Concertavit*, i. e. *verbis*, nam *configere*  
*contendere*. Thus, CIC. *Ep. ad Att.* 3, 12: “*Quia nunquam*  
*cum eo verbo uno concertarem.*”

<sup>5</sup> *Plures provincias confecit.* “Has completed the allocatio  
provinces.” *Confecit* has here, in some degree, though not ex  
force of *administravit*. Compare *Ep. ad Att.* 4, 17: “*Conf*  
*tania obsidibus acceptis*,” &c.

ias confecit, quam alii concupiverunt; <sup>6</sup> cujus adolescentia scientiam rei militaris non alienis præceptis, sed periis, non offenditionibus belli, sed victoriis, non iis, sed <sup>7</sup> triumphis est erudita. Quod denique genus se potest, <sup>8</sup> in quo illum non exercuerit fortuna rei <sup>9</sup> Civile, <sup>10</sup> Africanum, <sup>11</sup> Transalpinum, <sup>12</sup> Hispani-

*adolescentia, &c.* "Whose youth was trained to a knowledge of the military art, not by the precepts of others, but by his charge of the duties of a commander: not by disasters in war, but by victories; not by campaigns, but by triumphs."

*triumphus.* Pompey had already enjoyed two triumphs, one for the overthrow of Hiarbas, king of Numidia; and the other for bringing in Spain to a close. Some commentators make him to have, by this time, three triumphs. This, however, is quite erroneous; his third and most splendid triumph was at the end of the Sicilian war. (PLUT. Vit. Pomp. c. 45.)

*In quo illum, &c.* "In which the good fortune of the republic has not given him," i. e. has not given him an opportunity of displaying himself for the good of his country.

Between Sylla, on the one hand, and Cinna and Carbo, remains of the Marian party, on the other. Pompey sided with the latter.

*canum.* Against Cn. Domitius, and other proscribed members of the Marian faction, who had united their forces with those of the king of Numidia. On Pompey's return from this war, he was granted him with the title of *Magnus*, or "the Great." (PLUT. p. c. 13.) Pompey was then only in the 24th year of his

*Transalpinum.* Sertorius had probably formed alliances with the different Gallic tribes between the Pyrenees and the Alps, and appears to have resisted Pompey on his march into Spain. He gives an account of his operations against these tribes, in his speech in the senate, which has come down to us among the fragments of the third book of Sallust's Roman History: "Nomine modo imperii cepti, diebus quadraginta exercitum paravi; hostesque, in cervicem jam agentes, ab Alpibus in Hispaniam summovi. Per eas etiam atque Hannibal, nobis opportunius patefeci. Recepit Galliam, et, Laletaniam, Indigetes." Compare APPIAN, B. C. 1, 109.

*Hispaniense.* The war with Sertorius, which lasted from A.U.C. 102.—*Mixtum ex civitatibus, &c.* "Carried on in union by states and most warlike communities." Literally, "composed of states," &c. By *civitatibus* are here meant those states, or

Spain that had gone over from the Romans to Sertorius. MANUTIUS: "Civitatibus; quæ a populo Romano ad Sertorium transi." As regards the expression, *ex bellicosissimis nationibus*, it is remarked, that the army of Sertorius consisted principally of warlike tribes of Spain, whom he had disciplined in a greater manner than the Roman manner.

ense, mixtum ex civitatibus atque ex bellicissimis  
ibus, <sup>1</sup> servile, <sup>2</sup> navale bellum, varia et diversa ga-  
bellorum et <sup>3</sup> hostium, non solum gesta ab hoc u-  
etiam <sup>4</sup> confecta, nullam rem esse declarant in usu  
positam, quæ hujus viri scientiam fugere possit.

XI. (29.) <sup>5</sup> JAM vero virtuti Cn. Pompeii quæ pos-  
oratio inveniri? quid est, quod quisquam aut digni-  
aut vobis novum, aut cuiquam inauditum possit:  
<sup>6</sup> Neque enim illæ sunt solæ virtutes imperatoris, quæ  
existimantur, labor in negotiis, fortitudo in periculis  
tria in agendo, celeritas in conficiendo, consilium  
videndo: <sup>7</sup> quæ tanta sunt in hoc uno, quanta in c-  
reliquis imperatoribus, quos aut vidimus, aut audivimus

<sup>1</sup> *Servile.* The war against Spartacus, the well-known lead  
gladiators and slaves. Crassus deserved the credit of terminating  
war, having defeated the enemy, and slain 12,000 of them;  
Pompey merely encountered the fugitives from the field of battle,  
killed 5000. Still the popular voice assigned the chief praise  
to Pompey; and Cicero, in order to flatter him, re-echoes the opinion  
(see PLUTARCH, *Vit. Pomp.* c. 21.)

<sup>2</sup> *Navale.* The war against the pirates, called also, in the  
part of this oration, *maritimum bellum*.

<sup>3</sup> *Hostium.* These are enumerated as follows by the Dauphin  
kings, exiles, proscribed persons, pirates and slaves.

<sup>4</sup> *Confecta.* "Brought to a close."—*In usu militari.* "W-  
ithin the range of military experience."

<sup>5</sup> *Jam vero virtuti, &c.* "In the next place, what strain of  
virtue can be found, commensurate with the warlike virtues of Cne-  
pey?" *Jam vero* is elegantly employed by Cicero, on many occasions,  
in the sense of *deinde*, to mark a transition from one head  
of course to another.

<sup>6</sup> *Negue enim, &c.* "For neither are those the only vir-  
tues of a commander, that are commonly regarded as such." The other  
*imperatores* are mentioned after a long digression, in the beginning  
of the 13th chapter, viz. *innocentia, temperantia, fides, &c.*—The other  
*virtutes imperatores* may also be rendered more freely, "distinct  
attributes of a commander."

<sup>7</sup> *Quæ tanta sunt, &c.* "Which exist in a greater degree in  
the individual, than they have in all the other commanders whom  
we either seen or heard of." The student will mark the elegant  
elegancy of *tanta . . . quanta . . . non*, in place of the  
more common comparative with *quam*.

<sup>8</sup> *Testis est Italia.* "Italy is a proof of this," i. e. a proof of  
the summate military skill of Pompey.—*Quam ille ipse, &c.* The  
reference is to the important services rendered by Pompey, in aiding  
the power of the Marian faction in Italy. Compare PLUTARCH  
*Pomp.* c. 9: Πομπήιον δὲ θαυμάζων δι' ἀρετὴν, καὶ μέλαι-  
δόφελος εἶναι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πράγμασιν, κ.τ.λ.

t. (30.) <sup>8</sup> Testis est Italia, quam ille ipse victor, L.   
hujus virtute et subsidio confessus est liberatam.   
⁹ est Sicilia, quam multis undique cinctam periculis,   
terrore belli, sed celeritate consilii, explicavit. <sup>10</sup> Testis   
rica, quæ magnis oppressa hostium copiis, eorum ipso-   
inguine redundavit. <sup>11</sup> Testis est Gallia, per quam legi-   
nostris in Hispaniam iter, Gallorum internecione,   
tum est. <sup>12</sup> Testis est Hispania, quæ sæpiissime pluri-   
stes ab hoc superatos prostratosque conspexit. Testis   
rum et sæpius Italia, quæ, cum servili bello <sup>13</sup>tetro peri-   
jue premeretur, ab hoc auxilium absento expetivit:   
bellum exspectatione Pompeii attenuatum atque im-   
um est, adventu sublatum ac sepultum. (31.) Testes

*is est Sicilia.* He was successful in an expedition against Per-  
and Carbo in that island, A.U.C. 671. (PLUT. *Vit. Pomp.* c.

*n terrore belli, &c.* "Not by the terror of his arms, but the  
of his operations," i. e. not so much by the terror of his arms  
&c.

*itis est Africa.* Alluding to the war against Domitius and Hiarn-  
onsult note 10, page 237.

*itis est Gallia.* Consult note 11, page 237.—*Iter.* Pompey in his  
the senate, already cited (note 11, page 237), makes mention of  
oad which he had opened over the Alps, and Appian (*B. C.* 1,  
forms us, that it was around the sources of the Rhone and Po,  
*ἰε πηγαῖς τοῦ τε Ροδανοῦ καὶ Ἡριδανοῦ.*

*itis est Hispania.* The praise of Cicero here is mere flattery.  
as Sertorius lived, his superior military talents completely  
those of Pompey, and made Spain any thing else but a theatre  
for the latter. Pompey only became victorious after Sertorius  
ssinated by his own officers.

*ro periculosoque.* The war is called *tetrum*, "disgraceful," from  
racter of the foe, who were principally gladiators and slaves;  
styled *periculosum*, "dangerous," from these gladiators having  
ined to the profession of arms, and, also, from the abilities of  
ider Spartacus. Compare the words of PLUTARCH (*Vit. Crass.*  
*ὑκέτ' οὖν τὸ παρ' ἀξίαν καὶ τὸ αἰσχρὸν ἡνῶχλει τῆς ἀποστάσεως*  
*γελητον ἀλλὰ δὴ διὰ φόβου τε καὶ κίνδυνον, ὡς πρὸς ἔνα τῶν*  
*πάτρων πολέμων καὶ μεγίστον, ἀμφοτέρους ἐξέπεμπον τοὺς*  
; "It was no longer, then, the indignity and disgrace of this  
hat afflicted the senate; but now, on account of the fear and  
they sent forth both the consuls to this, as to one of their most  
and important wars."

*od bellum, &c.* See note 1, page 238. Pompey wrote to the  
that Crassus had indeed gained a victory over the runaways in  
battle, but that he himself had cut up the war by the roots,  
*η μὲν τοὺς δραπέτας φανερῷ Κράσσος νενίκηκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦ*  
*η τὴν ρίζαν ἀνύρηκε.* (*Vit. Crass. c. 11.*)

vero jam <sup>1</sup> omnes oræ, atque omnes extere <sup>2</sup> gentes ac nationes,  
<sup>3</sup> denique maria omnia, tum universa, tum in singulis omnis  
 sinus atque portus. Quis enim <sup>4</sup> toto mari locua, per hos  
 annos, aut tam firmum habuit præsidium, ut tutus esset, aut  
 tam fuit abditus, ut lateret? <sup>5</sup> Quis navigavit, qui non se  
 aut mortis aut servitutis periculo committeret, cum aut hieme,  
 aut referto prædonum mari navigaretur? Hoc tantum bel-  
 lum, tam turpe, <sup>6</sup> tam vetus, tam late dispersum, quis un-  
 quam arbitraretur aut ab omnibus imperatoribus uno anno,  
 aut <sup>7</sup> omnibus annis ab uno imperatore confici posse? (22.)  
 Quam provinciam tenuistis a prædonibus liberam per hos  
 annos? <sup>8</sup> quod vectigal vobis tutum fuit? quem socium de-

<sup>1</sup> *Omnes oræ.* Alluding to the power of the pirates, before they were reduced by Pompey, and their infesting all the shores of the Mediterranean. Compare the words of APPIAN, *B. M.* 92: Οὐ μόνης ἡ τῆς ἑώας Θαλάσσης ἐκράτουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἴντος Ἡρακλείου στρατιῶν ἀπάσης.

<sup>2</sup> *Gentes ac nationes.* “Nations and communities.” *Gens*, when contrasted with *natio*, may be called the generic term, and implies a whole race. Thus, the Germans are a *gens*, the Saxons a *natio*. (CÆSAR, *Gymn.* vol. ii. p. 247, 4th ed.)

<sup>3</sup> *Denique maria omnia, &c.* “In a word, all seas, as well the whole taken collectively, as the bays and harbours in each.” By *omnia maria* are here meant all the seas composing the Mediterranean, such as the *Mare Siculum*, the *Mare Hadriaticum*, *Mare Ægeum*, *Mare Creticum*, &c., and by *universa* (sc. *maria*) the whole Mediterranean, of course, is implied. The common text has *oris* after *singulis*, but Grævius very properly rejected it on the authority of one of his MSS. *Singulis* (sc. *maribus*) is opposed to *universa*.

<sup>4</sup> *Toto mari.* “Throughout the whole Mediterranean.”—*Autem* <sup>10</sup> *fuit abditus, &c.* “Or was so retired as to escape the notice of the foes.” By the foes are meant the pirates.

<sup>5</sup> *Quis navigavit, &c.* “Who sailed abroad, that did not expose himself to the risk either of death, or of slavery, since he must either traverse the sea during the winter season, or when it was swarming with pirates?” In the winter the sea would be free from pirates. The common text has *navigaret*, but Heumannus restored *navigaretur* from the early editions. *Navigaretur* is to be taken impersonally, in the sense of *navigandum esset*.

<sup>6</sup> *Tam vetus.* “Of so long continuance.” These depredations had continued from about A. U. C. 666. The present oration was pronounced A. U. C. 687, so that the whole period had been about 21 years.—*Tum late dispersum.* “So widely disseminated.” Consult note 5, page 22, where an account is given of the extensive power of the pirates.

<sup>7</sup> *Omnibus annis, &c.* Pompey broke the power of the pirates in the space of forty-nine days, and terminated the whole war in about three months. (PLUT. *Vit. Pomp.* c. 26, 28.—Compare Florus, 2, 4.)

endistis? cui præsidio classibus vestris fuistis? quam multas existimatis insulas esse desertas? quam multas aut metu re-  
icias, aut a prædonibus captas urbes esse sociorum?

XII. Sed quid ego <sup>9</sup> longinqua commemoro? Fuit hoc uondam, fuit <sup>10</sup> proprium populi Romani longe a domo bel-  
ire, et <sup>11</sup> propugnaculis imperii sociorum fortunas, non sua  
ecta defendere. <sup>12</sup> Sociis vestris ego mare clausum per hosce-  
nnos dicam fuisse, cum exercitus nostri a <sup>13</sup> Brundisio nun-  
quam, nisi <sup>14</sup> summa hieme, transmiserint? Qui ad vos ab  
alteris nationibus venirent, captos querar, <sup>15</sup> cum legati populi  
Romani redempti sint? mercatoribus tutum mare non fuisse  
licet, cum <sup>16</sup> duodecim secures in prædonum potestatem per-

<sup>9</sup> Quod vectigal. "What branch of revenue?"—*Cui præsidio classibus  
vestris fuistis?* "To whom have you been a source of protection with  
our fleets?"

<sup>10</sup> Longinqua. "Things at a distance." Opposed to things nearer  
home, in which the Romans were personally concerned, and had been  
national sufferers.

<sup>11</sup> Proprium populi Romani. "The peculiar glory of the Roman  
people."

<sup>12</sup> Propugnaculis imperii. "By the forces of their empire." By  
propugnacula are here meant all the means of defence at the command  
of the republic. Ernesti thinks, that the term refers to the Roman  
colonies planted in conquered countries, and which would furnish the  
means of defence against foreign aggression. Shiütz takes a more cor-  
rect view of the subject when he remarks, "*Classes et exercitus intelligi-  
tut ex antecedentibus et sequentibus.*"

<sup>13</sup> Sociis vestris, &c. "Need I tell you that the sea has been closed,  
ring these later years, to your allies, when even our own armies  
we never crossed over from Brundisium unless in the depth of win-  
ter?" The seas being closed upon their allies is one of the *longinqua*,  
which there is no need of dwelling, when the orator can tell of  
her things so much nearer home.

<sup>14</sup> Brundisio. Brundisium was the usual sea-port from which they  
led for Greece. Consult Geographical Index. The Roman armies  
uded to in the text were those sent against Mithridates.

<sup>15</sup> Summa hieme. When the pirates would be away. Consult note 5,  
page 240.

<sup>16</sup> Cum legati, &c. "When even the ambassadors of the Roman peo-  
ple were ransomed from captivity," i. e. when your own ambassadors  
are made captives by the pirates, and a ransom had to be paid for  
them. Who these ambassadors were is not known, nor at what time  
or under what circumstances they were taken.

<sup>17</sup> Duodecim secures. "Two prætors with their lictors." Literally  
"twelve axes." Each prætor had in Rome two lictors; in the provinces  
ix. The prætors taken on this occasion are called by Plutarch, *Sextus and Bellinus*. (*Vit. Pomp. c. 24.*)

venerint. (33.) <sup>1</sup> Cnidum aut Colophonem, aut <sup>2</sup> nobilissimas urbes, innumerabilesque alias, captas es memorem, cum vestros portus, <sup>2</sup> atque eos portus, vitam et spiritum ducitis, in prædonum fuisse potestatis? An vero ignoratis, portum Caietæ, celeberrimum plenissimum navium, <sup>3</sup> inspectante prætore, a præ esse direptum? Ex Miseno autem, <sup>4</sup> ejus ipsius libe: cum prædonibus antea ibi bellum gesserat, a prædoni<sup>l</sup> sublatos? Nam quid ego <sup>5</sup> Ostiense incommodum illam labem atque ignominiam rei publicæ querar, cum inspectantibus vobis, classis ea, cui <sup>6</sup> consul populi .

<sup>1</sup> *Cnidum aut Colophonem, &c.* Consult Geographical Ind numerabilesque alias. Plutarch makes the number of cities 1 them amount to four hundred: *αι δ' ἀλοῦσαι πόλεις οὐ τετρακόσιαι.*

<sup>2</sup> *Atque eos portus, &c.* “Aye, and those harbours too, fro you derive life and respiration,” i. e. the very means of su The allusion is to the harbours of Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa the metropolis was supplied with corn. In consequence of th being masters of the sea, the markets at Rome were ill suppl grain, and hence arose serious apprehensions of famine. (*Pomp. c. 25.*)

<sup>3</sup> *Inspectante prætore.* “Under the very eyes of a prætor this prætor was is not clearly ascertained. He is thought by have been M. Antonius, son of the famous orator of that n: father of Mark Antony, the triumvir. He was afterward (A. sent against the pirates, and attacked the Cretans who had h and were connected with them, but was defeated off that isl the loss of most of his ships, which were taken by the enemy. 3, 7.—*LIV. Epit. 99.*)

<sup>4</sup> *Ejus ipsius liberos.* “That the child of this same præt according to Plutarch (*Vit. Pomp. c. 24*), a daughter of M. Anto prætor, was taken by the pirates, and ransomed from them f sum.—*Liberos.* The term *liberi* is employed, in the present c single child. The authorities for this usage are very ably ad Scheller. (*Lat. Deutsch. Wörterb.* vol. iii. col. 5685.) The which we will here cite is that of Caius (*Ad. Dig. lib. 50, tit 148*): “*Non est sine liberis, cui vel unus filius, unave filia est, enunciatio, habet liberos, semper plurativo numero profertur pugilares et codicilli.*” Dacier falls into an amusing error, thr much haste in translating the present passage of Cicero. He *liberos* for *libros*, and makes the Roman prætor to have lost h not his child: “Ignorez-vous que ses *livres* ont été enlevé corsaires?” (*PLUTARQUE, par Dacier. Vie de Pompée, in notis*

<sup>5</sup> *Ostiense incommodum.* “The disaster at Ostia.” Ostia, a at the mouth of the Tiber, and regarded as the harbour c The pirates took and plundered it, and destroyed the fleet th

repositus esset, a prædonibus capta atque oppressa est? 'to dii immortales! tantamne 'unius hominis incredibilis ac invia virtus tam brevi tempore lucem afferre rei publicæ potuit, ut vos, qui modo ante ostium Tiberinum classem hos-ium videbatis, ii nunc nullam <sup>8</sup> intra Oceani ostium prædomum navem esse audiatis? (34.) Atque hæc, qua celeritate pœsta sint, quamquam videtis, tamen a me in dicendo præter-unda non sunt. Quis enim umquam, aut <sup>9</sup> obeundi negotii, ut consequendi quæstus studio, tam brevi tempore, tot loca dire, tantos cursus conficere potuit, <sup>10</sup> quam celeriter, Cn. Pompeio duce, belli impetus navigavit? qui <sup>11</sup> nondum tem-pestivo ad navigandum mari <sup>12</sup> Siciliam adiit, Africam explo-

eat, indeed was their daring on this occasion, that they even re-sined there a considerable time, and exposed their booty to sale.  
Dio CASSIUS, 36, 5.)

<sup>8</sup> *Consul populi Romani.* The name of this consul does not appear on any ancient writer. Dio CASSIUS (l. c.) makes no allusion to any such.—*Capta atque oppressa est.* “Was taken and sunk.”

<sup>9</sup> *Unius hominis.* Pompey.

<sup>10</sup> *Intra Oceani ostium.* “Within the straits of the ocean,” i. e. the straits of Gibraltar. There is great propriety in the use of the expression *Oceani ostium*, (literally, “mouth of the ocean,”) to designate the straits in question, since a strong and constant current flows to the Mediterranean from the Atlantic Ocean, in the middle of the straits.

<sup>11</sup> *Obeundi negotii.* “Of transacting business.”—*Tantos cursus.* “So-mg voyages.”

<sup>12</sup> *Quam celeriter, &c.* “As rapidly as, under the guidance of Pompey, he whole charge of war sped over the deep.” *Impetus belli* is a poetic term of expression, for the simple *bellum*, with the associate idea, however, of impetuosity and power. Thus we have in LUCRETIUS (5, 101), “*impetus caeli*,” for *cælum*; and in ACCIUS, (*Ap. Cic. de Divin.* 1, 22,) “*Nocturnus impetus*,” for *nox*. Compare the following remark of ENNÆTI: “*Tota forma, belli impetus navigavit poetica est. Sensus est; quam celeritate Pompeius bellum, et quam strenue gesserit.*”

<sup>13</sup> *Nondum tempestivo, &c.* “Before the sea was yet fit for navigation,” i. e. before the season for sailing was come. *Tempestivo* is here equivalent to *tempore opportuno*, “fit by reason of the time of year.” The season for navigation usually commenced about the rising of the Pleiades, on the 22nd of April.

<sup>14</sup> *Siciliam adiit.* Pompey directed his earliest attention to Sicily, in order to secure that important granary of the republic. He then proceeded, with the same view, to Africa and Sardinia. The management of the war against the pirates was conferred on Pompey by the Gallican law. This law invested him with the command of the whole Mediterranean, and with power over the land for four hundred stadia (about 46 miles) from the coasts. He was empowered also to take

ravit: inde Sardiniam cum classe venit, atque <sup>1</sup> huc tria frumentaria subsidia rei publicae firmissimis praesidiis classibus que munivit. (35.) Inde se cum in Italiam receperisset, duobus Hispaniis et Gallia Cisalpina praesidiis ac navibus confirmatis missis item in oram <sup>2</sup> Illyrici maris, et in Achaiam omnemq; Græciam navibus, <sup>3</sup> Italæ duo maria maximis classibus, missimisque praesidiis adornavit: ipse autem, <sup>4</sup>ut a Brundisi profectus est, undequinquagesimo die <sup>5</sup>totam ad imperium populi Romani Ciliciam adjunxit; omnes, qui ubique pirates fuerunt, partim capti interfectique sunt, partim <sup>6</sup> ad hujus imperio ac potestati se dediderunt. Idem Crete cum ad eum usque in Pamphyliam legatos deprecatorum misissent, spem ditionis non ademit, obsidesque imperium

with him out of the senators fifteen lieutenants to act under him; was to take from the quæstors, and other public receivers, what he pleased, and equip a fleet of 200 sail. The number of his forces, of mariners and rowers, was left entirely to his discretion. The day after this law was passed, Pompey summoned an assembly, and obtained a grant of almost as much more as the first decree had stowed. He was empowered to fit out 500 galleys, and to raise an army of 120,000 foot and 5000 horse. Twenty-four senators were selected, who had all been generals or prætors, and were appointed his lieutenants, and he had two quæstors allowed. (PLUT. Vit. Pompeii c. 25. seq.)

<sup>1</sup> *Hæc tria frumentaria subsidia.* "These three granaries." *Duabus Hispaniis.* "The two Spains," i. e. hither and farther Spain, Citerior and Ulterior. Consult Geographical Index.

<sup>2</sup> *Illyrici maris.* The *Mare Illyricum* was that part of the Adriatic which lay along the Illyrian coast.—*Achaiam.* The Roman province of Achaia included all the Peloponnesus, and a part of Greece north of the isthmus of Corinth. By *omnem Græciam* is, therefore, meant the rest of Greece.

<sup>3</sup> *Italæ duo maria.* The upper and lower seas, or the Adriatic and Tuscan.—*Adornavit.* "He furnished," i. e. supplied. *Adornare* is equivalent to *instruo*, with the collateral idea of decking or adorning. Compare CÆS. B. C. 1, 26: "*Eodem conatu, apparatuque, omnè opus insignium armorum bellum adornaverant.*"

<sup>4</sup> *Ut a Brundisio, &c.* "On the forty-ninth day after he set off from Brundisium." *Ut* is here elegantly used for *postquam*. Cf. TURSELLINUS, *de Part. Lat.* s. v. § 1, 22.

<sup>5</sup> *Totam Ciliciam.* The power of the pirates had its rise in Cilicia, and this country eventually became their centre of operations, their chief stronghold. Pompey defeated them in a naval battle off Cilicium, on the coast of Cilicia Trachea.

<sup>6</sup> *Unius hujus imperio ac potestati.* "To the absolute control of one individual," i. e. they surrendered themselves unconditionally to Pompey. When *imperium* and *potestas* are opposed to each other,

ta tantum bellum, tam diuturnum, tam longe lateque dis-  
persum, quo bello omnes gentes ac nationes premebantur,  
in Pompeius extrema hieme <sup>8</sup> apparavit, ineunte vere sus-  
cepit, media æstate confecit.

XIII. (36.) <sup>9</sup> Est hæc divina atque incredibilis virtus im-  
eratoris. Quid? ceteræ, quas paullo ante commemorare  
ceperam, quantæ atque quam multæ sunt? <sup>10</sup> non enim solum  
bellandi virtus in summo atque perfecto imperatore quærenda  
est; <sup>11</sup> sed multæ sunt artes eximiæ, hujus administræ comi-  
tique virtutis. Ac primum, <sup>12</sup> quanta innocentia debent esse  
imperatores? quanta deinde omnibus in rebus temperantia?  
quanta fide? <sup>13</sup> quanta facilitate? quanto ingenio? quanta  
umanitate? Quæ breviter, qualia sint in Cn. Pompeio,

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power denotes military power, the latter civil; and when both are combined in one clause, as in the present instance, the idea intended to be conveyed is that of full and absolute authority.

<sup>1</sup> *Oriensibus.* Crete, next to Cilicia, was the greatest nursery of pirates, and one of their chief receptacles. Metellus had been sent to Crete, by the Roman people, some time before Pompey was employed in this war. Metellus had broken up many strongholds of the pirates in that island, when the remainder, who were besieged by him, pliantly addressed themselves to Pompey, and invited him into the and, as included in his commission, and falling within that distance from the sea to which he was authorized to carry his arms. Pompey tened to their application, and by a letter directed Metellus to take farther steps in the war. At the same time, he ordered the cities of Crete not to obey Metellus, but Lucius Octavius, one of his own lieutenants, whom he sent to take the command. [On Metellus treating Pompey's order with contempt, Octavius threw himself into Lappa, which eventually was taken by Metellus; and Octavius had, after other opposition, to leave the island.]

<sup>2</sup> *Apparavit.* "Prepared for."—*Media æstate.* Plutarch says the war was brought to a close in three months at farthest: οὐκ ἐν πλειονὶ ὥρᾳ τριῶν μηνῶν. (*Vit. Pomp.* c. 28.)

<sup>3</sup> *Est hæc divina, &c.* "Such is the divine and incredible valor of our commander."

<sup>4</sup> *Non enim solum, &c.* Consult note 6, page 238.—*Bellandi virtus.* Ability in war."

<sup>5</sup> *Sed multæ sunt, &c.* "On the contrary, there are many other extended qualities, the handmaids and attendants of this virtue."—*Hujus virtutis, sc. imperatorice.*

<sup>6</sup> *Quanta innocentia, &c.* "Of how much moral purity ought commanders to be."—*Temperantia.* "Self-control."—*Fide.* "Good faith." adherence to their word.

<sup>7</sup> *Quanta facilitate.* "How affable and easy of access."—*Quanto ingenio, &c.* "Of how much penetration, of how much humanity?"

consideremus. <sup>1</sup> Summa enim omnia sunt, Quirites; sed ea magis <sup>2</sup> ex aliorum contentione, quam ipsa per sese cognosci atque intelligi possunt. (37.) Quem enim <sup>3</sup> possumus imperatorem aliquo in numero putare, <sup>4</sup> cuius in exercitu veneant centuriatus atque venierint? <sup>5</sup> quid hunc hominem magnum aut amplum de re publica cogitare, qui pecuniam, ex aerario depromptam ad bellum administrandum, aut <sup>6</sup> propter cupiditatem provinciae magistratibus divisorum, aut propter avaritiam Romae <sup>7</sup> in quaestu reliquerit?—<sup>8</sup> Vestra admurmuratio facit, Quirites, ut agnoscere videamini, qui haec fecerint: ego autem neminem nomino; quare irasci mihi nemo poterit, nisi qui <sup>9</sup> ante de se voluerit confiteri. Itaque, propter hanc avaritiam

<sup>1</sup> *Summa enim omnia sunt.* “For these all exist in the highest degree,” i. e. in the character of Pompey all these qualities are found in the highest perfection.

<sup>2</sup> *Ex aliorum contentione.* “By a comparison with others.” Thus, CIC. *de Off.* 1, 17: “*Si contentio quedam et comparatio fiat,*” and PARTIT. *Or.* 2: “*Rerum contentiones, quid majus, quid par, quid minus sit.*”

<sup>3</sup> *Possumus aliquo in numero putare.* “Can we hold in any estimation.” Literally, “can we reckon in any number,” i. e. of generals; can we regard as at all fit to be numbered among generals.

<sup>4</sup> *Cuius in exercitu, &c.* “In whose army commissions for the office of centurion are now and have heretofore been sold.” The allusion cannot be to Lucullus, on whom he had already bestowed so many encomiums, but, from the use of the present tense (*venerant*), seems aimed at Glabrio. The student will mark the force of the subjunctive mood in this and the succeeding clauses, as indicating, not what Cicero asserts on his own authority, but from the rumour of the day. It is equivalent, in fact, therefore, to “in whose army, as is said,” &c.

<sup>5</sup> *Quid hunc hominem, &c.* “What lofty or generous sentiments can we imagine that man can entertain respecting his country?” Supply after *quid*, the words *possumus putare* from the preceding clause, but in a somewhat different sense.

<sup>6</sup> *Propter cupiditatem provinciae.* “From the desire of retaining his province for a longer period,” i. e. of holding over in his command beyond the time appointed. The money was given, not to procure a province, but to induce the magistrates at home to interfere, and prevent any recall, at the end of the year, from the province where the individual was then acting. Compare the explanation of ERNESTI: “*Non ut provinciam decernerent, sed ut impedirent ne anno exacto decedere de provincia juberetur.*” Ernesti supposes Lucullus to be the person meant. This, however, cannot possibly be correct. Lucullus had set out against Mithridates many years before the period when this speech was delivered; whereas, from the language of Cicero, the transaction referred to would seem to have been of a very recent date. So again, in chapter 22, the orator speaks of the *injuriae* and *libidines*

um, quantas calamitates, quocunque ventum sit, exercitus ferant, quis ignorat? (38.) <sup>10</sup> Itinera, quæ annos in Italia per agros atque oppida civium nostrorum imperatores fecerunt, recordamini: tum atuetis, quid apud exterias nationes fieri existimetis. ures arbitramini per hosce annos militum vestrorum ium urbes, an <sup>11</sup> hibernis socrorum civitates esse de que enim potest <sup>12</sup> exercitum is continere imperator, sum non continet: neque severus esse <sup>13</sup> in iudicii alios in se severos esse judices non vult. (39.) nur, hunc hominem tantum excellere ceteris, cuius ic in Asiam pervenerunt, ut non modo manus tanti

ian commanders sent out that very year, which of course may apply to Lucullus. Acilius Glabrio is undoubtedly *ut provinciae magistratibus* seems to be balanced with *Romæ*. And *propter cupiditatem* corresponds with *propter avaritiam*. der, then, “who, to screen his extortion, divided the money, the magistrates of his province (lest they should join in ac) or to gratify his avarice, left those sums at interest in

*stu.* “At interest.” Compare *Or. in Pis.* c. 35.

*admurmuratio*, &c. “Your murmurs, my countrymen, parent, that you recognize the individuals who have acted rally, “your murmuring makes it evident that you appear to &c.

“Previously.”—*Avaritiam*. “Rapacity.” Compare the SCHELLER (*Præcept. Styl.* vol. i. p. 69): “*Avarus non est, nimis parcit; hic tenax dicitur; sed pecuniae consequendus.*”

“The marches.”—*Per hosce annos*. “During these latter allusion is to the movements of the Roman forces, sent, ent commanders, against Mithridates, Sertorius, Spartacus, rich troops had to pass through different parts of Italy, reached their destined scenes of action. From the lancer, they would appear to have been guilty of excesses, by ainst their own countrymen.

“By their wintering among them.” Referring to the rapacity exercised by the Roman soldiery against their own in winter-quarters throughout their cities.

*sum continere*. “To restrain his army,” i. e. from the plundering of our allies.

*ipsum non continet*. “Who does not restrain himself,” i. e. same matters practises no restraint over himself. Grævius se, from one of his MSS., but, as Ernesti correctly remarks, ion to *alius* requires *se ipsum*.

*licando*. “In judging of others.” Supply *de aliis*, or else *alius*.

exercitus,<sup>1</sup> sed ne vestigium quidem cuiquam pacato nō dicatur? Jam vero,<sup>2</sup> quemadmodum milites hibe quotidie sermones ac literæ perferuntur. Non mod sumptum faciat in militem, nemini vis affertur: s cupienti quidem cuiquam permittitur.<sup>4</sup> Hiemis enim avaritiae perfugium majores nostri in sociorum atque corum tectis esse voluerunt.

XIV. (40.) AGE vero, ceteris in rebus<sup>5</sup> qualis sit t rantia, considerate. Unde illam tantam celeritatem, incredibilem cursum<sup>6</sup> inventum putatis? Non enim eximia vis remigum, aut ars inaudita quædam guber aut venti aliqui novi, tam celeriter<sup>8</sup> in ultimas terras

<sup>1</sup> *Sed ne vestigium quidem.* “But even its very footsteps. meaning of the whole clause is, that the army led by Pompey from plundering any thing, did not even set foot in any place w was unlawful for them to come,” i. e. violated the sanctity shrine, as had been the case, for example, in former years, with Comana. Compare the explanation of HOTOMANN: “Non mo rapuisse, sed ne pedem quidem, ubi non licebat, posuisse.”

<sup>2</sup> *Quemadmodum milites hibernent.* “As to the way in whi soldiers now conduct themselves in winter-quarters,” i. e. as regularity of their deportment in winter-quarters now that the Pompey over them.

<sup>3</sup> *Ut sumptum faciat in militem.* “In order that he may expense upon a soldier,” i. e. to compel him to expend any par means in the maintenance of our soldiers.—*Cupienti.* “When so to do.”

<sup>4</sup> *Hiemis enim, &c.* “That there should be a refuge fr severity of winter, not for the indulgence of rapacity, in the ings,” &c.

<sup>5</sup> *Qualis.* The early editions have *quali*.

<sup>6</sup> *Inventum.* “Were obtained.” Some of the early editio initum, which arose very probably from the copyists not unders here the peculiar force of *inventum*. Even Lambinus seeks the text, and gives *natum* for the true reading. The use of *in* in this passage, is correctly styled by Ernesti, “*exquisitiu loquendi.*” Compare the Greek usage of employing the verb εν on many occasions, in the sense of *parare, consequi, &c.*

<sup>7</sup> *Non eximia vis remigum.* “No extraordinary exertions on t of rowers.”

<sup>8</sup> *In ultimas terras.* The allusion is to Pamphylia and Cilicia. pare chapter 16, where the Cretan ambassadors are said to hav to Pompey, who was then in Pamphylia, “*in ultimas prope ter*

<sup>9</sup> *Ceteros.* “The rest of your commanders.” So *ceteri* in th paragraph.—*Non retardarunt.* “Retarded not his progress.”

<sup>10</sup> *Devocavit.* “Called him away.” This is the reading of earlier editions, except the Aldine, where *revocavit* appears, pi

sed esse res, quæ <sup>9</sup>ceteros remorari solent, non retardant avaritia ab instituto cursu ad prædam aliquam ivit, <sup>11</sup>non libido ad voluptatem, non amœnitas ad ionem, non nobilitas urbis ad cognitionem, non labor ipse ad quietem. Postremo <sup>12</sup>signa, et tabulas, i.e. ornamenta Græcorum oppidorum, quæ ceteri esse arbitrantur, ea sibi ille ne visenda quidem ivit. (41.) Itaque omnes quidem, nunc in his locis apieum, sicut aliquem non ex hac urbe missum, sed delapsum, intuentur: nunc denique incipiunt <sup>13</sup>fuisse homines Romanos hac quondam abstinentia: jam nationibus exteris incredibile ac falso memoriae

or of the press. From this last edition the form *revocavit* way into the later ones, until Gruter restored the true

*libido ad voluptatem*, &c. "No licentious feeling to an indulgent pleasure; no charms of scenery to gratification of this kind; in of any city to visiting and becoming acquainted with it; , not toil itself to repose."

, et *tabulas*. "Statues and paintings." With *tabulas* supply *huc ceteri tollenda esse*, &c. Statues, and paintings, and works general, were favourite objects of rapacity with the Roman emperors, and were carried off without any scruple. The statues and pictures which Marcellus transported from Syracuse to Rome, led that cupidity which led the Roman provincial magistrates , without scruple or distinction, the houses of private individuals and the temples of the gods. Marcellus and Mummius, however, pillaged only hostile and conquered countries. They had made a plunder to the public, and, after it was conveyed to Rome, it to the embellishment of the capital; but subsequent governors of provinces, having acquired a taste for works of art, began to appropriate to themselves those masterpieces of Greece, which they early neither known nor esteemed. Some contrived plausible pretences for borrowing valuable works of art from cities and private individuals without any intention of restoring them; while others, less or more shameless, seized whatever pleased them, whether private property, without excuse or remuneration. But this passion was common to most provincial governors, none of whom came up to the full measure of the rapacity of Verres, when he came to Sicily. He seized tapestry, pictures, gold, and silver plate, and Corinthian bronzes, till he literally did not leave a particle of value of these descriptions, in the whole island. (See *Roman Literature*, vol. ii. p. 284, seq.)

*ne quando*. "That there once were." They now believe that such as Curius Dentatus, Fabricius, and others, once actually

*jam nationibus exteris*, &c. The accounts which the Romans

proditum videbatur. <sup>1</sup> Nunc imperii vestri splendore gentibus lucet: nunc intelligunt, non sine causa suos tum, cum <sup>2</sup> hac temperantia magistratus ha- servire populo Romano, quam imperare aliis, <sup>3</sup> Jam vero ita faciles aditus ad eum privatorum, querimoniæ de aliorum injuriis esse dicuntur, et dignitate principibus excellit, <sup>4</sup> facilitate par ini- videatur. (42.) Jam quantum <sup>5</sup> consilio, quantu- gravitate et copia valeat, <sup>6</sup> in quo ipso inest quædan imperatoria, vos, Quirites, <sup>7</sup> hoc ipso in loco sæpe Fidem vero ejus inter socios quantam existimar <sup>8</sup> quam hostes omnium gentium sanctissimam ju- Humanitate jam tanta est, ut difficile dictu si hostes magis virtutem ejus pugnantes timuerint,

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gave them of the continence and virtue of their fathers, ha- unworthy of belief to foreign nations, when contrasted with rapacity and extortion that characterized their descendants.

<sup>1</sup> *Nunc imperii vestri*, &c. “Now the true lustre of your country shines resplendent among those nations.” Pompey revives in himself all the glory of the good old Roman times, and that glorified by his country.—*Lucet*. In the palimpsest fragment of the recently discovered, we have *lucem afferre cœpit*, which also occurs in two other MSS. but it is evidently a mere gloss for *lucet*, a very good one either.

<sup>2</sup> *Hac temperantia*. “Distinguished for his self-control, characterized by that same moderation which Pompey now exhibits.” *Imperare aliis*. “To rule over others.”

<sup>3</sup> *Jam vero ita faciles*, &c. “So easy, too, is said to be the private individuals to him, so freely allowed their every right respecting the wrongs done them by others.” As regards *jam vero*, consult note 7, page 253.—*Faciles*. No forms and ceremonies are required in approaching Pompey.—*Liberæ*. There are no restrictions whatever upon the freedom of complaint.

<sup>4</sup> *Facilitate*. “In affability.”

<sup>5</sup> *Consilio*. “In wisdom.”—*Dicendi gravitate et copia*. “In weight and flowing eloquence.” As regards the peculiar force of *gravis*, in a rhetorical point of view, compare the remark of ERNESTI, in his *Lex. Technol. Lat. Rhet.* p. 191: “Sed non mea est, gravem orationem appellatam *Latinis Rhetoribus esse*, quæ *splendidis, altisque sensibus animos legentium impleret*; et *imitatem tributam iis oratoribus vel scriptoribus, qui tales se conciperent, atque omnino rebus augendis, exaggerandisque par-*

<sup>6</sup> *In quo ipso*, &c. “In which very talent itself there exist forms adapted to the character of a leader.” The reference is to *inventio*, of haranguing, which suits so well the character of a general. Some editors refer *in quo ipso* to Pompey; but then *quædan dignitas*, is not sufficiently complimentary.

iem victi dilexerint. Et quisquam dubitabit, quin  
antum bellum transmittendum sit, qui ad omnia  
memoriæ bella conficienda divino quodam consilio  
se videatur?

(43.) ET, quoniam <sup>11</sup>auctoritas multum in bellis  
administrandis atque in imperio militari valet, certe  
lubium est, quin ea re idem ille imperator plurimum

<sup>12</sup>Vehementer autem pertinere ad bella adminis-  
trandi hostes, quid socii de imperatoribus vestris  
nt, quis ignorat, cum sciamus, homines in tantis re-  
put contemnunt, aut metuant, aut oderint, aut ament,  
non minus <sup>13</sup>et fama, quam aliqua certa ratione  
eri? Quod igitur nomen umquam in orbe terrarum  
fuit? cujus res gestæ pares? de quo homine vos, id  
axime <sup>14</sup>facit auctoritatem, <sup>15</sup>tanta et tam præclara

*ipso in loco.* In the forum, where they have often heard  
narangue.

*hostes, &c.* "When the common enemies of all nations  
arded it as inviolable," i. e. as worthy of the most implicit

*Quam* is here equivalent to *cum eam*.—By *hostes omnium*  
re meant the pirates. Cicero employs the same circumlocu-  
peaking of this class of persons, on two other occasions: *In*  
*10*, and *De Off. 3, 29*: "*Pirata est communis hostis omnium.*"  
*um bellum.* This is the reading of the earlier editions, which  
rst restored. The common text has *tantum bellum hoc*, which  
transposed, reading *hoc tantum bellum*.

*re memoriae.* "Of our time."—*Videatur.* The use of the  
re here is worth noting. The meaning is, "who seems, as far  
perceive," i. e. as far as it is allowed mere mortals to scan the  
of Omnipotence. The indicative would have been too strong.  
*Auctoritas.* "High reputation." *Auctoritas* is here equivalent  
*io insignis de alicujus virtute,*" &c. (ERNESTI, *Clav. Cic.* a. v.

*menter pertinere ad bella administranda.* "Intimately pertains  
management of foreign wars," i. e. exercises a powerful influence  
success of your arms abroad.—*Vestrīs.* The palimpsest frag-  
*nostrīs.*

*ima.* We have here adopted the reading of the palimpsest  
, as far preferable to the ordinary one, *opinione non minus*  
*quam aliqua certa ratione.* "Than by some fixed and reason-  
ve."

*ius.* "More illustrious than his," i. e. Pompey's.

*auctoritatem.* "Causes high reputation." [Anthon inserted  
*auctoritatem,*] on the conjecture of Weiske, who considers  
non reading, *facit auctoritatem*, as doubtful in point of La-

*a et tam præclara, &c.* "Have you made so distinguished

judicia fecistis? (44.) An vero ullum usquam e tam desertam putatis, quo non <sup>1</sup> illius diei fama p cum universus populus Romanus, referto foro, re omnibus templis, ex quibus <sup>2</sup> hic locus conspici potest sibi ad commune omnium gentium bellum Cn. P imperatorem depoposcit? Itaque, ut plura non dica aliorum exemplis confirmem, <sup>3</sup> quantum auctoritas bello; ab eodem Cn. Pompeio <sup>4</sup> omnium rerum egregia exempla sumantur: qui quo die a vobis maritimo b positus est imperator, tanta repente <sup>5</sup> vilitas annuntiata inopia et caritate rei frumentariæ consecutus unius hominis spe et nomine, quantum vix ex summate agrorum diuturna pax efficere potuisse. (45) <sup>6</sup> accepta in Ponto calamitate, ex eo prælio, de paullo ante invitus admonui, cum socii pertinuerint opes animique crevissent, satis firmum præsidium vincia non haberet: amisissetis Asiam, Quirites, n

and honourable expressions of opinion?" The term *judicium* applied to the honours and rewards bestowed upon merit, is the remark of ERNESTI (*Clav. Cic. s. v.*): "Judicia dicuntur honores, præmia, quia dantur his qui iis digni judicantur." He obtained the honours of a triumph, while he was only a knight, and not yet of an age to entitle him to a seat in the Senate. He was sent against Sertorius, with proconsular command, though he was only a simple quaestor; and he obtained the consulship before he was thirty-six years old, and without having gone through the regular course of offices; in the regular course of things, he was, at thirty-six, old enough to have been made ædile. The legal age for the ædile was forty-three.

<sup>1</sup> *Illi dies.* The day when the Gabinian law was passed. See note 12, page 243.—*Cum universus populus Romanus.* "When all the Roman people with one voice." The student will mark the word *universus* here.

<sup>2</sup> *Hic locus.* The rostra.—*Unum ad commune omnium glorium imperatorem.* "As sole commander of a war that involved the common interests of all nations." The reference is to the war against the pirates. Compare note 8, page 251.

<sup>3</sup> *Quantum auctoritas,* The common text has *quantum habitas.* But *hujus* is not needed here, since the remark is a general one, and does not refer to any individual in particular. Ernesti takes *hujus* must either be rejected, or else changed into *ducis.* In the former course, and accordingly throws it out of his text.

<sup>4</sup> *Omnium rerum egregiarum.* "Of every thing exalted."

<sup>5</sup> *Vilitas annonæ.* "A cheapness of provisions." As long as the pirates held possession of the sea, exportation from the colonies and provinces was checked, and large stores must necessarily

ris <sup>9</sup>divinitus Cn. Pompeium ad eas regiones for-  
ali Romani attulisset. Hujus adventus et Mithri-  
nsolita inflatum victoria continuit, et Tigranem  
opii minitatem Asiae retardavit. Et quisquam  
quid virtute <sup>11</sup> profecturus sit, qui tantum auctori-  
cerit? aut quam facile imperio atque exercitu  
vectigalia conservaturus sit, qui <sup>12</sup> ipso nomine ac  
defenderit?

46.) **A&E** vero, <sup>13</sup> illa res quantam declarat ejusdem  
spud hostes populi Romani auctoritatem, quod ex  
longinquis, tamque diversis, tam brevi tempore  
ui huic se dediderunt? quod <sup>14</sup> Cretensium legati,  
orum insula noster imperator exercitusque esset,  
ompeium <sup>15</sup> in ultimas prope terras venerunt, eique  
Cretensium civitates dedere velle dixerunt? Quid  
Mithridates? nonne ad eundem Cn. Pompeium,  
isque in Hispaniam misit? <sup>16</sup> eum quem Pompeius

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iera. Pompey's appointment restored public confidence, power of the pirates was now thought to be soon about to rge shipments were expected to be shortly made from the ries, the price of grain fell, of course, at Rome.

*ma inopia, &c.* "From the greatest scarcity and dearness - *Unius hominis spe et nomine.* Compare the language of *Vit Pomp.* c. 26), *Ai δὲ τιμαι τῶν ὀνιων, εὐθὺς πεσοῦσαι, ξυφ τῷ δημῳ παρεῖχον, ὡς αὐτὸ τοῦνομα τοῦ Πομπῆου πόλεμον.*

"Still farther." Compare the remark of FORCELLINI (*Lex.* *scipissime conjungendi orationem vim habet, et transitionibus præsterea.*"

*in Ponto calamitate.* Alluding to the defeat of Triarius. note 15, page 233.—*Cum.* To be repeated, in translating, of the two succeeding clauses.

*me.* "Providentially."

*inflatum victoria.* "Fired with unaccustomed victory." refers to his having been so often defeated before this by Sylla, and Lucullus.—*Continuit.* "Checked."

*turus sit.* We have adopted *profecturus sit* and *profecerit*, as, Ernesti, and Schütz, from many MSS. and early editions. Our text has *perfecturus sit* and *perfecerit*.

*mine ac rumore.* "By his very name and reputation."

*se.* "The following circumstance."

*nium legati.* For an account of this affair, consult note 7, *Noster imperator.* Metellus.

*mas prope terras.* To Pamphylia. Consult *Liv. Epit.* 29.

*uem Pompeius legatum semper judicarit.* Pompey, of course,

legatum semper judicavit: <sup>1</sup>ii, quibus semper erat mo ad eum potissimum esse missum, speculatorem quam l judicari maluerunt. Potestis igitur jam constituerites, hanc auctoritatem, <sup>2</sup>multis postea rebus magnisque vestris judiciis amplificatum, quantum illos reges, quantum apud exteris nationes valitura existimetis.

(47.) Reliquum est, ut de felicitate, <sup>3</sup>quam præsse ipso nemo potest, meminisse et commemorare d possumus, sicut æquum est homines <sup>4</sup>de potestate d timide et pauca dicamus. Ego enim sic existimo: <sup>5</sup>M Marcello, Scipioni, Mario, et ceteris magnis imperiis non solum propter virtutem, sed etiam propter fortitudinem sæpius imperia mandata, atque exercitus esse comitatus. Fuit enim profecto quibusdam summis viris quæda-

would entertain this opinion from motives of vanity. The first Metellus represented that the individual alluded to was a mere boy.

<sup>1</sup> *Ii, quibus, &c.* Referring in particular to Metellus, who was commanding in conjunction with Pompey in Spain. He was a relative of the Metellus just mentioned, note 14, p. 253.—*Ad eum potissimum* What gave offence, if the story be true, was that the individual had been sent to so young a man as Pompey, and one too not only a quæstor with proconsular command.

<sup>2</sup> *Multis postea rebus gestis.* “By many subsequent exploits.” refers to the period after the Spanish war, and to Pompey’s operations against the pirates.—*Vestrīs judiciis.* “Expressions of opinion in their part.” Compare note 16, page 251.

<sup>3</sup> *Quam præstare de se ipso nemo potest, &c.* “Which no man can exhibit at pleasure in his own case; but which we can call and make mention of in the case of another,” i. e. no man can be successful when he pleases; this lies entirely within the power, regulated by the will, of the gods. But he may tell without success with which others have been favoured.

<sup>4</sup> *De potestate deorum.* “In relation to a thing that lies wholly in the power of the gods,” i. e. success or good fortune; of which according to Cicero, we must speak cautiously and briefly, lest we be ascribing too much to human agency. Compare the explanation of ERNESTI: “*De potestate deorum, i. e. de re ea, quæ est tota in deorum, ut cavendum sit ne in ea plus homini tribuamus.*” [This is, *reliquum est, ut de felicitate (quam præstare de se ipso nemini meminisse et commemorare de altero possimus) dicamus timide et sicut æquum est homines dicere de potestate deorum.*] ]

<sup>5</sup> *Maximo.* Fabius Maximus.—*Marcello.* The celebrated general of Hannibal.—*Scipioni.* It is uncertain whether Cicero means the elder or younger Africanus. Manutius thinks it is the latter, whose opinion appears to be the correct one. For an account of the *duals* here alluded to, consult Historical Index.

dinem et ad gloriam, et ad res magnas bene gerendas s adjuncta fortuna. De hujus autem hominis felice quo nunc agimus, <sup>7</sup> hac utar moderatione dicendi, in illius potestate fortunam positam esse dicam, sed erita meminisse, reliqua sperare videamus, ne aut liis immortalibus oratio nostra aut ingrata esse . (48.) Itaque <sup>8</sup> non sum prædicaturus, Quirites, ille res domi militiæ, terra marique, quantaque e gesserit: ut ejus semper voluntatibus non modo senserint, socii <sup>9</sup> obtemperarint, hostes obedierint, am venti tempestatesque <sup>10</sup> obsecundarint. Hoc me dicam, neminem unquam <sup>11</sup> tam impudentem qui ab diis immortalibus tot et tantas res tacitus optare, quot et quantas dii immortales ad Cn. um detulerunt. <sup>12</sup> Quod ut illi proprium ac perpe-

*mplitudinem et ad gloriam.* “For their elevation and glory.” As and gloria are here nearly synonymous, the preposition omitted in some editions before the latter. We follow Orelli.—

“By the favour of Heaven.”

For *tali*.—*In illius potestate.* “Under his control.” Cicero sat he will employ such moderation in speaking, as not, on the , to assert that Pompey is master of events, for such language offensive to the gods (*invisa diis immortalibus*); and, on the rely to make it apparent, that he has not forgotten the past of that commander, but regards them as an earnest of future for to forget them would be rank ingratitude against the no have thus far presided over his career.

*sum prædicaturus.* “I am not going vauntingly to state.” *uperarint.* “Yielded to.” *Obedire* denotes more of literal lute obedience than *obtemperare*, and is therefore used in the use, when speaking of enemies. *Obtemperare* is to obey the a command; as a son, for example, obeys a father. Compare *Cæcina.* 18: “*Imperium domesticum nullum erit, si servulis nos concesserimus, ut ad verba nobis obedient, non ad id quod extelligi possit obtemperent.*”

*secundarint.* “Favoured.” Referring in particular to his rapidity g the pirates from the surface of the Mediterranean.

*impudentem.* “So presumptuous.” *Tacitus.* “Even in unl prayer.”—*Detulerunt.* In many MSS. and early editions we ulerunt; but *detulerunt* expresses more of condescension and the part of the gods.

*d ut illi, &c.* “And that this may be his peculiar and lasting,” i. e. that these special favours may ever be vouchsafed unto *roprium* here implies, that no Roman commander has ever peculiarily favoured as Pompey; and the assembled people are i to pray, that these special acts of kindness, on the part of

tuum sit, Quirites, cum communis salutis atque i  
tum ipsius hominis causa (sicuti facitis) <sup>1</sup> velle et  
debetis.

(49.) Quare cum et bellum sit ita necessarium, ut  
non possit: ita magnum, ut <sup>2</sup> accuratissime sit admir-  
dum: et cum ei imperatorem præficere possitis, in  
eximia belli scientia, singularis virtus, clarissima auc-  
egregia fortuna: <sup>3</sup> dubitabis, Quirites, quin hoc  
boni, quod vobis a diis immortalibus oblatum et datur  
rem publicam conservandam atque amplificandam conf-

XVII. (50.) <sup>4</sup> QUOD si Romæ Cn. Pompeius p  
esset hoc tempore: tamen ad tantum bellum <sup>5</sup> is er-  
gendus atque mittendus. <sup>6</sup> Nunc, cum ad ceteras s  
utilitates hæc quoque opportunitas adjungatur, ut  
ipsis locis adsit, ut habeat exercitum, ut ab iis, qui  
accipere statim possit: <sup>7</sup> quid exspectamus? aut cu

the gods, may be continued to him for the time to come, since i  
only prove a fresh source of honour and happiness to his count

<sup>1</sup> *Velle et optare.* “To will and wish.”

<sup>2</sup> *Accuratissime.* “With the utmost care.”

<sup>3</sup> *Dubitabis, quin, &c.* “Will you hesitate, Romans, to en-  
great a good as this.” Many of the Oxford MSS. have *dubita*  
the present tense is too strong here.

<sup>4</sup> *Quod si.* “Even if then.” *Quod*, in such cases as the prese-  
mencing a sentence, always refers to something going before  
not redundant, as some critics imagine. It is here the same in  
*propter quod*. Compare the remark of SCHUTZ (*Ind. Lat. s. v.*):  
*ab initio periodi sæpe ponitur: sed semper refertur ad antecedens*  
*et transitioni servit.* Consult also PERIZONIUS, *ad Sanct. Min.*  
(vol. ii. ed. Bauer.)

<sup>5</sup> *Is erat diligendus, &c.* “He ought to be selected,” &c.  
consequent member of a conditional proposition, the past ten-  
frequently put in the indicative, to give more liveliness to the  
sentation, although in the conditional clause the imperfect  
perfect subjunctive has been used. (ZUMPT, *L. G.* p. 327, *h*  
*transl.*)

<sup>6</sup> *Nunc cum, &c.* “Now, however, when to the other eminent  
ages existing in his case, the following happy circumstance  
wise added, that he is present in those very districts,” &c. By  
*locis* is meant Asia, the seat of the war. Pompey, having en-  
piratical war, was engaged, at this time, in settling the affairs of  
and the adjacent countries, and in assigning habitations to the  
who had surrendered.

<sup>7</sup> *Quid exspectamus?* “What wait we for?”—*Summa cum*  
*rei publicæ.* “With the greatest advantage to the state.”—*Hoc*  
*regium.* “This war of the kings.” Referring to Mithridat  
Tigranes.

bus diis immortalibus, eidem, cui cetera summa cum rei publicæ commissa sunt, hoc quoque bellum regium nittimus?

I.) <sup>8</sup>At enim vir clarissimus, amantissimus rei publicæ, <sup>9</sup>ris beneficiis amplissimis affectus, Q. Catulus; <sup>10</sup>item summis ornamenti honoris, fortunæ, virtutis, ingenii itus, Q. Hortensius, <sup>11</sup>ab hac ratione dissentunt: <sup>12</sup>quo ego auctoritatem apud vos multis locis plurimum esse, et valere oportere confiteor; sed in hac causa, tui cognoscitis auctoritates contrarias fortissimorum am et clarissimorum, tamen, omissis auctoritatibus, <sup>13</sup>et ratione exquirere possumus veritatem: atque hoc is, quod ea omnia, quæ a me adhuc dicta sunt, iidem era esse concedunt, et necessarium bellum esse, et um, et in uno Cn. Pompeio summa esse omnia. (52.) igitur ait Hortensius? "Si uni <sup>14</sup>omnia tribuenda

: enim. Analogous to the Greek ἀλλὰ γάρ. In this combination, introduces a reason for the opposition, diversity, or objection to ing preceding, which is signified by *at*. Render: "But this, it you must not do, for," &c.

*ris beneficiis amplissimis affectus.* "And one who has been red with the most distinguished proofs of your regard." The n is to the famous Q. Lutatius Catulus. Consult Historical

*emque summis, &c.* "And likewise Quintus Hortensius possess highest advantages that public honours, fortune, virtue, and can bestow." The allusion is to Q. Hortensius the celebrated

He had enjoyed the consulship, had amassed a large for y the legal profession, was a man of upright character, and a d and popular, though very showy, declaimer. Consult His Index.

*b hac ratione dissentunt.* "Differ from me in the view which I ken of this subject." Literally, "differ from this view of the ." Catulus and Hortensius led the opposition against the bill. t Introductory Remarks.

*orum auctoritatem, &c.* "I am willing to own that the au of these individuals has exercised a very strong influence with many occasions, and ought so to do. In the present case, howlthough you are well aware of the sentiments of the bravest and illustrious men, as being in direct opposition to theirs, still, <sup>15</sup>authority on either side entirely out of the question, we can in the truth from the case itself, and from the dictates of reason." *auctoritates contrarie* are meant individuals who think with Cicero, those character and standing are fully equal to those of Catulus ortensius.

*nnia.* "All things," i. e. unlimited power. The Manilian law ed, in effect, to invest Pompey with unlimited power against

sint, unum dignissimum esse Pompeium: sed ad unum tamen omnia deferri non oportere." Obsolevit jam ista oratio, <sup>1</sup> re multo magis quam verbis refutata. Nam tu idem, Q. Hortensi, multa, <sup>2</sup> pro tua summa copia ac singulari facultate dicendi, et in senatu contra <sup>3</sup> virum fortē A. Gabiniū, <sup>4</sup> graviter ornateque dixisti, cum is de uno imperatore contra prædones constituendo legem promulgasset: et ex hoc ipso loco permulta item contra legem eam verba fecisti. (53.) Quid? tum, per deos immortales! si plus apud populum Romanum auctoritas tua, quam ipsius populi Romani salus et <sup>5</sup> vera causa valuissest, hodie hanc gloriam atque hoc orbis terræ imperium teneremus? An tibi tum imperium esse hoc videbatur, cum populi Romani legati, prætores, quæstoresque <sup>6</sup> capiebantur? cum ex omnibus provinciis commeatu, et privato, et publico prohibebamur?

Mithridates and Tigranes. Compare the language of PLUTARCH (*Vit. Pomp.* c. 30), in speaking of the provisions of the act: *τοῦτο δ' ἡνὶ οὐκ εἰνὶ συλλήβδην γενέσθαι τὴν 'Ρωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν.*

<sup>1</sup> *Re.* "By facts." The allusion is to the proper use made by Pompey of the extensive power conferred upon him in the piratical war.

<sup>2</sup> *Pro tua summa copia, &c.* "With that rich fluency and eminent talent for speaking that are yours." The eloquence of Hortensius was of the class called Asiatic, being rather showy and declamatory than solid and powerful.

<sup>3</sup> *Virum fortē A. Gabiniū, &c.* Cicero calls Gabinius a courageous man from the spirit he displayed in carrying through his law amid the strenuous opposition of the senate. One of his colleagues in the tribuneship, L. Trebellius, interposed his veto, and assured the senate that he would rather lose his life than suffer the law to pass. Gabinius thereupon proposed to the people to deprive Trebellius of his magistracy, and the tribes having made great progress in voting upon this proposition, and the popular voice appearing decidedly against him, Trebellius became intimidated, and withdrew his intercession. An account of the whole proceeding is given by Dio Cassius, (36, 8, *seqq.*) and by Asconius, (*ad Cic. orat. 1, pro Cornelio*, p. 964,) from which it appears, that Trebellius persisted after seventeen tribes had declared against him, and only yielded when the eighteenth, which would have made a majority, were about to vote in the same manner.

<sup>4</sup> *Graviter ornateque.* "Forcibly and eloquently." Compare note 5, page 250.

<sup>5</sup> *Vera causa.* "The cause of truth," i. e. the true interests of the state.—*Teneremus.* "We would still retain."

<sup>6</sup> *Capiebantur.* "Were frequently made captives," i. e. by the pirates.—*Commeatu.* "From supplies."

<sup>7</sup> *Ut neque privatam rem, &c.* "That we could no longer transact any business, either of a private or a public nature, beyond the sea." The *res transmarinæ* private refer to the private operations of the

um ita clausa erant nobis maria omnia, <sup>7</sup> ut neque privatam  
in transmarinam neque publicam jam obire possemus?

XVIII. (54.) QUÆ civitas antea umquam fuit, <sup>8</sup> non dico  
theniensium, quæ satis late quondam mare tenuisse dicitur,  
in <sup>9</sup> Carthaginiensium, qui permultum classe maritimisque  
bus valuerunt, non <sup>10</sup> Rhodiorum, quorum usque ad nostram  
memoriam disciplina navalis et gloria remansit: quæ civitas  
tea umquam <sup>11</sup> tam tenuis, quæ tam parva insula fuit, quæ  
in portus suos, et agros, et aliquam partem regionis atque  
maritimæ per se ipsa defenderet? At hercle, <sup>12</sup> aliquot annos  
continuos ante <sup>13</sup> legem Gabiniam, ille populus Romanus,  
jus, usque ad nostram memoriam, nomen invictum in na-  
libus pugnis permanerat, <sup>14</sup> magna ac multo maxima parte  
modo utilitatis, sed dignitatis atque imperii caruit: (55.)  
quorum majores <sup>15</sup> Antiochum regem classe <sup>16</sup> Persenque

man traders; the publicæ, to the revenues in the transmarine provinces.

<sup>8</sup> Non dico Atheniensium, &c. "I do not say of the Athenians, who are said to have held, in former days, a very wide dominion over the sea."

<sup>9</sup> Carthaginiensium. The orthography *Carthago* and *Carthaginienses* more correct than *Karthago* and *Karthaginienses*. Consult *Ruperti, L. Sil. Ital. 1, 3, var. lect.* [This is an error, but to avoid singularity in the text, I have allowed the orthography to stand.]

<sup>10</sup> Rhodiorum. The Rhodians were still celebrated for their naval skill and discipline, and their former glory was still fresh in remembrance.

<sup>11</sup> Tam tenuis. "So feeble."—Aliquam partem regionis. "Some portion at least of her territory."

<sup>12</sup> Aliquot annos continuos. "For several successive years."—Invic-  
tus. "As ever associated with victory."

<sup>13</sup> [Cn. Piso, M. Aulus Glabrio, Css. Aulus Gabinius proposed:—That the war with the pirates should be entrusted to one man for three years. II. That the power of this commander should supersede all other authority. III. That he should have under him a certain number of lieutenants named by the senate.]

<sup>14</sup> Magna ac multo maxima, &c. "Felt themselves deprived of a  
sea, aye, and by far the largest share, not only of their revenues, but  
their dignity and their empire. *Utilitatis*, more literally, "of what  
ought contribute to their advantage."

<sup>15</sup> Antiochum. [This monarch was conquered in three successive battles, Antiochus being defeated A.U.C. 563, at Thermopylæ by M. Curius Glabrio, A. Acilius, the Roman admiral off the island of Lesbos, excepted and conquered the king's fleet. C. Livius, aided by Eu-  
enes, king of Pergamus, defeated Polyxenidas, the king's admiral, sinking thirteen ships and sinking ten; next year Polyxenidas was defeated by Æmilius, at Corcyra, with the loss of forty-two ships.]

<sup>16</sup> Persenque. No trace appears in history of any naval victory over

superarunt, omnibusque navalibus pugnis Carthaginum homines<sup>1</sup> in maritimis rebus exercitatissimos paratissimi vicerunt, <sup>2</sup> ii nullo in loco jam praedonibus pares esse mus: nos, qui antea non modo Italiam tutam habuimus omnes socios in ultimis oris auctoritate nostri salvos<sup>3</sup> præstare poteramus: tum, cum insula Delos procul a nobis in Ægeo mari posita,<sup>4</sup> quo omnes undique mercibus atque oneribus commeabant, referta divitiis sine muro,<sup>5</sup> nihil timebat; <sup>6</sup> iidem non modo provinciis oris Italiæ maritimis, ac portibus nostris, sed etiam jam via carebamus; et his temporibus non pudebat in

Perses. After his defeat at Pydna, by Paulus Aemilius, he took refuge in the island of Samothrace, where he surrendered himself to the Roman general Cn. Octavius, who had been sent thither with a fleet by the consul. A naval triumph was decreed to Octavius, but it is probable that he had not even been bestowed upon him for receiving Perses as his prisoner for any actual engagement; and hence Livy (45, 42) calls it, “*tum sine captivis, sine spoliis.*” It is more than probable, however, that Cicero alludes to some actual conflict, an account of which has come down to us. [Steinmetz cites from Livy, xlvi. 42. *Cn. kalendis Decembribus* (A. 586), *de rege Perseo navalem triumphum*]

<sup>1</sup> *In maritimis rebus, &c.* “Most experienced, and abundantly supplied with every thing requisite in maritime affairs.”

<sup>2</sup> *Ii.* We have nothing in our own idiom analogous to the usage of *ii* for the first person. In rendering, we may consider it equivalent here to *nos tales*, i. e. (*nos, tales, cum essemus,*) “We, the fathers,” i. e. we, though descended from such fathers.

<sup>3</sup> *Præstare poteramus.* “Could show forth to the world.” This is here equivalent to *exhibere* or *ostendere*.—*Tum, cum.* “In those days.”

<sup>4</sup> *Quo omnes, &c.* The port of Delos was a convenient place for those who sailed from Italy or Greece to Asia.—*Refertur.* “Though filled to overflowing with riches.” Literally, “crowded.”

<sup>5</sup> *Nihil timebat.* Because the Roman power was then what it was, and Delos relied securely on this for protection.

<sup>6</sup> *Iidem, &c.* “We, that same people, were deprived of the Appian way, not only our provinces, and the whole sea-coast of Italy, and its harbours, but even now at length of the Appian way.” The position of *jam*, in the latter member of this sentence, is probably equivalent here to *jam tandem*.

<sup>7</sup> *Appia via.* This road led through Capua, to Brundisium (see the Geographical Index.) The part of it which approached the sea appears to have been infested by the pirates, who probably had their places on shore.

<sup>8</sup> *In hunc ipsum locum.* Alluding to the rostra.—*Escendit.* An old form for *ascendere*. Grævius first gave this reading from his MSS., and he has been followed by Ernesti, Schütz, Ore

us populi Romani, <sup>8</sup> in hunc ipsum locum escendere, cum  
um vobis majores vestri <sup>9</sup> exuviis nauticis et classium spoliis  
matum reliquissent!

XIX. (56.) <sup>10</sup> BONO te animo tum, Q. Hortensi, populus  
omanus, et ceteros, qui erant in eadem sententia, dicere  
istimavit ea, quæ sentiebatis; sed tamen <sup>11</sup> in salute com-  
uni idem populus Romanus dolori suo maluit, quam auc-  
ritati vestræ obtemperare. Itaque <sup>12</sup> una lex, unus vir,  
nus annus, non modo nos illa miseria ac turpitudine liber-  
it: sed etiam effecit, ut aliquando vere videremur omnibus  
ntibus ac nationibus terra marique imperare. (57.) <sup>13</sup> Quo

here. The orator may purposely have used the old form here, to call early times to the minds of his hearers, and show how the manners of the latter day to which he alludes (*his temporibus*) had degenerated from the practice of their fathers.

<sup>8</sup> *Exuviis nauticis, &c.* "Adorned with naval trophies and the bills of fleets." The *rostra* was adorned with the beaks (*rostris*) of ships taken in early times from the Antiatines. Consult *Liv.* 8, 14, d note 2, page 208.

<sup>9</sup> *Bono animo.* "In the sincerity of your heart," i. e. with a fair and honest intention. Cicero alludes to the opposition made by Horatius and others to the passing of the Gabinian law, he allows them the utmost sincerity in their opposition, but adds, that the Roman people, though fully aware of the honesty of their intentions in endeavouring to defeat that law, took the true view of the case and passed it. And so (this is the tacit inference to be drawn from what says) will they again act on the present occasion. [Hortensius and Balbus had gained over two tribunes, Trebellius and Roscius, to give a *non-veto* on the law. Gabinius proposed to degrade Trebellius from the tribunate, thus imitating the example of Gracchus against Tiberius. See note 3, page 258.]

<sup>10</sup> *In salute communi.* "In a case involving the common safety."—*Dolor suo.* "Their own feelings of indignant grief." *Dolor*, in its primitive signification, means the smart attendant upon a wound. It comes, therefore, a very strong term, when applied, in a figurative use, to the moral feelings.

<sup>11</sup> *Una lex.* The Gabinian law.—*Unus vir.* Pompey.—*Unus annus,* i.e. 686, the year previous to that in which this oration was delivered. Cicero does not of course, mean that it took the entire year to bring out the change alluded to, but that a single year saw the power of pirates at its height, and that same power annihilated by Pompey.

<sup>12</sup> *Quo mihi, &c.* On which account it appears to me even the more worthy, that opposition should have been hitherto made, shall I say Gabinius, or to Pompeius, or to both of them? (which is nearer the truth,) in order that Aulus Gabinius might not be appointed a lieutenant to Cneius Pompeius, though earnestly desiring, and in fact demanding him for one." [The senate, in order to disappoint the private

mihi etiam indignus videtur obtrectatum esse adhuc,  
Gabinio dicam, an Pompeio, an <sup>et</sup> triquis? (id quod est  
verius;). ne legaretur A. Gabinius Cn. Pompeio experteni  
ac postulanti. Utrum ille, qui postulat legatum ad tantum  
bellum, quem velit, idoneus non est, qui impetrat, cum  
<sup>1</sup>ceteri ad expilandoe socioe diripiendisque provincias, quo  
voluerunt, legatos eduxerint; an <sup>2</sup> ipse, cuius lege salus <sup>3</sup>  
dignitas populo Romano atque omnibus gentibus constituta

views of Gabinius, refused to nominate him among the fifteen who were chosen to accompany Pompey.] The transaction to which Cicero here alludes was simply this. Aulus Gabinius procures a law to be passed, investing Pompey with supreme command. When the latter obtains this appointment he wishes to have Gabinius as one of his lieutenants, but meets with so decided an opposition as to be compelled to abandon the idea. Cicero complains of this opposition to Pompey's wishes, and insists, that Gabinius ought to be preferred to every other individual. It must be evident to any one, who will take the trouble of reflecting only a moment on the subject, that the opposition to Gabinius was perfectly proper, and that Cicero does himself very little credit by the course which he takes in relation to it. The whole affair had too much the appearance of a corrupt transaction, a mere matter of hagis and sale, and the precedent would have been a dangerous one for the interests of the state, and the purity of legislation. Gabinius was, in fact, a man of infamous character; and it is amusing to see how clear-sighted Cicero subsequently became, respecting the merits and standing of this individual. In the speech delivered by the Roman orator before the senate, after his return from banishment, he paints the character of Gabinius in the strongest and most revolting colours. He describes him as a man polluted by every excess; as one, whose only refuge from imprisonment, for numerous debts, was the inviolability of his person as tribune. He alludes also to the law which this same Gabinius had procured, respecting the appointment of Pompey against the pirates, and then adds, that, had he not caused this law to be passed *his own necessities would have driven him to turn pirate himself.* And yet this is the very man, whom Cicero, certainly with a full knowledge of his character, recommends to the notice and approbation of his countrymen!

<sup>1</sup> *Ceteri.* "Your other commanders."—*Ad expilandoe socioe*, &c. Cicero knew perfectly well, notwithstanding all that he says here, that Gabinius, if an opportunity should offer, would do the very same things which are here condemned.

<sup>2</sup> *Ipsa.* Referring to Gabinius.—*Constituta est.* "Have been placed on a sure basis."

<sup>3</sup> *Qui consilio ipsius, &c.* "Who have been called into action by his own counsels, and at his own individual risk." Literally, "who have been appointed," or "set on foot." *Pericula.* Because, if anything adverse should befall Pompey, the blame would fall on Gabinius.

<sup>4</sup> *Honoris causa.* "With the utmost respect." *Honoris causa vero.*

st, expers esse debet gloriæ imperatoris atque ejus exercitus, <sup>3</sup> qui consilio ipsius atque periculo est constitutus?

58.) An C. Falcidius, Q. Metellus, Q. Cælius Latiniensis, Cn. Lentulus, quos omnes <sup>4</sup> honoris causa nomino, cum triuni plebis fuissent, <sup>5</sup> anno proximo legati esse potuerunt; in hoc uno Gabinio sunt tam diligentes, qui in hoc bello, ius lege Gabinia geritur, in hoc imperatore atque exercitu, ius <sup>7</sup> per vos ipse constituit, etiam præcipuo jure esse speret? <sup>8</sup> de quo legando spero consules ad senatum rela-

ssequently means, "out of respect," and is then equivalent to *honorandi causa*.

<sup>4</sup> *Anno proximo*. No one, who had been a tribune of the commons, could fill the office of lieutenant under a general appointed to a command during the magistracy of the former, until a year had elapsed since the period of his retiring from the tribuneship. The object of this regulation was to prevent bribery and intrigue. Cicero, however, has some instances here of a violation of this rule, and of ex-tribunes having been appointed lieutenants the very next year after they had laid down their tribuneships.

<sup>5</sup> *In hoc uno Gabinio, &c.* "Are people so scrupulous in the case of Gabinius alone, who, as far as regards this war, which is waged in accordance with a law of his own proposing, as far as regards this commander and army, whom he himself has called into action through our suffrages, ought to enjoy even an especial right of being appointed?" i. e. ought to be preferred to all other applicants. From the language of Plutarch, and the provisions of the Gabinian law, it would appear that Pompey had the right to select his own lieutenants. If, so much opposition to Gabinius must have been grounded on the previously existing Æbutian law, and the infamy of his private character must have made this opposition the more formidable. The Æbutian, which appears to have been the same with the Licinian law, forbade the proponer of a law, concerning any charge or power, assuming that charge or power, or deriving any advantage from it. The same prohibition was extended also to his colleagues, relations, &c. The principle on which this law was founded, is very neatly stated by CICERO (*Agr.* 2, 8, *et Rull.*): "*Etenim, si populo consulis, remore te a suspicione alicujus tui ommodi: fac fidem, te nihil, nisi populi utilitatem et fructum querere: ne ad alios potestatem, ad te gratiam beneficii tui pervenire.*"

<sup>7</sup> *Per vos ipse*. Gruter first proposed this reading from two MSS., and it has been adopted by Grævius, Beck, Shiitz, and many other editors. Ernesti, however, retains the common lection, *per se ipse*, making *per se* refer to the law which Gabinius proposed and exerted himself to have passed. He doubts the Latinity of *per vos* in conjunction with *ipse*; but this is, in fact, the very language required by the occasion, *ipse* referring to the individual exertions of Gabinius, and *per vos* to their being crowned with success by the suffrages of the people.

<sup>8</sup> *De quo legando, &c.* "I hope the consuls will consult the senate

turos. Qui si dubitabunt, <sup>1</sup> aut gravabuntur, <sup>2</sup> ego profiteor relaturum; neque me impediet cuiusquam, <sup>3</sup> inimicum edictum, quo minus, fretus vobis, vest beneficiumque defendam: neque, <sup>4</sup> præter interces quidquam audiam; de qua (ut arbitror) isti ipsi, nantur, etiam atque etiam, quid liceat, considerabun quidem sententia, Quirites, unus A. Gabinius, belli i reruunque gestarum Cn. Pompeio <sup>5</sup> socius adscribitu terea quod <sup>6</sup> alter uni id bellum suscipiendum vestri giis detulit; alter delatum susceptumque confecit.

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relative to his appointment as lieutenant," i. e. will lay the w ter before them, and get that body to interpose their auth<sup>r</sup> sanction the appointment. The consuls of this year were Lej Volcatius Tullus. (Consult SICONIUS, *Fast. Cons.* p. 480, ed. 1

<sup>1</sup> *Aut gravabuntur.* "Or shall raise any difficulties." G here used in a deponent sense.

<sup>2</sup> *Ego memet profiteor relaturum.* "I openly declare that will lay the matter before them." In place of the common *me*, we have given *memet* on the suggestion of Gœrenz, *Ad* 2, 16. Nothing could be laid before the senate against the w consuls. The prætors, of which class of magistrates Cicer this time a member, could only convene the senate when th were absent from the city, and could at these times only lay s ters before them as they pleased. It will be perceived, there the language of Cicero, on the present occasion, partakes of t of a mere boast, and is intended to conciliate the favour of the n He declares, that, if the consuls hold back, he himself will requisite application to the senate, in spite of them and of a cum edictum which they make in order to stop him; and that short of the intercession of the tribunes would keep him b knew very well, however, that the consuls had the power to rest

<sup>3</sup> *Inimicum edictum.* "The unfriendly edict," i. e. on the pa consuls, and aimed at his intended motion in the senate.—*Ves beneficiumque.* "The right and the favour which you have co The Gabinian law gave Pompey the right of selecting his o tenants. (Consult note 13, page 261.) By *beneficium* is meant of favour which the granting of this right implied.

<sup>4</sup> *Præter intercessionem.* "Short of intercession," i. e. the tri veto.—*De qua.* Referring to this intercession.—*Quid liceat c bunt.* "Will do well to consider how far their power may i. e. will take care, if they value their own tranquillity, not t the power vested in them by the laws. [It is a mistake to co intercessio to the tribunes only; "*intercedendi, ne senatus c fieret, jus fuisse iis solis, qui eadem potestate, quod ii, qui senatus c facere vellent, majoreve essent.*"]

<sup>5</sup> *Socius adscribitur.* "Is a fit person to be added as a comp arms to Pompey." *Adscribitur* is here equivalent to *dignus adscribatur*.

**X. (59.) RELIQUUM** est <sup>7</sup> ut de Q. Catuli auctoritate et entia dicendum esse videatur; qui cum ex vobis quæres si in uno Cn. Pompeio omnia posueretis, si quid de eo in esset, in quo spem essetis habituri; <sup>8</sup> cepit magnum virtutis fructum, ac dignitatis, cum omnes, prope una, “in ipso vos spem habituros esse” dixistis. Etenim is est vir, ut nulla res tanta sit ac tam difficilis, quam non <sup>11</sup> et consilio regere, et integritate tueri, et virtute cere possit. Sed in hoc ipso ab eo <sup>12</sup> vehementissime dissentio, quod, quo minus certa est hominum ac minus

*4ter.* Referring to Gabinius.—*Uni.* “To a particular com-  
er.”—*Alter.* “That commander.” Literally, “the other.”  
*It dicendum esse videatur.* Cicero appears to adopt this phrase-  
on purpose here, as if the arguments of Catulus, on the present  
ion, seemed to him too weak to require a formal and laboured  
ation.

*Si in uno Cn. Pompeio, &c.* “In what person, if you made all expectations centre in Cneius Pompeius, were you going to place hope, in case aught should befall him.” The expression, *si quid de cunctis esset*, is a euphemism, for “in case he should die.” The mention of death is omitted as ill-omened. We have restored, the old reading, with Heumannus, Matthiæ, and others. The adopted by most editors, from the time of Lambinus, is *si quid sum esset*, omitting *de*.

*Cepit magnum, &c.* “Reaped the rich harvest of his own virtues high standing.”—*In ipso.* “In himself.” The anecdote here add to is a very pleasing one. In an oration to the people, during discussion on the Gabinian law, Catulus asked them whom they had to supply Pompey's place, in case that individual should be off. The people exclaimed with almost one accord, “Te Quinte!” “You, Quintus Catulus.” And thus the Roman people, as ius Maximus remarks, made Catulus the equal of Pompey and of glory. (VAL. MAX. 8, 15, 9.) Catulus, it seems, according to reh's account, was arguing against the propriety of investing ey with the command in the piratical war, on the ground that people ought to spare him, and not to expose such a man to so dangers. (VIT. POMP. c. 25.) The common text has *in eo ipso*. Several MSS. omit *eo*, and besides, as Lambinus and Matthiæ truly remark, it would refer to Pompey, not to Catulus. It is add in consequence, by Lambinus, Weiske, and Matthiæ, and ed within brackets by Orellius.

*Iatis est vir, &c.* This praise was as richly deserved by Catulus, as seems to have been sincere in bestowing it. Compare *De Off.*

“Miki quidem neque, pueris nobis, M. Scaurus C. Mario, neque, rearemur in re publica, Q. Catulus Cn. Pompeio cedere videbatur.”

*Et consilio regere, &c.* “Both direct by his counsels, and support integrity, and accomplish by his valour.”

*Vehementissime dissentio.* Compare note 9, above.—*Quo minus*

diuturna vita, hoc magis res publica, dum per deos immortales licet, frui debet summi hominis vita atque virtute.—(60.)<sup>1</sup> At enim nihil novi fiat contra exempla atque instituta majorum.—<sup>2</sup> Non dico hoc loco, maiores nostros semper in pace consuetudini, in bello utilitati paruisse, semper ad novos casus temporum, novorum consiliorum rationes accommodasse: <sup>3</sup> non dicam, duo bella maxima, Punicum et Hispaniense, ab <sup>4</sup> uno imperatore esse confecta: duas urbes potentissimas, quæ huic imperio maxime minitabantur, Carthaginem atque Numantiam, ab eodem Scipione ~~em~~ deletas: <sup>5</sup> non commemorabo, nuper ita vobis patribusque vestris esse visum, ut in uno C. Mario spes imperii poneatur, ut idem cum Jugurtha, idem cum Cimbris, idem cum

*certa, &c.* “The more uncertain and brief that human life is.”—*Pro summi hominis, &c.* “To avail itself of the days and talents of a distinguished individual.” More freely, “to avail itself of the talents of a great man, as long as his life is spared to his country.”

<sup>1</sup> *At enim, &c.* The elliptical use of *at enim* here may best be explained by a paraphrase: “*But,*” remarks Catulus, “this whole proceeding is an improper one, *for* let no innovation be made, contrary to the precedents and institutions of our fathers.” Cicero proceeds to meet an objection urged by Catulus, that it was not right for the state to be dependent upon, and to have all its hopes centred in, a single individual. He cites, in opposition to this doctrine, the examples of Scipio the younger, and Marius.

<sup>2</sup> *Non dico hoc loco, &c.* “I urge not in reply here, that our fathers always consulted in peace established usage, in war utility; that they always adapted new plans to new emergencies.” *Novorum consiliorum rationes*, literally, “the plans of new counsels,” i. e. new plans which had been made the subject of previous deliberation.

<sup>3</sup> *Non dicam, &c.* “I will not say, how two very important wars,” &c. Cicero will not dwell on these points, or make any formal reply. It is sufficient merely to glance at them.—*Punicum.* The third Punic war.—*Hispaniense.* The war with Numantia.

<sup>4</sup> *Uno imperatore.* The younger Scipio.

<sup>5</sup> *Non commemorabo, &c.* “I will not remind you, that, but a few years ago, this course appeared a proper one to you and your fathers, that the hopes of the empire should be made to centre in the single person of Caius Marius; that this same individual,” &c.

<sup>6</sup> *In ipso Cn. Pompeio, &c.* “Recall to your recollections, how many things of a novel nature have been done by you, with the full approbation of Quintus Catulus, in the case of that same Cneius Pompeius, with regard to whom Quintus Catulus now wishes nothing of a novel nature to be adopted,” i. e. how many innovations on established usage, &c. These are enumerated immediately after.

<sup>7</sup> *Summa Q. Catuli voluntate.* This is the very neat emendation of Grævius from one of his MSS. The old reading was *summaque Catuli*

Teutonis bellum administraret: (61.) <sup>6</sup>in ipso Cn. Pompeio, in quo novi constitui nihil vult Q. Catulus, quam multa sint nova <sup>7</sup>summa Q. Catuli voluntate constituta, recordamini.

**XXI.** **Quid** <sup>8</sup>enim tam novum, quam <sup>9</sup>adolescentulum, privatum, exercitum diffici rei publicæ tempore <sup>10</sup>conficere? —confecit:—huic præesse?—præfuit:—rem <sup>11</sup>optime ductu suo gerere?—gessit. Quid tam præter consuetudinem, quam homini peradolescenti, <sup>12</sup>cujus a senatorio gradu ætas longe abesset, imperium atque exercitum dari? Siciliam permitti, atque Africam, bellumque in ea administrandum? Fuit in his provinciis singulari innocentia, gravitate, virtute: bellum in Africa maximum <sup>13</sup>confecit, victorem exercitum deportavit. Quid vero tam inauditum, quam <sup>14</sup>equitem

voluntate. The prænomen *Q.* is often changed, in the MSS., into the conjunction *que*. The connective is not wanted here.

<sup>8</sup> *Enim.* Referring to what immediately precedes (*quam multa sint novi, &c.*), and therefore very unnecessarily bracketed by some editors.

<sup>9</sup> *Adolescentulum.* Pompey was, at the time here alluded to, in the twenty-third year of his age. Compare note 3, page 236.—*Privatum.* "Holding no official station." [Pompey had rendered numerous services to the aristocracy. He gained the popular favour by promising the restoration of the tribunitian power, and reform in the courts of justice; both which he effected in his consulship. The latter by the *lex Aurelia*. (See ARN. vol. i. 288.)]

<sup>10</sup> *Conficere.* "To levy." More literally, "to get together." The allusion in the text is to Pompey's levying an army, and marching with it to the aid of Sylla. Compare note 3, page 236.

<sup>11</sup> *Optime.* "Most successfully."—*Ductu suo.* "Under his own guidance," i. e. in person. When a Roman commander performed any thing in person, he was said to do it *ductu*, or *auspicio suo*.

<sup>12</sup> *Cujus a senatorio gradu, &c.* The senatorial age appears to have been about thirty-two. (Consult the remarks of ERNESTI, *Ind. Leg. v. Annales*.) That is, the age for enjoying the quæstorship was about thirty-one, and, after having held this office, a person was eligible into the senate. Pompey, therefore, was about eight years under the senatorial age. Plutarch informs us that Pompey, at the time alluded to by Cicero, might have easily, as a matter of favour, been admitted into the senate, but that his ambition was to pursue honour in a more common track, and to triumph before he was a senator. (*Vit. imp. c. 14.*)

<sup>13</sup> *Confecit.* "He terminated."—*Deportavit.* "He brought home." *portare* properly denotes, "to remove," or "transfer, from one place to another," as, in the present instance, from Africa to Italy.

<sup>14</sup> *Equitem Romanum triumphare.* Plutarch states, that Sylla at first opposed Pompey's demand for a triumph, on this occasion, alleging that he was too young, and not yet of an age to be admitted into the

Romanum triumphare? <sup>1</sup> At eam quoque rem popi Romanus non modo vidit, sed etiam studio omni visu et concelebrandam putavit. (62.) Quid tam inusitat quam ut, cum <sup>2</sup> duo consules clarissimi fortissimique ess eques Romanus ad bellum maximum formidolosissimur pro consule mitteretur? Missus est. Quo quidem temp cum esset <sup>3</sup> nonnemo in senatu, qui diceret, "Non opor mitti hominem privatum <sup>4</sup> pro consule;" <sup>5</sup> L. Philippus dicitur, "Non se illum sua sententia pro consule sed consulibus mittere." Tanta in eo rei publicæ bene gere spes constituebatur, ut duorum consulum munus unius lescensis virtuti committeretur. Quid tam singulare, q ut, ex senatusconsulto <sup>6</sup> legibus solutus, consul ante fu quam ullum alium magistratum per leges capere licuis

senate. Pompey, not in the least intimidated, bade Sylla con "that more worshipped the rising than the setting sun," intim that his own power was increasing, while that of Sylla was on decline. Sylla did not distinctly hear what he said, but perceiving the looks and gestures of those present, that they were struck by Pompey had uttered, he asked what it was, and, when he w formed, in admiration of Pompey's spirit, he cried out, "Let triumph, let him triumph."

<sup>1</sup> At eam quoque rem, &c. In Cicero's account of this triumph mention whatever is made of any decree of the senate, or order o people to that effect. The reason is this: Sylla, being dictator, all the power of the state in his own hands, and awarded p honours without consulting either senate or people.

<sup>2</sup> *Duo consules.* D. Junius Brutus and M. Æmilius Lepidus, 676.—*Bellum maximum;* &c. The war against Sertorius.

<sup>3</sup> *Nonnemo.* "An individual." The student will note the differ between *nonnemo* and *nemo non*; the former being equivalent *aliquis*, the latter to *omnes*.

<sup>4</sup> *Pro consule.* "In place of a consul," i. e. with proconsular p The expression *pro consule*, or *proconsul*, was applied, among Romans, not merely to one who, after having filled the consulship sent out, the next year, to govern a province or execute some ticular charge; but, as in the present instance, to one sent in place of a consul.

<sup>5</sup> *L. Philippus.* A senator of great influence and weight of char —*Pro consulibus.* Intimating, by this peculiar turn of expression opinion of the incapacity of both the consuls for that year. consuls were M. Lepidus and Q. Catulus; A.U.C. 675.

<sup>6</sup> *Legibus solutus.* The laws here referred to were the *Lex I* and two of the *Leges Corneliae*. They were often called by a gen term *Leges Annales*, from their fixing the ages for holding the diff offices in the state. Thus, the quæstorship could not be enjoyed one had reached the age of 31 years, the ædileship 37, praetorshi

quid tam incredibile, quam ut <sup>7</sup> iterum eques Romanus <sup>8</sup> ex senatusconsulto triumpharet? <sup>9</sup> quæ in omnibus hominibus nova post hominum memoriam constituta sunt, ea tam multa non sunt, quam haec, quæ in hoc uno homine vidimus. (63.) Atque haec tot exempla, tanta ac tam nova, <sup>10</sup> profecta sunt in eundem hominem a Q. Catuli atque a ceterorum ejusdem dignitatis amplissimorum hominum auctoritate.

\* **XXII.** Quare videant, ne sit periniquum et non ferendum, Morum auctoritatem <sup>11</sup> de Cn. Pompeii dignitate a vobis ~~comprobata~~ semper esse: vestrum ab illis de eodem homine judicium, populique Romani auctoritatem improbari: præsertim cum jam suo jure populus Romanus in hoc homine suam auctoritatem vel contra omnes, qui <sup>12</sup> dissentiant, possit defendere: propterea quod, iisdem istis recla-

and consulship 43. Such, at least, was the rule in Cicero's time. (Ernesti, *Index Legum*, s. v. *Annales*.) Now, Pompey was elected ~~consul~~ before he was full 36 years old, that is, before he was of sufficient age to obtain the ~~consul~~ship, which was the first office properly filled *magistratus*, although that title is often applied also to the *quaestorship* and *tribuneship*. Ferratius explains the words *ante quam* *alium magistratum*, &c., in a different manner. He supposes, that there was either an old law, revived by Sylla, or else a new one passed by him, which enacted, that no one who had not filled the office of *quaestor* could be a candidate for any other and higher office; and that, as Pompey had never been *quaestor*, he was, of course, legally excluded from the consulship. Cicero's words, however, by no means favour this interpretation. What, in such an event, becomes of *ante* *quæ*?

<sup>1</sup> *Iterum.* Alluding to Pompey's second triumph, which was granted him for his successes over the remains of the army of Sertorius, in Spain, after the death of that commander.

<sup>2</sup> *Ex senatusconsulto.* Sylla had overthrown the tribunitian power, and, in consequence of this, the whole administration of the state, for some time after his death, centred in the senate. Hence, at the period referred to in the text, this order, and not the people, had the right of *granting a triumph*.

<sup>3</sup> *Quæ in omnibus hominibus*, &c. "Whatever precedents of a novel nature have been established in the case of all men, within human ~~membranes~~," &c.

<sup>4</sup> *Profecta sunt in eundem hominem*, &c. "Have taken their rise, for the same individual, from the express recommendation of Quintus Catulus," &c., i. e. have been established in favour of Pompey by the ~~any~~ recommendation of Catulus, &c.

<sup>5</sup> *De Cn. Pompeii dignitate.* "Concerning the elevation of Cneius Pompeius," i. e. his advancement in the state, and to public and ~~personal~~ honours.

<sup>6</sup> *Dissentiant.* We have adopted Ernesti's conjecture. The common

m̄tibus, vos unum illum ex omnibus delegistis, quem bello prædonum præponeretis. (64.) Hoc si vos <sup>1</sup> temere fecisti, et rei publicæ parum consuluitis; recte isti studia vestra suis consiliis regere conantur: <sup>2</sup> sin autem vos plus tum <sup>3</sup> ita re publica vidistis; vos, his repugnantibus, per vosmet ipsos dignitatem huic imperio, salutem orbi terrarum attulisti: aliquando isti principes, et sibi, et ceteris, populi Romani universi auctoritati parendum esse fateantur. [Atque in hoc bello Asiatico et regio, non solum <sup>4</sup> militaris illa virtus, quæ est in Cn. Pompeio singularis, sed aliæ quoque virtutes animi multæ et magnæ requiruntur. Difficile est in Asia, Cilicia, Syria, regnisque <sup>5</sup> interiorum nationum <sup>6</sup> ita versari vestrum imperatorem, ut nihil aliud, nisi de hoste ac de laude, cogitet. Deinde etiam <sup>7</sup> si qui sunt pudore ac tem-

text has dissentient.—*Iisdem istis reclamantibus.* Hortensius, Catulus, and other senators, had likewise opposed the Gabinian law. We give *iisdem* before *istis*, with Mattheæ and Orellius, from several MSS. It does not appear in the common text.

<sup>1</sup> *Temere.* “Rashly.”—*Studia vestra suis consiliis regere.* “To regulate your wishes by their counsels,” i. e. to interpose their authority and advice, and prevent you from blindly following the mere impulse of feeling, and from listening to the dictates of personal attachment, when these are in opposition to the public good.

<sup>2</sup> *Sin autem vos, &c.* “But if, on the contrary, you saw more clearly, on that occasion, than they did, what was for the interest of the state; if you, notwithstanding their opposition, did, by your own unaided efforts, bestow dignity upon this empire, and safety upon the world; let those leaders of the senate at length acknowledge, that both they, and the rest of their order, must yield obedience to the recommendation of the Roman people at large,” i. e. must not oppose the advancement of that individual whom the Roman people, with one voice, recommended as worthy of the highest honours.

<sup>3</sup> *In re publica.* Literally, “in what concerned the republic.”—*Per vosmet ipsos.* The allusion is to the suffrages of the people, as unbiassed by the high standing of those who opposed the Gabinian law, and in opposition to their advice.—*Isti principes.* “Let those leaders of the senate.”

<sup>4</sup> *Militaris illa virtus, &c.* “That military talent, which exists in a singular degree in Cneius Pompeius.”—*Virtutes animi.* “Qualities of mind.”

<sup>5</sup> *Interiorum nationum.* “Of the more inland nations,” i. e. of the nations that are removed from the shores of the Mediterranean, and do not, like the countries just named, border upon them.

<sup>6</sup> *Ita versari vestrum imperatorem, &c.* “For a commander of yours to so conduct himself, as to think of nothing but the foe and renown.” Cicero means, that, in countries at a distance from Italy, and from

parantia moderatores, tamen eos esse tales, propter multitudinem cupidorum hominum, nemo arbitratur. (65.) Difficile est dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio simus apud exteras nationes, propter eorum, <sup>8</sup> quos ad eas per hos annos sum imperio misimus, <sup>9</sup> injurias ac libidines. <sup>10</sup> Quod enim fanum putatis in illis terris nostris magistratibus religiosum, quam civitatem sanctam, quam domum satis clausam ac munitam fuisse? urbes jam locupletes ac copiosæ <sup>11</sup> requiruntur, quibus causa belli, propter diripiendi cupiditatem inferatur. (66.) <sup>12</sup> Libenter hæc coram cum Q. Catulo et Q. Hortensio, summis et clarissimis viris disputarem; poverunt enim sociorum vulnera: vident eorum calamitates: querimonias audiunt. Pro sociis vos contra hostes exercitum mittere putatis, an, <sup>13</sup> hostium simulatione, contra socios atque amicos? quæ civitas est in Asia, <sup>14</sup> quæ non

which, of course, complaints could less easily be brought to Rome, the temptation was a very strong one for Roman commanders to abuse their power, and turn their thoughts from the path of duty to views of self-interest and the indulgence of a rapacious spirit.

<sup>8</sup> *Si qui sunt, &c.* "If there be any held under more restraint than others, by a sense of shame and a habit of self-control, no one thinks that they are really such, in consequence of the vast number of the rapacious," i. e. no one gives them credit for being sincere. A rapacious spirit is so sure a mark of a Roman commander, that, when one is found without it, he is merely thought to be acting an insincere part, and laying claim to a purity and disinterestedness which he does not really possess.

<sup>9</sup> *Quos ad eas, &c.* Alluding particularly to Glabrio, but applicable in fact to the conduct of almost all the Roman proconsuls and governors of provinces, at this particular period.

<sup>10</sup> *Injurias ac libidines.* "The oppressive conduct and libidinous excesses."

<sup>11</sup> *Quod enim fanum, &c.* "For what temple, think you, in those lands, has preserved its religious character in the eyes of our magistrates; what city has been held sacred by them? what private dwelling has been sufficiently closed upon, and defended against, their violence?"

<sup>12</sup> *Requiruntur.* "Are sought for." — *Quibus causa belli inferatur.* "Against which some pretext for war may be alleged."

<sup>13</sup> *Libenter hæc coram, &c.* "Willingly would I enter upon an open discussion of these topics," &c.—*Querimonias audiunt.* Especially Hortensius, in his professional capacity.

<sup>14</sup> *Hostium simulatione.* "Under the pretence of acting against enemies, but in reality against allies and friends."

<sup>15</sup> *Quæ non modo imperatoris, &c.* "That can satisfy the grasping avidity, and the insolent pretensions, not merely of a commander, or a

Asiaticum regiumque mittatur. (67.) <sup>3</sup>Ecquam civitatem pacatam fuisse, quæ locuples sit? ecqu locupletem, quæ istis pacata esse videatur? Ora n Quirites, Cn. Pompeium non solum propter rei gloriam, sed etiam propter animi continentiam re <sup>4</sup>Videbat enim populum Romanum non locuplet tannis pecunia publica, <sup>5</sup>præter paucos; neque n

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lieutenant, but of a single tribune of the soldiers?" There military tribunes (*tribuni militum*) in every legion, and they the charge of ten centuries.

<sup>1</sup> *Collatis signis.* "When an engagement takes place." *Sign* "to advance against the foe;" *conferre*, "to engage;" *conv* face about;" *referre*, "to retreat," &c.

<sup>2</sup> *Nisi erit idem.* "Unless he shall also be one."—*Ab aur regia.* "From the gold and the treasures of kings."

<sup>3</sup> *Ecquam putatis*, &c. "Think you that any state has been by our commanders, and still remains opulent; that there is still opulent, which appears to them to be as yet completely su i. e. complete subjugation to the Roman arms only begins wh thing like opulence ends. As long as wealth remains, so long commanders of Rome consider a state hostile, and make this for plunder.

<sup>4</sup> *Videbat enim*, &c. "For it saw that the Roman people atl not enriched from year to year by the public money, but o individuals." *Videbat* refers to *ora maritima*. The old editi *populus Romanus*, which is approved of by Gronovius (*De P* 4), and retained by Grævius. Gruter and others, howe

quam aliud assequi 'classium nomine, nisi ut, detrimentis accipiendis, majore affici turpitudine videremur. Nunc, 'qua cupiditate homines in provincias, quibus jacturis, quibus conditionibus, proficiscantur, ignorant videlicet isti, qui ad unum deferenda esse omnia non arbitrantur? Quasi vero Cn. Pompeium non <sup>8</sup> cum suis virtutibus, tum etiam alienis <sup>9</sup> ritii, magnum esse videamus. (68.) <sup>10</sup>Quare nolite dubitare, prius huic uni credatis omnia, qui <sup>10</sup>inter annos tot unus aventus sit, quem socii in urbes suas cum exercitu venisse prudeant.] <sup>11</sup>Quod si auctoritatibus hanc causam, Quirites, confirmandam putatis: est vobis auctor, vir bellorum omnium maximarumque rerum peritissimus, P. Servilius: cuius tantæ res gestæ terra marique extiterunt, ut, cum <sup>12</sup> de bello deliberetis, auctor vobis gravior esse nemo debeat: est <sup>13</sup>C. Curio, summis vestris beneficiis, maximisque rebus gestis, summo

are here meant the bribes given to those in office, and to influential individuals out of office, and also to different persons throughout the tribes, for the purpose of obtaining some foreign command. The only way the individual had of reimbursing himself for these heavy expenditures was by plundering and despoiling his province. (GRONOV. *de Re Vet.* 4, 4.) Ernesti (*Clav. Cic. a. v.*) makes *conditio* equivalent here to *bounty*, an actual largess or present. It refers rather to a bargain or agreement, to be fulfilled at some future period, and for the performance of which regular security is given; or, as Gronovius (*l. c.*) explains it: "*pactio, cautionibus et syngraphis facta.*"

<sup>8</sup> *Cum suis virtutibus, &c.* "As well by his own virtues, as by the extract also of the vices of others."

<sup>9</sup> *Quare nolite, &c.* "Do not then hesitate to entrust," &c.

<sup>10</sup> *Inter annos tot.* "For so many years." Equivalent to *per tot annos*. Compare the explanation of Ernesti: "Inter tot annos est per tot annos, quod est et in Orat. Quintiana, nec esse debet Latinis auribus maxime et Gravio vicum est."—Schottus conjectured *inter tot* with an ellipsis of *imperatores*, throwing out, at the same time, *annos* from the rest. This conjecture meets with the approbation of Grævius; but the ellipsis is a very harsh one, and is justly condemned by Ernesti.

<sup>11</sup> *Quod si auctoritatibus, &c.* "But if you think that this step needs to be supported by authorities, you have, as an adviser of the measure, 'alilus Servilius,' &c. The individual here meant was P. Servilius Isauricus, who had been consul A.U.C. 674. He was sent against the Isaurians after the defeat of the prætor Antonius, and was successful in several engagements with them. For his victories over the Isaurians, a mountaineer race of Pisidia, he obtained the cognomen of Isauricus. Servilius had spoken before Cicero in favour of the law.

<sup>12</sup> *De bello.* "On any thing relating to war."—*Auctor vobis, &c.* "No one ought to be regarded by you as weightier authority."

<sup>13</sup> *C. Curio.* C. Scribonius Curio, who had enjoyed the consulship, A.U.C. 677. His colleague was Cn. Octavius.—*Summis vestris beneficiis,*

ingenio et prudentia praeditus: est<sup>1</sup> Cn. Lentulus Clodianus omnes, pro amplissimis vestris honoribus summa gravitatem esse cognovistis: est<sup>2</sup> C. Cassius, in integritate, virtute, constantia singulari. <sup>3</sup>Quare videte quae horum auctoritatibus illorum orationi, qui dicuntur respondere posse videamur.

**XXIV.** (69.) Quia cum ita sint, O. Manili, primum tuam et legem, et voluntatem, et sententiam ducit, nullum mentissimeque comprobo: deinde te hortorum, et aucto-<sup>rum</sup> populo Romano, maneas in sententia, neve cuiusque aut minas pertimescas. Primum in te satis esse animi per severantiaeque arbitror: deinde cum tantam multitudinem

&c. "Distinguished by your signal favours, and his own signal military exploits, his distinguished abilities and wisdom." Cf. Cicero's Historical Index.

<sup>1</sup> *Cn. Lentulus.* Cn. Lentulus Clodianus, consul A.U.C. 681. *In omnibus,* &c. "In whom you all know the highest wisdom, the solid merit to exist, in full accordance with the very ample favour which he has received at your hands."

<sup>2</sup> *C. Cassius.* C. Cassius Varus, consul A.U.C. 680.

<sup>3</sup> *Quare videte, &c.* "See then, whether we appear to have it in power to reply by means of these authorities to the remarks of those who differ in opinion from us." The whole sentence is ironical, as had editors generally borne this in mind, the difficulty under which they have laboured, as regards the true reading, would never have occurred. Gruter has given, for example, *videte, ut . . . videamus* from some MSS. and early editions, which Ernesti condemns very properly, but cannot, at the same time, see much to be pleased with *videte, num . . . videamur*, on account of the negative sense, while it appears to him to contain in common with Gruter's reading, as if implied that the advocates of the law were not able to answer their opponents. The truth is, he does not see the ironical meaning in Cicero's words and the idea in fact conveyed by them, that the favourers of the law are fully able to reply. Compare the explanation of SCHUTZ: "*Sensus est cum ironia: cogitate, quare, num horum auctoritates recte illis opponere posse videamur; h. e. sine dubio possumus.*" The reading we have adopted appears in some of the MSS. and early editions. [Orrelli reads *ut* for *num*.]

<sup>4</sup> *Istam tuam et legem, &c.* "Both that law, and purpose, or opinion of thine." *Voluntas.* The wish to have Pompey sent to the war. *Sententia.* The high opinion which he entertains of that commander's fitness for the present emergency.

<sup>5</sup> *Auctore populo Romano.* "Since you have the Roman people on your side." *Auctor* is used here somewhat in the sense of *defensor*. Compare ERNESTI, *Clav. Cic. a. v. § 10:* "*Defensor quicunque, alicuius rem causam gerit.*"

<sup>6</sup> *Perseverantiae.* This is the reading brought in by Gruter, from MSS. The earlier lection was *constantiae*.

ito studio adesse videamus, <sup>7</sup> quantam nunc iterum  
em homine præficiendo videmus: <sup>8</sup> quid est, quod  
re, aut de perficiendi facultate dubitemus? Ego  
quidquid in me est <sup>10</sup> studii, consilii, laboris, ingenii,  
<sup>11</sup> hoc beneficio populi Romani, atque hac potestate  
, quidquid auctoritate, fide, constantia possum; id  
d hanc rem conficiendam, tibi et populo Romano  
ac defero. (70.) Testorque omnes deos, et eos  
, <sup>12</sup> qui huic loco temploque præsident, qui omnium  
eorum, <sup>13</sup> qui ad rem publicam adeunt, maxime per-  
, me hoc neque rogatu facere cujusquam, <sup>14</sup> neque quo  
apeii gratiam mihi per hanc causam conciliari putem,

*sam nunc iterum, &c.* Most MSS., and all the editions before Grævius, together with that of Olivet, subsequent to his, have *non iterum . . . vidimus*; which makes no good meaning at all. It is better to adopt the more concise language of Ernesti, “*sine sensu est*.” The best reading was first given by Grævius, from good MSS. and has since been very generally adopted, the only remarkable point of deviation from it being in the case of Olivet. Grævius relates that, in one of his MSS., the words from *quantam* to *videmus* were omitted, from which circumstance he was induced to think that after all, they were a mere interpolation.

*dem homine præficiendo.* “In appointing the same individual man.

*est, quod, &c.* “Why should we doubt either of the propriety we are seeking to obtain, or of our means of obtaining it?” “Should we doubt either the justice or success of our proposed re. Literally, “about the thing itself.”

*ii, consilii, &c.* “Of zeal, of experience, of application, of talent.” *beneficio populi Romani.* “By means of this kindness on the part of the Roman people towards me, and this authority as prætor which I present enjoy.” *Beneficio* refers to what immediately follows, having been elected, namely, to the office of prætor.

*huic loco, &c.* “Who preside over this spot, and the consequence where I am now standing.” By *locus* is meant the forum, the immediate vicinity of which were many temples, such as those of *Castor, Concord, &c.*—The term *templo* refers to the rostra, on which Cicero was speaking. Among the Romans, every place presided over by the augurs was entitled to the appellation of *templum*.

*L. L. 6, 2.)* Compare *Cic. in Vatin. c. 10*: “*In rostris, in illo, inaugurate templo ac loco.*” So also, *Livy 8, 14*: “*Rostraque in appellatum.*”

*ad rem publicam adeunt.* “Who take part in public affairs.”

*ne quo Cn. Pompeii gratiam, &c.* As Cicero was now in the decline of his fortunes, and in sight, as it were, of the consulship, the object of his ambition, it was very natural for many to suppose, that his conduct on this occasion was governed by interested views, he sought to facilitate his own advancement, by paying court

neque quo mihi <sup>1</sup> ex cuiusquam amplitudine, aut præ periculis, aut adjumenta honoribus quæram : propterea q pericula facile, <sup>2</sup> ut hominem præstare oportet, innoce tecti repellamus : honores autem neque ab uno, neque hoc loco, sed eadem nostra illa laboriosissima <sup>3</sup> ratione v si vestra voluntas feret, consequemur. (71) Quamobr quidquid in hac causa mihi susceptum est, Quirites, id ei me rei publicæ causa suscepisse confirmo : tantumque ab ut <sup>4</sup> aliquam bonam gratiam mihi quæsisse videar, ut mu etiam similitates partim obscuras, partim apertas intellig <sup>5</sup> mihi non necessarias, vobis non inutiles, suscepisse. Sed me <sup>6</sup> hoc honore præditum, tantis vestris beneficiis affect statui, Quirites, vestram voluntatem, et rei publicæ di tatem, et salutem provinciarum atque sociorum, meis omni commodis et rationibus præferre oportere.

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to Pompey's power. He here solemnly denies the truth of the alleg. The opinion of modern times, however, is in general unfavourab his sincerity.

<sup>1</sup> *Ex cuiusquam amplitudine.* "From the elevated standing of individual."

<sup>2</sup> *Ut hominem præstare oportet.* "As a man ought to do."—*Innoc tecti.* "Shielded by innocence."

<sup>3</sup> *Ratione vitæ.* "Course of life."—*Si vestra voluntas feret.* "If inclinations shall lead you still to favour it," i. e. if your kind w shall still prompt you to favour my endeavours.

<sup>4</sup> *Aliquam bonam gratiam.* "Any favourable influence with oth —*Similitates.* "Enmities."

<sup>5</sup> *Mihi non necessarias,* &c. By pursuing his present course, C might make enemies of Lucullus and his friends, and irritate all opponents of Pompey. Labouring, as he did, under no necessi acting in this way, his doing so notwithstanding becomes a sure j of his sincerity. The public good also, as he insinuates, may b vanced by his present line of conduct, since some inquiries and ac tions may possibly follow.

<sup>6</sup> *Hoc honore.* Alluding to the prætorship.—*Meis omnibus com et rationibus.* "To all my interests and views of advantage."

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### EXCURSUS ON THE CILICIAN PIRATES.

(*From Merivale, vol. ii.*)

The great traffic which flourished for centuries between G Egypt, and Syria, presented peculiar temptation to the habi piracy ; which seem to have prevailed in those seas from the ea

The father of history traces the origin of European and Asiatic to the predatory enterprises of lawless adventurers. Such is the configuration of the coasts of Greece and Asia Minor, with the intermediate islands, that this plague of piracy has been thoroughly eradicated from the waters which flow about The sea-line of either continent is broken by innumerable bays and creeks, and bristles with projecting headlands : in such regions the art of navigation requires the aid of peculiar local knowledge. The interior of the country is also generally difficult of access : precipitous mountains alternate with deep vallies ; now and then only a narrow pass is opened by a river of more than usual volume. The towns of the interior congregated, even in the best times, about isolated fertility, large tracts of impassable mountain territory lying between them. Under such circumstances, the recesses of the sea have formed the secret retreats for piratical adventurers, in which their vessels, enjoy their booty, and riot away the intervals of rest. The policy of the Romans did not allow the provincials to maintain an effective military force to destroy these nests of marauders ; during the Mithridatic war the coasts of Greece and Ionia were infested with them ; but it was through the policy of the king of Cilicia that Cilicia became their principal stronghold ! Despairing of success, he determined, it was said, to leave a sting rankling in the vitals of the republic. With this view, having driven in the pirates from all the outposts of the Roman power, he encouraged the piratical tribes of the Eastern seas to collect on the coast of Cilicia. Here they established their docks, arsenals, and magazines, here there grew up a well-organized system of rapine and defiance, a fleet, a nation, and a government of pirates.

The honour and security of the republic demanded a decisive stand to be made against this growing evil. Murena, and after him Servilius, while holding commands in Asia, had attempted to check it without success. But the republic had an immense maritime force at its disposal, it required only a controlling genius at the head to bring it into action. Pompeius, to whom the task was committed, distributed the armament in three divisions, so as to sweep the whole of the Mediterranean, and surprised the whole world by reducing the number of the pirates, together with their strongholds in Cilicia within the space of three months. He effected his purpose, indeed, as much by negotiation as by force. He admitted the pretensions of the pirates to the dignity of a nation, not treating them as outlaws, and descending to settle many of them in colonies both in Greece and Asia Minor, while he associated his own name with them, by founding a city, which he rebuilt for their occupation, the sounding name of Pompeiopolis.

M. TULLII CICERONIS  
ORATIO

PRO

T. ANNIO MILONE.

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THE affray so admirably described in the following oration, took place on the 13th day before the calends of February, when Milo was proceeding to Samnium to nominate a flamen, and Clodius was returning to Rome after delivering an election address to the people of Aricia. The quarrel seems to have accidentally begun between the gladiators of Milo and the slaves of Clodius; Birrhia, a famous gladiator, pierced the shoulder of Clodius with a lance, as he interfered and threatened; then the affray became general and violent: the wounded Clodius was carried to an inn, but Milo, knowing that he would have to atone for this injury just as much as for his death, stormed the inn, and cast the corpse of Clodius into the public road, where it was found and brought to Rome by Sex. Tadius, a senator, who happened to be travelling on that way.

The affray took place about the ninth hour (nearly three o'clock), the corpse was brought to Rome about the first hour of the night, and placed in the atrium of the abode of Clodius. Next morning Munatius Plancus, Q. Pompeius Rufus, both tribunes of the people, carried the body, just as it was, into the forum and placed it at the rostra. After most inflammatory harangues, the people carry the body into the senate-house, and, tearing down the benches and galleries, make a funeral pile of the materials. The building itself soon caught fire, and the flames spreading, the Porcian Basilica also was consumed. This burning of the senate house excited greater indignation at Rome than the death of Clodius had. A reaction took place in favour of Milo, and he ventured to return to Rome; he even dared to continue his canvas for the consulship, and as an effectual mode of gaining the mob he divided among the tribes an immense sum of money, so as that every man should receive a thousand asses.

The three candidates for the consulship, Milo, Hypsæus, and Scipio, now kept the state in constant uproar, and though several interrexæ had been appointed in succession, the comitia could not be held, in consequence of the violence of the contending parties. At length a

decree is passed by the senate to the effect, "That the interrex and tribunes of the people, and Pompey who was near the city in the capacity of proconsul, should take care the republic suffered no detriment, and that Pompey should hold a levy of troops throughout Italy."

About thirty days after the death of Clodius, Q. Metellus Scipio delivered an address in the senate against Milo. He compared the strength of the retinues of Clodius and Milo respectively, the former having had but twenty-six, the latter above 300 armed men. That Milo, not content with storming the inn and butchering Clodius, had made for the country seat of Clodius where his son had fled, and finding the youth withdrawn, had slain the steward and two servants, and tortured another so terribly as even to cut him limb by limb. Such odium was excited against Milo by these facts that he deemed it prudent to send to Pompey, offering to desist from his canvas for the consulship. Pompey, however, answered that he would not interfere in that matter. But meanwhile rumours were industriously spread by the popular party, that Pompey would be created dictator. The senate not wishing perhaps to irritate Cæsar, proposed to elect Pompey sole consul. But it will, perhaps be useful to dwell upon this circumstance a little more fully.

Of the three men who held the destinies of the Roman world in their hands, Crassus had fallen, the victim of self-conceit, irresolution, and disobedience. The strong ties which had bound Pompey to Cæsar were severed, and the former now drew closer the links which united the aristocratical party to his interests, while Cæsar, the idol and patronym of democracy, was training his faithful legions against the Gauls, or watching from his winter retreat at Lucca, the course of events at Rome, biding his time, and ready to make his swoop when opportunity favoured his desire.

For some time the feeling that a dictator was needed to restore and settle the state, was gaining ground. The consuls of the year 701 had not been elected until seven months of the natural period of their office had expired. The new year (702) also opened with an interregnum, and that last remedy, the dictatorship, seemed more and more necessary, but two circumstances prevented its application. Men had not yet forgotten the terrible effects of Sulla's murderous proscription, and that Pompey was the heir to his political views and forces. And again Pompey's irresolution and over-caution tempted him yet awhile to wait, ere, by the assumption of such supremacy, he should outrage Cæsar, and stand face to face with so powerful and so vigilant a foe.

The murder of Clodius, whether accidental or designed, seemed likely to precipitate matters, but cautious councils still prevailed, and at first instead of arming Pompey alone with power to bring Milo to his trial, a strange court was appointed, and the dictatorship put, as it were, in commission. The precise decree of the senate was this : "That the interrex, the tribunes, and Pompey should see that the republic suffered no detriment;" by this subterfuge the vital power of the dictatorship was in Pompey's hands, and yet Cæsar had no reasonable ground for offence, while even if he were inclined to interfere, the honours heaped upon him with hands so lavish bribed him to acquiesce. But his partizans at Rome were urgent in his cause, threats were uttered should Pompey assume the dictatorship, and hints thrown

## THE FIRST DECREE.

S. C.—*Ut interrex et tribuni plebis, et Pompeius, qui pro conurbem erat, viderent, ne quid detrimenti res publica caperet: autem Pompeius tota Italia haberet.*

On the fifth day before the calends of March, on the m  
M. Bibulus, Pompey is named sole consul by the interrex &  
picius, and at once entered on his office.

On the third day after his appointment, Pompey proposed  
carried two decrees:—

I. *De vi*, which included not only the affray upon the Appian Way, but the burning of the senate house and the attack upon the fleet of Lepidus.

II. *De ambitu*.

On both these laws prosecutions were at once commenced against Milo by the nephews of P. Clodius, and by Fulvius Neratus for conspiracy: (*De sodalitiis.*) As Milo was tried first, and condemned, there was no occasion to proceed with the other.

### NOVA FORMA NOVI JUDICII.

That during three days testimony should be taken, and the names signed by the judices: that all interested should be present on the fifth day, and in presence of accuser and accused: the tablet on which the names of the judges were written should be equally divided: the following day an allotment of judges to the number of 81 should take place, and that these should hold the trial immediately chosen: selected: that the prosecutor should have two hours allowed for his address: three hours should be granted to the accused, and the sentence should be passed on the same day. But that before the trial of acquittal or condemnation both accuser and accused should choose fifteen judges each, i. e. five of each rank, and thus the number should pronounce upon the case should be reduced to fifty-one.

	Voted for Condemnation.	Voted for Acquittal.
Senators . . . . .	12	6
Equites . . . . .	13	4
Tribuni aerarii . . . .	13	3
	—	—
	38	13 = 51
	+	

The trial took place on the third day before the Ides of April.

L (1.) Etsi vereor, judices, ne turpe sit, pro fortissimo ro dicere incipientem timere, minimeque deceat, quum T. mihi ipse magis de rei publicæ salute quam de sua perurbetur, me ad ejus causam parem animi magnitudinem ferre non posse, tamen hæc<sup>1</sup> novi judicij nova forma terretulos, qui, quoconque inciderunt, consuetudinem fori et iustinum morem judiciorum requirunt. (2.) Non enim orona concessus vester cinctus est, ut solebat; non usitata sequentia<sup>2</sup> stipati sumus. Non illa præsidia, quæ pro templis omnibus cernitis, etsi contra vim collocata sunt, non afferunt tamen oratori aliquid: <sup>3</sup> ut in foro et in judicio, quamquam residiis salutaribus et necessariis sæpti sumus, tamen ne con timere quidem sine aliquo timore possimus. Quæ si posita Miloni putarem, cederem tempori, judices, nec inter utam vim armorum existimarem esse orationi locum. Sed e recreat et reficit Cn. Pompeii, sapientissimi et justissimi ti, consilium; qui profecto nec justitiæ suæ<sup>4</sup> putaret esse, tamen reum sententiis judicum tradidisset, eundem telis militum dedere, nec sapientiæ, temeritatem concitatæ multitudinis auctoritate publica armare. (3.) Quamobrem illa arma, turiones, cohortes, non periculum nobis, sed præsidium muntiant, neque solum, ut quieto, sed etiam, ut magno timo simus, hortantur, neque auxilium modo defensioni esse, verum etiam silentium pollicentur. Reliqua vero multudo, quæ quidem est civium, tota nostra est, neque eorum risquam, quos undique intuentes, unde aliqua fori pars impici potest, et hujus exitum judicij exspectantes videtis,

<sup>1</sup> *Novi judicij*, i. e. "extraordinary." Extraordinary trials were held either regarding crimes for which no penalty had been fixed by law, or being contemplated by the legislator: or crimes which seemed to their atrocity deserving of a higher penalty than that originally appointed.—*Nova forma* refers to the guards before the temples, &c.—MATH. See Introd. at end.

<sup>2</sup> *Stipati sumus*. "Tanquam honoris aut custodice causa: nam hoc proprium est stipare, non simpliciter circumdari."—MATH.

<sup>3</sup> *Ut in foro, &c.* "So that in the forum and during a judicial trial, though surrounded by guards, protective and necessary, we cannot be devoid of fear, without some fear," i. e. the very means adopted, (*scil.* The presence of armed forces, to free us from alarm,) causes us apprehension. For the phrase compare *T. Rosc.* 24, 66. "Ne pii quidem sine scdere esse potuerunt." *Vatin.* 11, 27. "Ne recte quidem facere sine amore potuerint." And see *Cat.* 1, 15.

<sup>4</sup> *Putaret*, i. e. if his opinion were asked. Such is the meaning of the imperfect.

<sup>1</sup> non quum virtuti Milonis favet, tum de se, de lib  
da patria, de fortunis hodierno die decertari putat.

II. Unum genus est adversum infestumque nobis  
quos P. Clodii furor rapinis et incendii et omnibus  
publicis pavit; qui hesterna etiam contione incitati  
vobis <sup>2</sup> voce praesarent, quid judicaretis. Quorum c  
qui forte fuerit, admonere vos debet, ut eum. cui  
neatis, qui semper genus illud hominum clamoresq  
mos <sup>3</sup> pro vestra salute neglexit. (4.) Quamobrem  
animis, judices, et timorem, si quem habetis, deponit  
si umquam de bonis et fortibus viris, si umquam  
meritis civibus potestas vobis judicandi fuit, si den  
quam locus <sup>4</sup> amplissimorum ordinum delectis vi  
est, ut sua studia erga fortes et bonos cives, que  
verbis saepe significassent, <sup>5</sup> re et sententiis declarata  
profecto tempore eam potestatem omnem vos ha  
statuatis, utrum nos, qui semper vestrae auctorita  
fuiimus, semper miseri lugeamus, an, diu vexati a  
simis civibus, aliquando per vos ac per vestram fide  
tem sapientiamque recreemur. (5.) Quid enim nobis  
judices, laboriosius, quid magis sollicitum, magis <sup>6</sup> e  
dici aut fingi potest, qui, spe amplissimorum praem  
rem publicam adducti, metu crudelissimorum sup  
carere non possumus? Evidem ceteras tempe  
procellas in illis dumtaxat fluctibus contionum

<sup>1</sup> Non quum . . . . tum. When *quum* precedes *tum*, the *c*  
*quum* has a wider extent than that which has *tum*. The fav  
to the manliness of Milo is a general and common feeling; th  
for his own fortunes is limited to each individual. ZUMPT. §

<sup>2</sup> Voce praesarent. "By their cries dictate." *Praeire* i  
priests, &c., who repeated the form of words to be uttered b

<sup>3</sup> Pro *vestra salute*, i. e. "in defence of your safety." The  
usual phrase is *PRAE vestra salute*, which Haldric (Orell.) p  
read here. But compare below, xxv. 68: "*Periculum pri  
dignitate fugisse.* (*Flacc.* xxviii. 67, &c.)

<sup>4</sup> Adeste animis. "Be of courage." A phrase analogous to  
"presence of mind," and shown by its opposition to *timorem* to have  
this meaning here. Elsewhere *adeste animis* means, in *Sull.* 11, 33. *Phll.* viii. 10, 30. Compare with this pass  
*Scip.* 1. "Sed ille, *Ades, inquit, animo, et omittit timorem.*"

<sup>5</sup> Amplissimorum ordinum. By the law of Aurelius Cotta,  
were selected from senators, knights, and *tribuni aerarii*. (See  
Cicero here designates the whole body from the rank of the t  
grades.—MATH.

putavi Miloni esse subeundas, quia semper pro bonis contra improbos senserat ; in judicio vero et in eo consilio, in quo ex cunctis ordinibus amplissimi viri judicarent, numquam existimavi spem ullam esse habituros Milonis inimicos ad ejus<sup>8</sup> non modo salutem extinguedam, sed etiam gloriam per tales viros infringendam. (6.) Quamquam in hac causa, judices, T. Annii tribunatu rebusque omnibus pro salute rei publicæ gestis ad hujus criminis defensionem non abutemur. <sup>9</sup> Nisi oculis videritis insidias Miloni a Clodio factas, nec deprecaturi sumus, ut crimen hoc nobis propter multa præclararum rem publicam merita condonetis, nec postulaturi, ut,<sup>10</sup> si mors P. Clodii salus vestra fuerit, idcirco eam virtuti Milonis prius quam populi Romani felicitati assignetis. Sin illius modis clariiores hac luce fuerint, tum denique obsecrabo obstatborque vos, judices, si cetera amisimus, hoc saltem nobis ut relinquatur, vitam ab inimicorum audacia telisque ut impune liceat defendere.

III. (7.) Sed antequam ad eam orationem venio, quæ est propria vestræ quæstionis, videntur ea esse refutanda, quæ in senatu ab inimicis sæpe jactata sunt et in contione ab improbis et<sup>11</sup> paullo ante ab accusatoribus, ut, omni errore sublato, rem plane, quæ veniat in judicium, videre possitis. Negant intueri lucem esse fas ei, qui a se hominem occidere esse fateatur. In qua tandem urbe hoc homines stultissimi disputant? Nempe in ea, quæ primum judicium de

<sup>8</sup> *Re et sententiis.* “By the fact (of acquittal), and by your votes.”

<sup>9</sup> *Exercitum.* “Harassed,” “troubled,” not to be confounded with *exercitus*, “practised.”

<sup>10</sup> *Non modo, sed etiam.* “Not to say—but even.” See *Leg. Mem.* 34.

<sup>11</sup> *Nisi oculis.* “Unless you, with your very eyes,” &c. *Nisi* is simply “unless.” I will not, says Cicero, make use in this trial, of the tribunate of Milo, unless you behold, &c.; i. e. I will prove my point by demonstration, before I avail myself of his conduct in office.

<sup>12</sup> *Si.* Supposing the death of Clodius, &c. *Quum* would be a positive assertion admitting no doubt.

<sup>13</sup> *Paullo ante.* The accusers had spoken during the preceding two hours. See Introd.

<sup>14</sup> *Negant intueri.* The whole colour of the following argument is derived from DEMOSTH. *contr. Aristocr.* p. 164. 20. δοκοῦσι γάρ μοι ἄγησαι τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀπάντων οἱ περὶ τούτων ἐν ἀρχῇ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖτε, ποτερὲ οὐδένα χρὴ φόνον ὅσιον εἶναι νομίζειν, ή τινά γ' οὐδὲν νομιστέον. Λογιζόμενοι δ', ὅτι μητέρα Ὁρέστης ἀπεκτονώς, παλεγῶν, θεῶν δικαιοτῶν τυχῶν ἀποφυγγάνει, νομίσαι, δίκαιον τινα φόνον· οὐ γάρ ἀν τά γε μὴ δίκαια θεοὺς ψηφίσασθαι.

capite vidit M. Horatii, fortissimi viri, qui, nondum liberis civitate, tamen populi Romani comitiis liberatus est, quum sua manu sororem esse interfactam fateretur. (8.) An est quisquam, qui hoc ignoret, quum de homine occiso queratur, aut negari solere omnino esse factum, aut recte et jure factum esse defendi? Nisi vero existimatis, dementem<sup>1</sup> P. Africanum fuisse, qui, quum a C. Carbone, tribuno plebis, seditiose in contione interrogaretur, quid de Ti. Gracchi morte sentiret, responderit, jure cæsum videri. <sup>2</sup>Neque enim posset aut Ahala ille Servilius aut P. Nasica aut L. Opimius aut C. Marius aut, me consule, senatus non nefarius haberi, si sceleratos cives interfici nefas esset. Itaque hoc, judices, non sine causa etiam fictis fabulis doctissimi homines memoriae prodiderunt, eum, qui patris ulciscendi causa matrem necavisset, <sup>3</sup>variatis hominum sententiis, non solum divina, sed etiam sapientissimæ deæ sententia libertum. (9.) Quod si duodecim tabulæ nocturnum forent quoquo modo, diurnum autem, <sup>4</sup>si se telo defenderet, interfici impune voluerunt, quis est, qui, quoquo modo quis imperfectus sit, puniendum putet, quum videat aliquando

<sup>1</sup> *P. Africanum.* Carbo had proposed that there should be no opposition or restriction on the re-election of the tribunes; to this proposal Scipio gave his vehement opposition, and in his speech uttered the expression in the text. The fact that Africanus was married to Sempronia, sister of the Gracchi, caused Carbo to expect a very different answer.

<sup>2</sup> *Neque enim.* "For otherwise Ahala, &c., would not have been devoid of guilt;" *enim* refers to *solere* in the preceding sentence; that a homicide could be legally committed.

<sup>3</sup> *Variatis hominum sententiis.* Cicero adopts the account given by Æschylus, who represents Orestes as tried by the court of Areopagus. Demosthenes asserts he was tried by the twelve great gods.

<sup>4</sup> *Quoquo modo.* "Under any circumstances," i. e. whether he defended himself or not.

<sup>5</sup> *Si telo defenderet.* This law is attributed to Solon. (*Petit leg. Att.* p. 625.)

<sup>6</sup> *Quæ multa sunt, quæ = qualia.* VIRG. *AEn.* viii. 427. "Pulm̄ erat, toto genitor quæ plurima cœlo Dejicit in terras."

<sup>7</sup> *Eriperei*, i. e. "eripere vellet, in eo esset ut eriperet, de re non perfecta."—MATH. *Scelere solutum.* "Freed from peril the man who was pure from guilt."

<sup>8</sup> *Non scripta.* "Αγραφοι νόμοι." XENOPH. *Memor.* iv. 4, 19. These unwritten laws are alluded to in Soph. *CEd. Tyrr.* 865. Νόμοι ὑψηλοίς, οὐρανιαῖς δι' αἰθέρα τεκνωθέντες.

<sup>9</sup> *Accepimus.* "Heard." "Dicere genus designat, cuius partes sunt"

ladium nobis ad hominem occidendum ab ipsis porrigitibus?

IV. Atqui si tempus est ullum jure hominis necandi, quae multa sunt, certe illud est non modo justum, verum etiam necessarium, quum vi vis illata defenditur. Pudicitiam quum <sup>7</sup> eriperet militi tribunus militaris in exercitu C. Marii, propinquus ejus imperatoris, imperfectus ab eo est, cui timafferebat. Facere enim probus adolescens periculose quam perpeti turpiter maluit. Atque hunc ille summus vir, scelere subitum, periculo liberavit. (10.) Insidiatori vero et latroni quae potest inferri injusta nex? Quid comitatus nostri, quid padi volunt? quos habere certe non liceret, si uti illis nullo pacto liceret. Est igitur haec, judices, <sup>8</sup> non scripta, sed nata et, quam non didicimus, <sup>9</sup> accepimus, legitimus, verum ex natura arripimus, hausimus, expressimus, ad quam non docti, sed facti, non instituti, sed imbuti sumus, ut, si vita nostra in aliquas insidias, si in vim et in tela aut latronum aut iniuriorum incidisset, omnis honesta ratio esset expedienda iustis. <sup>10</sup> Silent enim leges inter arma nec se exspectari vident, quum ei, qui exspectare velit, ante injusta poena luenda sit quam justa repetenda. (11.) Etsi persapienter t quodam modo tacite dat ipsa <sup>11</sup> lex potestatem defendendi,

adire et legere. Ad quam non docti." Compare Ter. Hec. 11, 1, 6. "Docte ad malitiam."

<sup>10</sup> *Silent enim leges.* This passage is always rendered, "For the laws are silent amid the din of arms, nor do they require their interposition to be waited for; since an unjust penalty must be paid by the man who is inclined to await their interference, before a just penalty can be exacted."—I venture to differ altogether from this interpretation. For 1st, *pœna* is always used of the guilty, not of the innocent. 2nd, *pœna trans alicui* (ei) means "an atonement must be paid to some one." The usual rendering requires *pœna luenda ab eo*, or *eo*. I would render the passage then, "For the laws are silent amid the din of arms, nor do they require their interference to be waited for, since a penalty, though not regularly legal (*injusta*), must be paid to the man who is inclined to wait their interference, before a strictly legal atonement can be demanded." If a man be threatened by an assassin or robber, and seize, maim, or imprison him, he exacts a penalty not yet legitimized; when the case is proved, then his anticipation of the law is rendered legal, but up to that time he had committed an infringement upon the liberty, &c. of another.

<sup>11</sup> *Lex*, i. e. the *lex Cornelia de Sicariis*. "Lege Cornelia de Sicariis omnes lois tenetur, qui hominem occiderit, cujusque dolo malum incen-

que dicitur in hoc loco non sibi esse cum telo hominis  
admodum veluti telo ad suam causam non telum querere  
tum quod sit instrumentum processus talis esset usus, non hominis  
potestum veluti talum judicaretur. Quapropter  
non dicitur in hunc ratione: sed enim dubito, quin proba-  
tio sit talis latitudo, cum tamen si id memineritis, quod  
hunc dicitur non potestus instrumentum interfici jure posse.

Tunc dicitur quod non a Milonis inimicis sepi-  
sime habuit iudicium ut quis P. Clodius occisus est, senatum  
maluerat. Natura non potest esse factam. Illam vero  
senatus non maluerat nisi sciret sed etiam studiis compro-  
baret. Quodcumque enim est illa causa a nobis acta in senatu?  
Quodcumque est illa causa universi ordinis? quam nec tacitis no-  
naturis? Quodcumque enim frequentissimo senatu quattuor  
aut sex annis veniret sententi qui Milonis causa  
est potest? Tunc dicitur "In hunc ambusti tribuni plebi  
deinde intercessione nocturnas quibus quotidie meam poten-  
tiam et nos remanserimus. quam diceret, senatum non  
quod sentire, sed quod ego vellem decernere. Quae quidem  
exponitur est apprehensio prius quam aut propter magna ini-  
uria velut eximis medicis in bonis causis auctoritas au-  
torum ipsorum. Eximis laboris meos nonnulla apud bonos

... in hunc auctoritate quoniam in causa occidendi, furnire faciendi causa cum  
modico tempore.

... "First it is merely that a man should be slain, but  
not that he be slain for that purpose." Some editors omit *modo*.  
... "Slate the man for wearing the weapon, not the  
man for being slain."

"Affair." The word denotes the whole contest=dis-  
pute=contention.

"... auctoritas." The common phrase is *ad summum*. Cicero omits  
the pronoun *ad*. See, e. g., *ad. 25. l. 11. 52.*

"... nocturnas." Here without the pronoun *ad*, as in *Acad. iv. 6, 16:*  
*ad nocturnas auctoritas. Namque fuit declarata multitudo librorum.*

"... auctoritas." T. Munatius Plancus (Bursa) and Q. Pompeius  
Miles were orators of the Plebs and, favouring Scipio and Hypsaeus  
in their cause. When delivered an harangue inflaming the popular  
sentiment, and at the moment the senate house was burning from the  
burning body of Clodius, nor did they cease until driven from the  
rostra by the flames. For the rostra then were not where they are at  
present placed, i. e. before the temple of Divus Julius, at the western  
end of the forum, but near the comitium, close by the curia-  
Aesina.

"... auctoritas." "Lifeless, spiritless." — GARAT. "Interruptæ  
auctoritas." — XANTTI. Erant enim leges, the orator copies from

*ratia, appelletur ita sane, dummodo ea nos utamur pro salute  
onorum contra amentiam perditorum.* (13.) *Hanc vero  
questionem, etsi non est iniqua, numquam tamen senatus  
constituendam putavit.* Erant enim <sup>8</sup> leges, erant quæsti-  
ones, vel de cæde vel de vi: nec tantum mærorem ac  
ictum senatui mors P. Clodii afferebat, ut nova quæstio  
constitueretur. Cujus enim de illo incesto stupro <sup>9</sup> judi-  
cium decernendi senatui potestas esset erepta, de ejus inte-  
stu, quis potest credere, senatum judicium novum consti-  
tendum putasse? Cur igitur incendium curiæ, <sup>10</sup> oppugna-  
tionem ædium M. Lepidi, cædem hanc ipsam contra rem  
publicam senatus factam esse decrevit? Quia nulla vis um-  
quam est in libera civitate suscepta inter cives non contra  
rem publicam. (14.) Non enim est illa defensio contra vim  
nonnumquam optanda, sed nonnumquam est necessaria. <sup>11</sup> Nisi  
aut ille dies, quo Ti. Gracchus est cæsus, aut ille, quo  
litis, aut quo arma Saturnini, etiamsi e re publica, oppressa  
rem publicam tamen non vulnerarunt.

VI. Itaque ego ipse <sup>12</sup> decrevi, quum cædem in Appia  
latum esse constaret, non eum, qui se defendisset, contra  
rem publicam fecisse; sed, quum inessent in re vis et in-  
dile, <sup>13</sup> crimen judicio reservavi; rem notavi. Quod si per

*Demosth. de Coron., εἰσὶ νόμοι περὶ πάντων καὶ ἀγῶνες καὶ κρίσεις,  
πρὸ ταῖς μεγάλα ἔχουσαι τὰ ἐπιτίμια· καὶ τούτοις ἐξῆν αὐτῷ ἄπασι  
μέρθαι κατ' ἔμοῦ.*

<sup>8</sup> *Legez.* Scil. *Cornelia de Sicariis, Aquileia de cæde, Lutatia de vi-*  
*questiones*, i. e. "the *questiones perpetuae* introduced by Gracchus"—  
which gave great impetus to the study of oratory.

<sup>9</sup> *Judicium decernendi.* The senate had directed a *questio*, but were  
not allowed to pass sentence. (See *ad Att.* 1, 14, 16,) i. e. "the power of  
terminating a trial."

<sup>10</sup> *Oppugnationem.* After the death of Clodius M. Lepidus was first  
named *interrex*. The faction of Scipio and Hypsaeus surrounded his  
house with an armed mob demanding him to hold the consular comitia,  
an irregular proceeding, for the first named *interrex* never held the  
*comitia*. These bands were at length driven away by the arrival of  
Clodius and his gladiators.—Ascon.

<sup>11</sup> *Nisi vero, &c.* Cicero means to say, that however necessary some-  
times this mode of defence may be, it is never to be desired, unless we  
should assert that the slaughter of Gracchus, &c. did not injure the  
state, and this no one could say.

<sup>12</sup> *Decrevi.* "Gave my vote." *Sententia mea judicavi.* Thus below,  
afferebat enim ut quæreretur, i. e. *quærendum esse censebat senatus*.—  
RHE.

<sup>13</sup> *Crimen judicio . . . . notavi.* "I reserved the question of guilt

furiosum illum tribunum senatui, quod sentiebat, perlicuisset, novam quæstionem nullam haberemus.<sup>1</sup> Dnebat enim, ut veteribus legibus, tantummodo extra ordi quæreretur.<sup>2</sup> Divisa sententia est postulante nescio nihil enim necesse est omnium me flagitia proferre. reliqua auctoritas senatus empta intercessione sublata.

(15.) At enim Cn. Pompeius rogatione sua<sup>3</sup> et de causa judicavit; tulit enim de cæde, quæ in Appi facta esset, in qua P. Clodius occisus esset. Quid ergo tñ Nempe ut quæreretur. Quid porro quærendum est? tumne sit? At constat. A quo? At patet. Vedit igit etiam in confessione facti, juris tamen defensionem su posse.<sup>4</sup> Quod nisi vidisset, posse absolvi eum qui fateretur quum videret nos fateri, neque quæri umquam jussisset vobis tam hanc salutarem in judicando litteram quam i tristem dedisset. Mihi vero Cn. Pompeius non modo gravius contra Milonem judicasse, sed etiam statuisse tur, quid vos in judicando spectare oporteret. Nam qui pœnam confessioni, sed defensionem dedit, is causam iutus quærendam,<sup>5</sup> non interitum putavit. (16.) Jam i ipse dicet profecto, quod sua sponte fecit, Publione Cl tribuendum putarit an tempori.

VII. Domi suæ nobilissimus vir,<sup>6</sup> senatus propugnatque illis quidem temporibus pæne patronus, avunc hujus judicis nostri, fortissimi viri, M. Catonis, tribu plebis M. Drusus occisus est. Nihil de ejus morte pop consultus, nulla quæstio decreta a senatu est. Quan

for the judicial trial I censured the actual fact.—*Rem*, i. e. *insidias*.

<sup>1</sup> *Dicernebat enim.* On the motion of Hortensius.—ASCON.

<sup>2</sup> *Divisa sententia ut.* The bill contained two distinct heads. 1. That an extraordinary trial should be held. 2. That it should be under the ancient laws. Calenus demanded that the heads should be voted for separately (*dividere sententiam.*) On the question being whether it should be held under the old laws, Plancus and Sal*trib. pop.* put in their veto, believing that Pompey would fix a heavier penalty than the older laws allowed. The second head then being negatived, the senate could not propose the first without lowering their dignity and passing some law which might please the tribunes and so the whole measure fell to the ground.—ASCON. and GARAT.

<sup>3</sup> *Et de re et de causa.* “Both regarding the act (i. e. the affray), and the legality of it.” Just as we have *rem* and *crimen* opposed in preceding chapter.

luctum in hac urbe fuisse a nostris patribus accepimus, quum P. Africano, domi sue quiescenti illa nocturna vis esset illata? quis tum non gemuit? quis non arsit dolore, quem immortalem, si fieri posset, omnes esse cuperent, ejus ne<sup>1</sup> necessariam quidam expectatam esse mortem? Num igitur ulla quæstio de Africani morte lata est? Certe nulla. Quid ita? (17.) Quia<sup>2</sup> non alio facinore clari homines, sive obscuri necantur. Intersit inter vitæ dignitatem summorum atque infimorum; mors quidem illata per scelus sibi et pœnis teneatur et legibus. Nisi forte magis erit parricida, si qui consularē patrem, quam si quis humilem occaverit, aut eo mors atrocior erit P. Clodii, quod is<sup>3</sup> in monumentis majorum suorum sit interfectus. Hoc enim ab his sæpe dicitur; proinde quasi Appius ille Cæcus viam univerit, non qua populus uteretur, sed ubi impune sui posteri latrocinentur. (18.) Itaque in eadem ista Appia in quum ornatissimum equitem Romanum P. Clodius M. Papirium occidisset, non fuit illud facinus pœniendum; uno enim nobilis in suis monumentis equitem Romanum occiderat; nunc ejusdem Appiæ nomen quantas tragœdias exicit! Quæ cruentata antea cæde honesti atque innocentis viri silebatur, eadem nunc crebro usurpatum, postea nam latronis et parricidæ sanguine imbuta est. Sed quid go illa commemoro? Comprehensus est in templo Castoris servus P. Clodii, quem ille ad Cn. Pompeium interficiendum ollocarat; extorta est confitenti sica de manibus; caruit ore postea Pompeius, caruit senatu, caruit publico; janua

<sup>1</sup> *Quod nisi vidisset, posse absolvī.* “Quod ad antecedentia relatum implicatur verbis posse absolvī, ubi nos nempe adderemus.”—MATH.

<sup>2</sup> *Non interitum.* “Not the question whether any one was slain.”

<sup>3</sup> *Senatus propugnator.* Since he endeavoured to restore their ancient judicial privileges to the senate.—*Pæne patronus.* His father was *vere patruus*. See SUET. *Tiber.* 3.—*Hujus nostri judicis*, i. e. Cato. See chapter xvi. § 44.

<sup>1</sup> *Necessariam mortem.* “Natural death;” the death which the *natura* of nature inflicts.

<sup>2</sup> *Non alio facinore.* “With no different degree of guilt,” i. e. the guilt is the same in the case of the murder, whether the murdered be notorious or ignoble.

<sup>3</sup> *In monumentis.* Appius Claudius Cæcus made the Appian way during his censorship, A.U.C. 442; he was *tritavus* of P. Clodius. C. Codrus,—Appius Claudius minor,—Publius Clodius, slain by Milo.

<sup>4</sup> *Papirium.* See note 8, chap. xiv.

se ac parietibus, non jure legum judiciorumque texit. (19.) Num quæ rogatio lata, num quæ nova questio decreta est? Atqui, si res, si vir, si tempus illum dignum fuit, certe haec in illa causa summa omnia fuerunt. Insidiator erat in fine collocatus atque in vestibulo ipso senatus; ei vero adsumptio mors parabatur, cuius in vita nitebatur salus civitatis; et porro rei publicæ tempore, quo, si unus ille occidisset, non hæc solum civitas, sed gentes omnes concidissent. Ita vero, quia perfecta res non est, non fuit punienda; proinde quasi <sup>1</sup> exitus rerum, non hominum consilia legibus vindicantur. Minus dolendum fuit, re non perfecta, sed proinde endum certe nihilo minus. (20.) Quoties ego ipse, judgmentum ex P. Clodii telis et ex cruentis ejus manibus effugi? ad quibus si me non vel mea vel rei publicæ fortuna servarum quis tandem de interitu meo questionem tulisset?

VIII. Sed stulti sumus, qui Drusum, <sup>2</sup> qui Africam Pompeium, nosmet ipsos cum P. Clodio conferre audemus. Tolerabilia fuerunt illa; P. Clodii mortem nemo sequitur. Ferre potest. Luget senatus, mæret equester ordo, tota civitas confecta senio est, squalent municipia, afflictæ coloniæ, agri denique ipsi tam beneficium, tam salutare, tam mansuetum civem desiderant. (21.) Non fuit ea causa, quod judices, profecto, non fuit, cur sibi censeret Pompeius questionem ferendam; sed homo sapiens atque <sup>3</sup> alta et divina quadam mente præditus multa vidit; fuisse illum sibi inimicum, familiarem Milonem; in communi omnium letitia etiam ipse gauderet, timuit, ne videretur infirmior fides conciliatæ gratiæ, multa etiam alia vidit, sed illud maxime, quamvis atrociter ipse tulisset, vos tamen fortiter judic-

<sup>1</sup> *Exitus rerum.* Cf. JUVENAL, xiii. 209. "Nam scelus intra se tecum qui cogitat illum, Facti crimen habet."

<sup>2</sup> *Qui audeamus.* "Since we dare." Qui being equal to *we*, whence the subjunctive.

<sup>3</sup> *Alta mente.* "Far-seeing." *Quæ alte in rerum naturam quasi perstrat,* MATH. Ernesti explains "quæ res humanas contemnit." Cf. SENECA, *Ap. Plut. Sal.* 14: οὐκ ἔφε Σόλων βαθύφρονν οὐδὲ βουλήεις ἀνέπε.

<sup>4</sup> *Reconciliatæ.* The quarrel of Pompey with Clodius is mentioned above. When Pompey sought a second consulship, knowing the power of Clodius among the lower class of electors, he became reconciled to him.

<sup>5</sup> *Secrevit.* "Rejected," "set aside." This is the enemies of Pompey asserted Pompey had done. Cicero denies that he did, and *secravit*, even if he wished to do so it was impossible to effect it.

turos. Itaque delegit e florentissimis ordinibus ipsa lumina. Neque vero, quod nonnulli dictitant, <sup>6</sup> secrevit in judicibus legendis amicos meos. Neque enim hoc cogitavit vir justissimus, neque in bonis viris legendis id assequi potuisset, etiamsi cupisset. Non enim mea gratia familiaritatibus continetur, quæ late patere non possunt, propterea quod consuetudines victus non possunt esse cum multis; sed, si quid possumus, ex eo possumus, quod res publica nos conpuxit cum bonis; ex quibus ille quum optimos viros legeret, que maxime ad fidem suam pertinere arbitraretur, non potuit legere non studiosos mei. (22.) Quod vero te, L. Domitius, huic quæstioni præesse maxime voluit, nihil quæsivit <sup>7</sup> iudicium, nisi justitiam, gravitatem, humanitatem, fideim. Tulit, ut consulariem necesse esset; credo, quod principum munus esse ducebat resistere et levitati multitudinis et perditorum emeritati. Ex consularibus te creavit potissimum. Dederas enim, quam contemneres popularcs insanias, jam ab adolescentia <sup>8</sup> documenta maxima. (23.) Quamobrem, judices, ut liquando ad causam crimenque veniamus, si neque omnis confessio facti est inusitata, neque de causa nostra quidquam liter, ac nos vellemus, a senatu judicatum est, et lator ipse legi, quum esset controversia nulla facti, juris tamen disputationem esse voluit, et <sup>9</sup> delecti judices isque præpositus quæstioni, qui hæc juste sapienterque discepit, reliquum st, judices, ut nihil jam quærere aliud debeatis, nisi, uter tri insidias fecerit. Quod quo facilius argumentis perspicere possitis, rem gestam vobis dum breviter expono, quæso, diligenter attendite.

**IX. (24.) P. Clodius quum statuisset omni scelere in**

<sup>6</sup> Ut consulariem necesse esset. Scil. huic quæstioni præesse. Domitius had been consul two years previous with Appius Claudius.—*Munus* he ducebat. See *Manil. Leg.* 17.

<sup>7</sup> Documenta maxima. Manilius, shortly after his elevation to the tribunate (687), had proposed a law to allow the Libertini to be enrolled in and give their votes with the country as well as the city tribes; relying upon a host of Libertini and slaves, he endeavoured to raise upon the capitol. Domitius broke through the multitude and slew many of his faction. Manilius, by this proposal, had aroused the hostility of the senate; and to secure Pompey's favour as a defence against this body, he proposed the celebrated *Lex Manilia*, giving to Pompey the chief command against Mithridates.

<sup>8</sup> Delecti judicis. Judges are said *legi*, or *delegi*, not *elegi*. *Deligere* is to select out of many fitting persons. *Eligere*, to take out of a promiscuous multitude. See KRITZ, *Sall. Catil.* 6, 6, p. 35.

quod ipse dicebat, ad præturam gerendam, hoc est, tendam rem publicam, plenum annum atque integrum.  
<sup>3</sup>Occurrebat ei, mancam ac debilem præturam suam consule Milone; eum porro summo consensu populi consulem fieri videbat. Ccntulit se ad <sup>4</sup>ejus comedere ita, totam ut petitionem ipse solus, etiam in gubernaret: tota ut comitia suis, ut dictitabat, humerit. <sup>5</sup>Convocabat tribus, se <sup>6</sup>interponebat; <sup>7</sup>novam delectu perditissimorum civium conscribebat. ille plura miscebat, tanto hic magis in dies convenerit. Ubi vidit homo ad omne facinus paratissimus, forvirum, inimicissimum suum, certissimum consule intellexit non solum sermonibus, sed etiam suffragiis Romani <sup>8</sup>sæpe esse declaratum, palam agere cœpit dicere, occidendum Milonem. (26) <sup>10</sup>Servos agrestes baros, quibus silvas publicas depopulatus erat Etruria.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ita tracta.* "So long deferred." The tribunes prevented the *comitia* from being held. Dio. Cass. xi. 45: ὥστε μόλις ἐβίβη τὸν τε Καλούηνον καὶ τὸν Μεσσαλᾶν ὑπάτους ἀποδειχθῆναι.

<sup>2</sup> *Annūm suūm.* "His regular year," i. e. the year appointed by the *Lex Villia Annalis* for holding the prætorship, i. e. at full age. *Annūm proxīmūm*, i. e. 700. See *Lex Villia*, Ind.

<sup>3</sup> *Occurrebat.* After this word some editors insert *enīm*; but not giving a reason why Clodius abandoned his own year, he endeavoured to prevent Milon from obtaining the consulship.

marat, ex Apennino deduxerat, quos videbatis. Res erat  
imine obscura. Etenim dictitabat palam, consulatum eripi  
lioni non posse, vitam posse. Significavit hoc saepe in  
iustu; dixit in contione; quin etiam M. Favonio, fortissimo  
a, quarenti ex eo, qua spe fureret. Milone vivo, respondit,  
Ino illum aut summum quatriduo esse peritum; quam  
em ejus ad hunc M. Catonem statim Favonius de-  
it.

L. (27.) Interim quum sciret Clodius (neque enim erat  
icile scire), iter sollempne, legitimum, necessarium <sup>11</sup> ante  
m **Kalendas Feb.** Miloni esse Lanuvium <sup>12</sup> ad flami-  
a prodendum, quod erat dictator Lanuvii Milo, Roma  
ito ipse profectus pridie est, ut ante suum fundum (quod  
intellectum est) Miloni insidias collocaret. Atque <sup>13</sup> ita  
fectus est, ut contionem turbulentam, in qua ejus furor  
ideratus est, quae illo ipso die habita est, relinquere,  
m, nisi obire facinoris locum tempusque voluisse, num-  
m reliquisset. (28.) Milo autem quum in senatu fuisset eo  
quoad senatus est dimissus, domum venit; <sup>14</sup> calceos et  
timenta mutavit; paullisper, <sup>15</sup> dum se uxor (ut fit) com-  
at, commoratus est, deinde profectus id temporis, quum  
Clodius, si quidem eo die Romam venturus erat, redire  
uisse. Obviam fit ei Clodius, expeditus, in equo, nulla  
da, nullis impedimentis, <sup>16</sup> nullis Græcis comitibus, ut

*Sæpe esse declaratum, i. e. by the votes of the centuries given  
to the violent breaking off of the election.*

*Servos agrestes.* The lands of Clodius were near the Aurelian way  
Etruria. The schol. hints that Clodius had collected there the  
want of Catiline's army.

*Ante diem.* See *Catil.* 3.

*Ad flaminem.* Appian gives a different reason for his departure,  
*πεθέντω δὲ Μίλων* (on account of the interruption of the comitia),  
*ταὶ τρεῖς αὐτὸν ἀπίστον γιγνομένου τοῦ Πομπηίου, ἐξ τὴν πατρίδα  
μετέσπειρεν ἐξήει.* When Municipia were governed by two magistrates,  
they were called *duumviri*, when by one he was styled *prætor* or  
*ator.*

*Ita proiectus est.* "Under such circumstances." Ernesti erro-  
rately, "eo tempore."

*Calceos,* i. e. the senatorial buskins, bound to the leg with four  
laces. Cf. HOR. Serm. i 6, 27. They were ornamented with gold  
embroidery, and bore the letter C, &c.

*Dum se uxor.* Heumann comp. TER. *Heaut.* 11, 2, 11. *Mulieres  
meliuntur dum comuntur annus est.* His wife was *Fausta*, daughter  
of *Sylla*.

*Nullis Græcis.* "Græcos philosophos, poetas, grammaticos secum

seque acri animo defenderet, illi, qui erant cum gladiis eductis, partim recurrere ad rhedam, ut a tergum adorirentur, partim, quod hunc jam interfecerent cædere incipiunt ejus servos, qui post erant, exanimi animo fideli in dominum et præsenti fuerunt, occisi sunt, partim, quem ad rhedam pugnari videlicet domino succurrere prohiberentur, Milonem occisum ipso Clodio audirent et re vera putarent, fecerunt id Milonis (dicam enim aperte non derivandi criminis sed ut factum est,) nec imperante nec sciente nec proximo domino, quod suos quisque servos in tali re facere volebat.

XI. (30.) Hæc, sicut exposui, ita gesta sunt, jactantibus insidiator superatus est; vi victa vis vel potius ostentatio virtute audacia est. Nihil dico, quid res publica consenserit, nihil, quid vos, nihil, quid omnes boni. Nihil proposit Miloni, qui hoc fato natus est, ut ne se quidem vare potuerit, quin una rem publicam vosque servare

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*habuisse hominem, vix credo, sed coquos, pinsores, alias libidinistros.*" MATH.

<sup>1</sup> *Magno et impedito.* Scil. comitatu, supplied from next clause, a large and encumbered retinue of slaves laden with baggage, read *magnis impedimentis*, and others *impedimento*, which is not the singular in this sense.

<sup>2</sup> *Hora fere undecima.* "About four in the afternoon," it was the 20th day of the month of January.—*Secus,* "or not far from."

! jure fieri non posset, nihil habeo, quod defendam. Sin  
 x et ratio doctis et necessitas barbaris et mos gentibus et  
 tis etiam beluis natura ipsa præscripsit, ut omnem semper  
 m, quacunque ope possent, a corpore, a capite, a vita sua  
 xpulsarent, non potestis hoc facinus improbum judicare,  
 in simul judicetis, omnibus, qui in latrones inciderint,  
 t illorum telis aut vestris sententiis esse pereundum.  
 l.) Quod si ita putasset, certe optabilius Miloni fuit dare  
 palum P. Cludio, non semel ab illo neque tum primum  
 litum, quam jugulari a vobis, quia se non jugulandum  
 tradidisset. Sin hoc nemo vestrum ita sentit, illud jam  
 judicium venit, non, occisusne sit, quod fatemur, sed jure  
 injuria, quod multis in causis sæpe quæsitum est. <sup>9</sup> In-  
 ias factas esse constat, et id est, quod senatus contra  
 a publicam factum judicavit; ab utro factæ sint, incertum  
 . De hoc igitur latum est ut quæreretur. Ita et senatus  
 a, non hominem, notavit, et Pompeius de jure, non de  
 to, quæstionem tulit.

XII. Numquid igitur aliud in judicium venit, nisi, uter  
 i insidias fecerit? Profecto nihil; si hic illi, <sup>10</sup> ut ne sit  
 pune; si ille huic, tum nos scelere solvamus.

(32.) Quonam igitur pacto probari potest, insidias Miloni  
 esse Clodium? Satis est in illa quidem tam audaci, tam  
 faria belua docere, magnam ei causam, magnam spem in  
 ilonis morte propositam, magnas utilitates fuisse. Ita-  
 s <sup>11</sup> illud Cassianum, <sup>12</sup> cui bono fuerit, in his personis

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tion is not momentary but continues through all that time (*illo*  
*spore*), and in the conjunctive, for it refers not to what Milo thought,  
 t to what was thrown out by the enemies of Milo. MATH. Thus  
 get rid of the emendations *potuisset* (Ernesti) and *possit* (Garat.)  
<sup>11</sup> *Insidias factas—factum—factæ sint.* *Est species aliqua πολυπτώτου,*  
*a figura est rhetorica.* MATH.

<sup>12</sup> *Ut ne sit impune.* The adverb used adjectively. Cf. Liv. 1, 58,  
 and *impune adultero fore.*

<sup>11</sup> *Illud Cassianum.* “That maxim of Cassius.” In criminal trials  
 regarding homicide or murder, when the murderer was not certainly  
 known, Cassius influenced the judges to discover whose interest it  
 was, that the man should die. His severity and strictness were pro-  
 trial. When Sex. Pudæus, *Trib. Pop.* accused Metellus the Pontifex  
 Maximus and the whole college of pontiffs, because they had decided  
 justly in acquitting two vestal virgins notoriously guilty of a breach  
 their vows, the people appointed this Cassius to hold a trial, in  
 which he procured the condemnation not only of the two previously  
 acquitted, but of many others.

<sup>12</sup> *Cui bono fuerit.* *Cui* dative of person, *bono* dative of thing, as in

valeat; etsi boni nullo emolumento impelluntur in fra  
improbi s<sup>e</sup>pe parvo. Atqui, Milone interfecto, Clodiu  
assequebatur, non modo ut pr<sup>a</sup>etor esset, non eo co  
quo sceleris facere nihil posset, sed etiam, ut iis cons  
pr<sup>a</sup>etor esset, quibus si non adjuvantibus, at conniver  
certe, speraret, se posse <sup>1</sup> eludere in illis suis co  
furoribus; cujus illi conatus, ut ipse ratiocinabatur  
cuperent reprimere, si possent, quum tantum beneficii  
se debere arbitrarentur; et, si vellent, fortasse vix p<sup>c</sup>  
frangere hominis scleratissimi corroboratam jam veti  
audaciam. (33.) An vero, judices, vos soli ignoratis  
hospites in hac urbe versamini? vestræ <sup>2</sup> peregrin  
aures, neque in hoc pervagato civitatis sermone vers  
quas ille leges (si leges nominandæ sunt, ac non faces  
et pestes rei publicæ) fuerit impositurus nobis omnibus  
<sup>3</sup> inusturus? Exhibe, quæso, Sexte Clodi, exhibe libr  
illud legum vestrarum, quod te aiunt eripuisse e domo  
mediis armis turbaque nocturna tamquam Palladiu

the phrase, *hoc mihi damno est*, Cf. *De l. Agr*, 11, 2, 5. *Oui* (I  
errato nulla venia.—*In his personis*. “*In hominibus hac indole*  
*moribus præditis*.”—ERN.

<sup>1</sup> *Eludere*. “To baffle.” A metaphor from gladiators. I  
explains differently on *Sext.* 43, § 94. “*Eludere, hoc est inu*  
*se gerere, vel ut ipse explicat, bacchari quodammodo, et quasi per*  
*ac jocum nemine resistente, audacissime omnia permiscere, subverter*

<sup>2</sup> *Peregrinantur*. “On a pilgrimage.” *Arist. Equit.* 1120. ‘  
δέ σου παρὼν ἀποδημεῖ.—ABRAM.

<sup>3</sup> *Inusturus*. “Brand upon us all.” As if we were slaves c  
tive.

<sup>4</sup> *Atque per omnes*. This passage is restored to the text by  
partly from *Quintil.* ix. 2, and partly from the *Schol. Ambros.* Stei  
conjectures that in this passage two distinct laws of Clodii  
alluded to. 1. To distribute the freedmen among all the  
country as well as city. II. To give those slaves who are in a si  
manumission the privilege of voting with those libertini. I  
learn any thing from the commentators regarding the phrase  
*morarentur in libertate*.” The usual rendering given above, “wl  
kept in a state of manumission is just nonsense. I think we may  
something from this passage. The censor’s office was originally  
for five years, but that the city might not be embroiled in a con  
registration continually, the actual period of the censorship, pr  
so called, was limited to eighteen months; by this, that period  
given for registration, and for three years and a half no further  
stration took place, and the list of persons entitled to vote was ki  
So that if any slaves were manumitted during these three years  
half, they could not come into the enjoyment of their franchi

ut præclarum videlicet munus atque instrumentum  
atus ad aliquem, si nactus essem, qui tuo arbitrio  
tum gereret, deferre posses. [Atque per omnes  
divisis libertinis servos ille omnes, qui in libertate  
ntur, lege nova additurus erat, ut ipsi cum ingenuis  
er suffragia ferrent.] An hujus ille legis, quam Sex.  
a se inventam gloriatur, mentionem facere ausus esset,  
ilone, ne dicam consule? De nostrum omnium—non  
otum dicere. Videte, quid ea vitii lex habitura fuerit,  
ericulosa etiam reprehensio est. Et adspexit me illis  
oculis, quibus tum solebat, quum omnibus omnia  
tur. Movet me quippe <sup>5</sup> lumen curiæ.

[. Quid? tu me tibi iratum, Sexte, putas, cujus tu  
ssimum multo crudelius etiam punitus es, quam erat  
itatis meæ postulare? Tu P. Clodii <sup>6</sup> cruentum cadaver  
domo, tu in publicum abjecisti, tu spoliatum <sup>7</sup> ima-

rty, until that whole time was expired, i. e. until the new  
came into office; now, I take the words *qui morarentur in*  
*to mean, "those who, though manumitted, were delayed in the*  
*sesson of their liberty," because they could not be enrolled*  
*in next censors. We thus see how dangerous Clodius' law was,*  
*assed, it would be easy for him or any extensive slave-owner*  
*, to manumit his slaves, get them enrolled at once, and thus*  
*to gain a majority in any or even in all the tribes, where*  
*were evenly divided*

*en curiæ.* Sex. Clodius, who carried the body of P. Clodius  
senate house, and then caused it to be burned. In allusion to  
lagration of the *curiæ* he is called *lumen curiæ*.—*Jocum ex*  
*MANUT.*

*mtum cadaver.* “His blood-stained corpse;” which should  
be washed and anointed.—*Ejecisti*, when it should have been  
in the atrium. Dio Cass. speaking of this burning of P. Clo-  
, Τὸν δημολον πάντα τὰ περὶ τὰς τάφας νόμιμα συγχέαι. Ca-  
om *cado*, Gr. *πτῶμα*,) is used contemptuously for *corpus*.

*gimibas.* Likenesses in wax of the ancestors of noble families  
de. They were hollow so as to admit of being put over the  
shoulders of living men, and were thus borne in the funeral  
m. It must have been a striking sight to see a long line of  
, with all their insignia and consular or triumphal robes,  
it were recalled to life, and preceding their descendant to the  
Cf. POLYBIUS, vi. 50. Ταύτας τὰς εἰκόνας—ἄγουσιν εἰς τὴν  
περιτιθέντες ὡς δημοιοτάτοις εἶναι δοκοῦσι κατὰ τε τὸ μέγεθος  
ἄλλην περικοπήν. οὐτοι δὲ προσαναλαμβάνουσιν ἐσθῆτας—  
ν οὖν ἐφ' ἀρμάτων οὔτοι πορεύονται .. ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐμβό-  
ντοι, καθέζονται πάντες ἐξῆς ἐπὶ διφρων ἐλεφαντίνων.

ginibus<sup>1</sup> exsequiis pompa, laudatione,<sup>2</sup> infelicissimis lignis  
semustilatum,<sup>3</sup> nocturnis canibus, dilaniandum reliqui.  
<sup>4</sup> Quare etsi nefarie fecisti, tamen, quoniam in meo inimico  
cruelitatem exprompesti tuam, laudare non possum, inac-  
certe non debo.

(34.) [Demonstravi, judicor, quantum Clodii in te] fuerit  
occidi Milonem. Convertite animos nunc vicissim ad  
Milonem. Quid Milonis intererat interfici Clodium?  
Quid erat, cur Milo, non dicam admitteret, sed optaret?  
Obstabat in spe consulatus Miloni Clodius. — At<sup>5</sup> ei  
repugnante fiebat; immo vero eo fiebat magis, nec ne  
suffragatore meliore utebatur quam Clodio. Valebat apud  
vos, judices, Milonis erga me remque publicam merito-  
rum memoria: valebant preces et lacrimae nostre, quibus  
ego tum vos mirifice moveri sentiebam, sed plus multo  
valebat periculorum impendentium timor. Quis enim eum  
civium, qui sibi solutam P. Clodii prasturam sine manus-  
rerum novarum metu proponeret? Solutam autem for-  
videbat, nisi esset is consul, qui eam anderet possetque  
constringere. Eum Milonem unum esse quum sentiret uni-  
versus populus Romanus, quis dubitaret suffragio suo  
metu, periculo rem publicam liberare? At nunc, Clodii  
remoto, usitatis jam rebus enitendum est Miloni, ut tueri  
dignitatem suam. Singularia illa et huic uni concessa gloria  
que quotidie augebatur frangendis furoribus Clodianis, post  
Clodii morte cecidit. Vos adepti estis, ne quem civem  
tueratis; hic exercitationem virtutis, suffragationem con-  
sulatus, fontem perennem glorie sue perdidit. Itaque  
Milonis consulatus, qui, vivo Clodio, labefactari non potest,  
mortuo denique tentari ceptus est. Non modo igitur mil-

<sup>1</sup> Exsequiis. Properly signifies the train of those who follow the corpse.—*Pompa* refers to the magnificence of the obsequia.—MAYE.

<sup>2</sup> Infelicissimis. Usually rendered, "unhallowed," "cursed," being of some barren tree. But it seems to refer to the hard ieiuniū of their benches, originally formed to serve as thrones for the best and wisest, while now they served the vile purpose of a pyre for Clodius.

<sup>3</sup> Nocturnis canibus. "By the dogs at night." Thus, Hor. *Ne*turna versate manu, versate diurna.

<sup>4</sup> Quare, &c. Wherefore, though you acted unnaturally (with unnatural cruelty).—*Laudare non possum, supply quamquam.* "Although I cannot commend you, yet surely I should not be angry."

<sup>5</sup> *Eo repugnante.* For Clodius did not attempt to disturb the election until he found "Milonem populi cunctis suffragiis coronalem defensum."

<sup>6</sup> *Prætor hoc civile odium.* "Leaving out that patriotic odium."

modest, sed obest etiam Clodii mors Miloni. (35.) At valuit dium, fecit iratus, fecit inimicus, fuit ulti<sup>r</sup> injuriæ, punitor doloris sui. Quid? si hæc, non dico, majora fuerunt in Clodio quam in Milone, sed in illo maxima, nulla in hoc? quid vultis amplius? Quid enim odisset Clodium Milo, sicutem ac materiem suæ gloriæ, <sup>6</sup>præter hoc civile odium et omnes improbos odimus? <sup>7</sup> Ille, erat, ut odisset, primum iuris meæ defensorem, deinde vexatorem furoris, dominum armorum suorum, postremo etiam accusatorem suum. <sup>8</sup>Enim Milonis lege Plotia fuit Clodius, quoad vixit. <sup>9</sup>No tandem animo hoc tyrannum illum tulisse creditis? tantum odium illius et in homine injusto quam etiam jussu fuisse?

XIV. (36.) Reliquum est, ut jam illum natura ipsius contudoque defendat, hunc autem hæc eadem coarguant. nihil per vim umquam Clodius, omnia per vim Milo. Quid ergo, judices quum, mærentibus vobis, urbe cessi, judiciumne nui? non servos, non arma, non vim? Quæ fuisset igitur ita causa restituendi mei, nisi fuisset injusta ejiciendi? Nihil mihi, credo, dixerat, multam irrogarat, <sup>10</sup>actionem perduellionis intenderat, et mihi videlicet in causa aut malitia mea, non et præclarissima et vestra, judicium timendum sit. Servorum et egentium civium et facinorosorum armis eos cives, meis consiliis periculisque servatos, pro me objiciuntur. (37.) Vidi enim, vidi, hunc ipsum Q. Hortensium, men et ornamentum rei publicæ, pæne interfici servorum annū, <sup>11</sup>quum mihi adesset; qua in turba C. Vibienus, senator, et optimus, cum hoc quum esset una, ita est mulcatus, ut tam amiserit. Itaque quando illius postea sica illa, quam Catilina acceperat, conquevit? Hæc intentata nobis est;

common writer would have said, "præterquam hoc civile odio." Cf. *ibid. in Cœcil.* iv. 14. "Omnium civitatum totius Sicilie legationes sunt, præter duas civitates." Some render *civile odium* as "general hatred." Such hatred as all feel.

<sup>7</sup> *Ille, erat, ut odisset.* "There was a motive why he should hate him."—MATH. Goerenz takes *ille erat* as *talis erat*. "He was of such character as should have hated," &c. But Mathiæ denies that *ille* in *qui* is ever used for *is sum qui*. See ZUMPT, *Lat. Gr.* § 752.

<sup>8</sup> *Lege Plotia.* See under this head in Legal Index.

<sup>9</sup> *Diem dicere.* "To appoint a day" for trial, and thence=accusare, it only used in the latter meaning, of the tribunes of the people.

<sup>10</sup> *Actionem perduellionis.* For putting the Catilinarian conspirators death without trial.

<sup>11</sup> *Quum mihi adesset.* "When he was my advocate." When by his

suos, illo oppugnante, defenderet, jure se ulcisci? p  
civi egregio et viro fortissimo, P. Sestio, collega suo  
rato? potuitne, Q. Fabricio, viro optimo, quum de  
meo legem ferret, pulso, crudelissima in foro cæde  
potuitne, L. Cæcilius, justissimi fortissimique præto  
pugnata domo? potuitne illo die, quum est lata lex  
quum totius Italæ concursus, quem mea salus con  
facti illius gloriam lubens agnovisset, ut, etiamsi i  
fecisset, cuncta civitas eam laudem pro sua vindicare

XV. (39.) At quod erat tempus? Clarissimus et fort  
consul, inimicus Clodio, P. Lentulus, ulti<sup>r</sup>s sceleris illi  
pugnator senatus, defensor vestræ voluntatis, patronus  
consensus, restitutor salutis meæ; septem prætore  
tribuni plebis, illius adversarii, defensores mei; Cr  
peius, auctor et dux mei redditus, illius hostis, cuj  
tentiam senatus omnis de salute mea gravissimam e  
tissimam secutus est, qui populum Romanum est coh

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support and authority he endeavoured to prevent the banish  
Cicero.

<sup>1</sup> *Non sum passus.* By leaving the city, Cicero caused there  
be no excuse for riot.

<sup>2</sup> *Nece Papirii.* After the Mithridatic conquest, Pompey ha  
sited the son of Tigranes in custody with Flavius, a man of s  
rank. Flavius was prætor in the year of the tribunate of Clo

quum decretum de me Capuae fecit, ipse cunctae Italiae ienti et ejus fidem imploranti signum dedit, ut ad me ituendum Romam concurrerent; omnia tum denique in odio civium ardebat desiderio mei; quem qui tum remisset, non de impunitate ejus, sed de praemiiis cogitare. Tamen se Milo continuuit et P. Clodium <sup>5</sup> in iudicibus, ad vim numquam vocavit. (40.) Quid? privato me et reo ad populum, accusante P. Clodio, quum in Pompeium pro Milone dicentem impetus factus est, quæ non modo occasio, sed etiam causa illius opprimendi? Nuper vero quum M. Antonius summam spem salutis omnibus attulisset, gravissimamque adolescens nobinus <sup>6</sup> rei publicæ partem fortissime suscepisset, atque beluam, <sup>7</sup> judicii laqueos declinantem, jam irretitam ret, qui locus, quod tempus illud, dii immortales, fuit? in se ille fugiens <sup>8</sup> in scalarum tenebras abdidisset, num Miloni fuit confidere illam pestem nulla sua in, Antonii vero maxima gloria. (41.) Quid? comitiis in quo quoties potestas fuit, quum ille in sæpta irrupisset, ios destringendos, lapides jaciendos curavisset, dein to, vultu Milonis perterritus, fugeret ad Tiberim, vos omnes boni vota faceretis, ut Miloni uti virtute sua et?

VI. Quem igitur <sup>9</sup> cum omnium gratia noluit, hunc it cum aliquorum querela? quem jure, quem loco, quem tempore, quem impune non est ausus, hunc injuria, iniquo alieno tempore, periculo capit is non dubitavit occidere?

*Id regiam.* This seems to refer to an affray which took place (preceding the delivery of this oration), in the *sacra via*, for the (of Ancus Martius) was in the *sacra via*.

*Sceleris illius.* "Of that guilty act," i. e. the banishment of Cicero.

MATH. Or we may take *sceleris illius*= "that guilty man." Scil.

Thus Virg. "*Ast expendisse scelus,*" &c.

*In iudicium—ad vim.* Prepositions are frequently thus varied.

Lat. 11, 6. *Si L. Catilina—iter ad fugam atque in exsilium con-*

*rit.* *Rei publicæ partem.* "Rei publicæ partem suscipit, quicunque id pro salute rei publicæ aggreditur."—MATH.

*Judicis laqueos.* Abramius compares Demosth. Aristagor. p. 778, 16.

*χοινισμένος πᾶσι τοῖς δικαιοῖς.* We find *legum laquei* in Sext.

—MATH.

*In scalarum tenebras.* See PHIL. 11, § 9.

*Hunc omnium gratia,* i. e. "where he would receive the gratefulness of all."

(42.) Præsertim, judices, quum honoris amplissimi c  
et dies comitiorum subesset; quo quidem tempo  
enim, quam timida sit ambitio quantaque et quam  
sit cupiditas consulatus,) omnia non modo, quæ rej  
palam, sed etiam <sup>1</sup> obscure quæ cogitari possunt, t  
rumorem, fabulam fictam, levem perhorrescimus, ora  
atque oculos intuemur. Nihil est enim tam mo  
tenerum, tam aut fragile aut flexible quam volun  
nos sensusque civium, qui non modo improbitati ir  
candidatorum, sed etiam <sup>2</sup> in recte factis sæpe fa

(43.) Hunc igitur diem campi speratum atque ex  
sibi proponens Milo, cruentis manibus, scelus et faci  
se ferens et confitens, ad illa augusta centuriarum  
veniebat? Quam hoc non credibile in hoc! <sup>3</sup> quam  
Clodio non dubitandum, qui se imperfecto Milone  
turum putaret! Quid? quod caput est [audaciæ],  
quis ignorat, maximam illecebram esse peccandi im  
spem? In utro igitur hæc fuit? in Milone, qui eti  
reus est facti aut præclari aut certe necessarii, an in  
qui ita judicia poenamque contempserat, ut eum nih  
taret, quod aut per naturam fas esset aut per l  
ceret?

(44.) Sed quid ego argumentor? quid plura dispu  
Q. Petili, appello, optimum et fortissimum civem  
Cato, testor; quos mihi divina quædam sors dedit  
Vos ex M. Favonio audistis, Clodium sibi dixisse, et  
vivo Clodio, peritulum Milonem triduo. Post diem  
gesta res est, quam dixerat. <sup>4</sup> Quum ille non d  
aperire, quid cogitaret, vos potestis dubitare, quid fec

XVII. (45.) Quemadmodum igitur eum dies non  
Dixi equidem modo. Dictatoris Lanuvini stata s

<sup>1</sup> Obscure quæ. Frequently the relative is thus misplaced.  
1, 25, 88. "Nec vero audiendi, graviter qui inimicis irascen  
tabant."

<sup>2</sup> In recte factis. "But frequently slight them even when  
uprightly." *Recte factis* is opposed to *improbitati*.

<sup>3</sup> Quam non dubitandum. *Qui*. Mathiæ and others read *qui idem* as pleonastic, (like *quod* above, chap. vi. § 15,) i. e. "Ho  
it to be doubted with regard to Clodius, but that he hoped,"

<sup>4</sup> Quum ille non dubitarit. *Dubitarit* refers to the presen  
if we read *dubitaret* we would require *poteratis*. "Nam actio  
data ad aliam præsentem, perfecto declaratur, ad præterit  
imperfecto."—MATH.

esse negotii nihil erat. Vedit necesse esse Miloni, proficisci  
 munivum illo ipso, quo est profectus, die. Itaque ante-  
 tit. At quo die? Quo, ut ante dixi, <sup>5</sup> fuit insanissima  
 concio, ab ipsius mercenario tribuno plebis concitata; quem  
 em ille, quam contionem, quos clamores, nisi ad cogitatum  
 tinus approperaret, numquam reliquisset. Ergo illi ne  
 quis quidem itineris, etiam causa manendi; Miloni manendi  
 illa facultas, exeundi non causa solum, sed etiam necessitas  
 erit. Quid? si, ut ille scivit, Milonem fore eo die in via, sic  
 Iodium Milo ne suspicari quidem potuit? (46.) Primum  
 vero, qui scire potuerit? quod vos idem in Clodio quærere  
 potestis. Ut enim neminem alium nisi T. Patinam,  
 miliarissimum suum, rogasset, scire potuit, illo ipse die  
 a dictatore Milone prodi flaminem necesse esse.  
 ed erant permulti alii, ex quibus id facillime scire posset;  
 unnes scilicet Lanuvini.] Milo de Clodii reditu unde  
 resivit? Quæsierit sane. Videte, quid vobis largiar.  
 curvum etiam, ut Q. Arrius, <sup>6</sup> meus amicus, dixit, corruperit.  
 legite testimonia testium vestrorum. Dixit C. Cassinius  
 thola, Interamna, familiarissimus et idem comes Clodii,  
 ius jam pridem testimonio Clodius eadem hora Interamnæ  
 erat et Romæ, P. Clodium illo die in Albano mansurum  
 esse, sed subito esse ei nuntiatum, Cyrum architectum  
 esse mortuum; itaque repente Romam constituisse proficisci.  
 init hoc, comes item P. Clodii, C. Clodius.

**XVIII.** (47.) Videte, judices, quantæ res his testimoniis  
 sint confectæ. Primum certe <sup>7</sup> liberatur Milo non eo con-  
 hio profectus esse, ut insidiaretur in via Clodio; quippe;  
 ille obvius ei futurus omnino non erat. Deinde (non  
 nim video, cur non meum quoque agam negotium) scitis,  
 idices, fuisse, qui in hac rogatione suadenda dicerent,  
 filonis manu cædem esse factam, consilio vero majoris

<sup>5</sup> *Insanissima concio.* In the turbulent assembly held on the day of Iodus's death, C. Sallustius and Q. Pompeius harangued the people; we cannot determine to which of these the words *mercenario tribuno* refer. Asconius says to Pompeius, "quia ejus seditionis fuit concio."

<sup>6</sup> *Meus amicus.* Ironical.

<sup>7</sup> *Liberatur Milo non eo consilio.* "Milo is freed (from the charge) of its being shown that he did not set out," &c. Supply *eo quod demonstratum est.* Very often words such as *dicere*, *demonstrare*, &c., are omitted, while the construction remains as if they were inserted. See *REES, Sanct. Min.* p. 8, 8. The Greek construction is similar, *ἀποκρίνεσθαι μη ἀδικεῖν.* Cf. THUCYD. 1, 95.

alicujus. Me videlicet latronem ac sicarium abjecti homines et perditi describebant. <sup>1</sup> Jacent suis testibus ii, qui Clodium negant eo die Romam, nisi de Cyro audisset, fuissent rediturum. Respiravi; liberatus sum; non vereor, præ quod ne suspicari quidem potuerim, videar id cogitare. (48.) Nunc persequar cetera. <sup>2</sup> Nam occurrit illud. Igitor ne Clodius quidem de insidiis cogitavit, quoniam fuit in Albano mansurus. <sup>3</sup> Si quidem exiturus ad cædem e villa non fuisset. Video enim, illum, qui dicatur de Cyri morte nuntiasse, non id nuntiasse, sed Milonem appropinquare. Nam quid de Cyro nuntiaret, quem Clodius Roma proficiscens reliquerat morientem? Una fui; testamentum simul obsignavi cum Cladio; testamentum autem palam fecerat, et illum heredem et me scripserat. Quem pridie hora tertia <sup>4</sup> animam efflantem reliquisset, eum mortuum postridie hora decima denique ei nuntiabatur?

XIX. (49.) Age, sit ita factum; quæ causa, cur Roman properaret? cur in noctem se conjiceret? Quid afferebat causam festinationis? Quod heres erat? Primum exstihil, cur properato opus esset; deinde, si quid esset, <sup>5</sup> quid tandem erat, quod ea nocte consequi posset, amitteret autem, si postridie Romam mane venisset? Atque ut illi nocturnus ad urbem adventus vitandus potius, quam expetendus fuit, sic Miloni, quum insidiator esset, si illum ad urbem noctu accessurum sciebat, subsidendum atque exspectandum fuit. (50.) Noctu, insidioso et pleno latronum in loco <sup>6</sup> occidisset, nemo ei neganti non credidisset, quæ esse omnes salvum etiam confitentem volunt. Sustinuisse

<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> *Jacent.* "They are prostrated by their own witnesses." Orelli reads, *jacent suis testibus hi*, but this would imply that the witnesses were now present.—MATH.

<sup>2</sup> *Nam occurrit illud.* "For this occurs to my mind." GARAT, in *mentem venit*. But still in this phrase there is always the notion of some contradiction to a previous assertion. This passage means then, "For this (which could be urged against me) occurs to my mind."—MATH.

<sup>3</sup> *Si quidem, &c.* Yes, provided he did not intend, &c. *Si quidem = εἰ or εἰπερ.* Cf. *Tusc.* ii. 16, *abducet Patroclus, credo, ut collocet in cubili, ut vulnus obliget.* *Si quidem homo esset.*

<sup>4</sup> *Animam efflantem.* "Expiring," "breathing his last." i. e., "at the death-gasp." Cf. ἀπέψυξεν βίον, *Soph. Ag.* 1050.

<sup>5</sup> *Quid erat, quod posset,—amitteret.* "What, pray, was there, which he could obtain on that night, but was likely to lose," &c., i. e. amit-

crimen primum ipse ille latronum occultator et receptor s; <sup>7</sup> tum neque muta solitudo indicasset, neque cæca ostendisset Milonem; deinde ibi multi ab illo violati, inti, bonis expulsi, multi hæc etiam timentes in suspicem caderent; <sup>8</sup> tota denique rea citaretur Etruria.

) Atque illo die certe Aricia rediens devertit Clodius ad Albanum. <sup>9</sup> Quod ut sciret Milo, illum Ariciæ fuisse, icari tamen debuit, eum, etiamsi Romam illo die revertitur, ad villam suam, quæ viam tangeret, deversurum. Cur <sup>æ</sup> ante occurrit, ne ille in villa resideret, nec eo in loco edidit, quo ille noctu venturus esset?

ideo constare adhuc, judices, omnia: Miloni etiam utile e Clodium vivere, illi ad ea, quæ concupierat, optatissim interitum Milonis; odium fuisse illius in hunc acerbissimum, nullum hujus in illum; consuetudinem illius perpetuam in vi inferenda, hujus tantum in repellenda. (52.) tem ab illo denuntiatam Miloni et prædictam palam, unquam auditum ex Milone; profectionis hujus diem iotum, redditus illius huic ignotum fuisse; hujus iter nemorium, illius etiam potius alienum; hunc præ se tulisse, se die Roma exiturum, illum eo die se dissimulasse rediitum; hunc nullius rei mutasse consilium, illum causam audi consilii finxisse; huic, si insidiaretur, noctem prope exspectandam, illi, etiamsi hunc non timeret, tamen cum ad urbem nocturnum fuisse metuendum.

X. (53.) Videamus nunc id, quod caput est, locus ad dias ille ipse, ubi congressi sunt, utri tandem fuerit or. Id vero, judices, etiam dubitandum et diutius cogi-

<sup>1</sup> (eo tempore) si venisset. Moëbius erroneously says that amitteret ut for amisisset.

Occidisset. "He would have slain him," i. e. si subsidisset.

Tum neque. "While neither the voiceless solitude," &c. Mathiae, retaining that a reason is here required, such as quando quidem, "Since voiceless solitude," &c., a sense he denies to *tum*, rejects the word, thinks that *neque muta solitudo*, *neque cæca nox*, are additional of the first reason why the charge could not be laid to Milo.

Omnis Etruria, i. e. all the people of Etruria whom Clodius had lately harassed.—*Ad se in Albinum*, thus *venit etiam ad me in alnum*, Attic. iv. 9. The Greeks thus use πρός regarding persons, regarding places.

Quod ut sciret Milo. Scil. illum Ariciæ fuisse, and therefore on his <sup>æ</sup>; Mathiae and others have nisi, which is = *ut*, "although," and <sup>æ</sup> *tamen* follows.

hæc non gesta audiretis, sed picta videretis, tamen a  
uter esset insidiator, uter nihil cogitaret malū, qu  
veheretur in rheda pænulatus, una sederet ux  
horum non impeditissimum? <sup>4</sup> vestitus, an vehic  
comes? quid minus promptum ad pugnam, quun  
irreitus, rheda impeditus, uxore pæne constrictu  
<sup>5</sup> Videte nunc illum, primum egredientem e villa, sub  
vesperi; quid necesse est? tarde; qui convenit, p  
id temporis? Devertit in villam Pompeii. Pompei  
videret? sciebat, in Alsiensi esse; villam ut per  
millies in ea fuerat; quid ergo erat? mora et terg  
dum hic veniret, locum relinquere noluit.

XXI. (55.) <sup>6</sup> Age, nunc iter expediti latronis cur

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<sup>1</sup> Quo in fundo. See Rosc. §. 23; Cæs. B. G. 11, 18.

<sup>2</sup> Insanas subtractiones. Below we have subtractionum in

<sup>3</sup> Hominum mille. "A body of a thousand men." Hence t  
versabatur, as in Phil. vi. 5, 16. Qui L. Antonio mille num  
expensum. Edits. have versabantur, and so Steinmetz, by a typ  
error.

<sup>4</sup> Vestitus, an vehiculum. "Quasi præcessisset, Quid ha  
ditius?"—MATH.

<sup>5</sup> Videte nunc illum. Grævius, followed by some editors, i  
the beauty of this passage, by supposing a dialogue to take  
tween the friends of Clodius and Cicero. Thus, Cic. v  
illum primum egredientem e villa? CLODIANI, Subito. Cic.

spedimentis comparete. Semper ille antea cum uxore ; non sine ea ; nunquam nisi in rheda ; tum in equo ; comites treculi, quoque ibat, etiam quum <sup>7</sup> in castra Etrusca ruperabat ; <sup>8</sup> tum in comitatu nugarum nihil. Milo, qui nunquam, tum casu pueros symphoniacos uxoris ducebat et bellarum greges. Ille, qui semper secum scorta, semper mletos, semper lupas duceret, tum neminem, <sup>9</sup> nisi ut <sup>10</sup> virum viro lectum esse diceret. Cur igitur victus est ? Quia non semper viator a latrone, nonnumquam etiam latro a viatore eruditur ; quia, quamquam paratus in imparatos Clodius, men mulier inciderat in viros. (56.) Nec vero sic erat numquam non paratus Milo contra illum, ut non satis fere esset paratus. <sup>11</sup> Semper ille, et quantum interesset P. Clodii, perire, et quanto illi odio esset, et quantum ille auderet, gitabat. Quamobrem vitam suam, quam maximis praemissis opositam et <sup>12</sup> pene addictam sciebat, numquam in pericula sine praesidio et sine custodia projiciebat. Adde casus, de incertos exitus pugnarum <sup>13</sup> Martemque communem, qui per spoliantem jam et exultantem evertit et <sup>14</sup> perculit ab

<sup>1</sup> *Age*. Some read *agite* on account of *comparate*, but *age* is frequently joined to a plural. See *Propert.* 1, 1, 21 ; *Liv.* 38, 47.

<sup>2</sup> *In castra Etrusca*, i. e. the camp of Catiline, under Marius at Sula.—*ASCONIUS*. Manutius, however, explains as Clodius' own camp. See above, *totaque rea citaretur Etruria*, and below.

<sup>3</sup> *Tum nugarum*. “Then, there were no triflers in his train.” He means players, mimics, &c. Thus *quisquilia* is used *Pro Sext.* 43, 94, in § 24. *Nihil ab istis nugis exspectandum*, i. e. *ab illo homine pectorio*.

<sup>4</sup> *Nisi ut*, i. e. *nisi tales ut*. For the omission of *tales* before *ut*, cf. *ut.* 47, 174. L. Gellius, *non tam vendibilis orator, quam (talem) vocare, quid ei deesseset*. MATH.

<sup>5</sup> *Virum a viro*. “Man selected by each man, to be his comrade.” In dangerous expeditions the soldiers were allowed to choose their comrades. See *Liv.* ix. 39. The phrase is differently used (e. g. to set an antagonist) by VIRGIL, *Aen.* xi. 632.

<sup>6</sup> *Semper ille*. Usually *ille* denotes Clodius, as in this very sentence ; so, if genuine, it denotes Milo, whence some editors reject the noun.

<sup>7</sup> *Pene addictam*. “Put in another's power.” A metaphor from a debtor, who being unable to pay, was consigned by the praetor to his creditor, to be used as a slave until he cleared off the debt. MATH. *ad. Com.* 14, *addictus erat tibi*. *Flacc.* 20, *addictus Hermippo et abductus est*.

<sup>8</sup> *Martem communem*. “Mars, who often changeth sides : ἄλλος ἄλλον, *Ili.* 6, 831.

<sup>9</sup> *Perculit ab abjecto*. “Strikes down by the instrumentality of a

abjecto adde inscitiam pransi, poti, oscitantis ducis, qui quum a tergo hostem interclusum reliquisset, nihil de ejus extremis comitibus cogitavit, in quos incensos ira vitamque domini desperantes quum incidisset, hæsit in iis pœnis, quas ab eo servi fideles pro domini vita expetiverunt. Cur igitur eos manumisit? (57.) Metuebat scilicet, ne indicarent, ne dolorem perferre non possent, ne tormentis cogerentur occisum esse a servis Milonis in Appia via P. Clodium confiteri. Quid opus est tortore? Quid quæris? Occideritne? Occidit. Jure an injuria? Nihil ad tortorem. Facti enim in eculeo quæstio est, juris in judicio.

**XXII.** Quod igitur in causa quærendum est, id agamus hic; quod tormentis invenire vis, id fatemur. Manu vero cur miserit, si id potuis quæris, quam cur parum amplis afficerit præmiis, nescis inimici factum reprehendere. (58.) Dixit enim hic idem, qui omnia semper constanter et fortiter, M. Cato, et dixit in turbulentia contione, quæ tamen hujus auctoritate placata est, non libertate solum, sed etiam omnibus præmiis dignissimos fuisse, qui domini caput defendissent. Quod enim præmium satis magnum est tam benevoli, tam boni, tam fidelibus servis,<sup>1</sup> propter quos vivit? Etsi id quidem non tanti est, quam quod propter eosdem non sanguine et vulneribus suis crudelissimi inimici mentem oculosque satiavit. Quos nisi manumisisset, tormentis etiam dedendi fuerunt conservatores domini, ultores sceleris,<sup>2</sup> defensores necis. Hic vero nihil habet in his malis, quod minus moleste ferat, quam,<sup>3</sup> etiamsi quid ipsi accidat, esse tamen illis meritum præmium persolutum. (59.) Sed quæ-

prostrate foe." As Eteocles was slain by Polynices. For the use of the preposition, cf. Acad. i. 7, 29: *nihil valentius esse a quo intereat*; thus the Greeks use ὑπὸ. See MATH. Gr. Gr. 592. Cf. II. σ. 309 ξενὸς Ἐννάλιος, καὶ τε κτανέοντα κατέκτα.

<sup>1</sup> *Propter quos vivit.* "By whose aid he now lives." Cf. Rosc. § 63.

<sup>2</sup> *Defensores necis* "Who protected him from death. Thus the Greeks use πύργος θανατῶν ἄλκη γειτόνων."

<sup>3</sup> *Etiamsi quid ipsi accidat.* "Though some calamity should happen to himself." A euphemism, for, if he should be condemned to the *capitis deminutio*.

<sup>4</sup> *In atrio Libertatis*, i. e. in a pillared court in front of the temple of liberty.

<sup>5</sup> *Appius.* This is Appius Clodius, nephew of Publius Clodius, and son of Caius.

<sup>6</sup> *Ab Appio.* "From the house of Appius."

<sup>7</sup> *De serris—in dominum*, i. e. no examination by torture can be

tones urgent Milonem, quæ sunt habitæ nunc <sup>4</sup> in atrio libertatis. Quibusnam de servis? Rogas? De P. Clodii. quis eos postulavit? <sup>5</sup> Appius. Quis produxit? Appius. Inde? <sup>6</sup> Ab Appio. Di boni! quid potest agi severius? De servis nulla lege quæstio est in dominum, nisi de incestu, ut fuit in Clodium. Proxime deos accessit Clodius, opius quam tum, quum ad ipsos penetrarat, cuius de morte inquam de cærimoniiis violatis queritur. Sed tamen mares nostri in dominum [de servo] queri noluerunt, non iis non posset verum inveniri, sed quia videbatur indignum dominis morte ipsa tristius. In reum de servo accusatoris ium queritur, verum inveniri potest? Age vero, quæ erat it qualis quæstio? (60.) Heus tu, Rufio, verbi causa, cave <sup>7</sup> mentiare. Clodius insidias fecit Miloni? Fecit. Certa ux. Nullas fecit. Sperata libertas. Quid hac quæstione artius? <sup>8</sup> Subito abrepti in quæstionem tamen separantur ceteris et in arcas conjiciuntur, ne quis cum iis colloqui possit. Hi centum dies penes accusatorem quum fuissent, ab eo ipso accusatore producti sunt. Quid hac quæstione nisi potest integrius? quid incorruptius?

**XXIII.** (61.) Quod si nondum satis cernitis, quum res <sup>9</sup> tot tam claris argumentis signisque luceat, pura mente que <sup>10</sup> integra Milonem, nullo scelere imbutum, nullo metu exterritum, nulla conscientia exanimatum Romanum reverire, recordamini, per deos immortales! quæ fuerit celeritas editus ejus, qui ingressus in forum, ardente curia, quæ magnitudo animi, qui vultus, quæ oratio. <sup>11</sup> Neque vero se populo solum, sed etiam senatui commisit, neque senatui

held on slaves against their masters, &c. Cf. *Partit.* c. 34: *dicendum de nostrorum etiam prudentissimorum hominum institutis, qui, quum de servis in dominos queri noluisserent, de incestu tamen et coniuratione, quæ fide me consule est, querendum putaverunt.* See *Tacit. Annal.* ii. 30.

<sup>1</sup> *Mentiare.* Cicero likes to use this form instead of *mentiaris*, where there can be no ambiguity.—MATH.

<sup>2</sup> *Subito abrepti.* “Slaves unexpectedly seized, are yet separated from all others, and cast into cells, that none can hold conversation with them. These, when they have been retained in the accuser's power for 100 days, are brought into court by that accuser,” &c.

<sup>3</sup> *Neque se populo, &c.* This passage is cited by Aquila among the instances of climax. He also cites that famous passage of Demosthenes, *De Cor.* p. 288, (Reiske) οὐκ εἰπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα τι, οὐδὲ ἔγραψα μὲν, οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα δὲ, οὐδὲ ἐπρέσβευσα μὲν, οὐκ ταῦτα δὲ Θηβαιος.

modo, sed etiam publicis praesidiis et armis, tempore militantum, verum etiam ejus potestati, cui senatus totam res publicam, omnem Italiam pubem, cuncta populi Romani arma commiserat, cui numquam se hic profecto tradidisset nisi cause sua consideret, praesertim omnia audienti, magni metuenti, multa suspicanti, nonnulla credenti. Magna vero est conscientiae, judices, et magna in utramque partem neque timeant, qui nihil commiserint, et poenam semper sub oculos versari putent, qui peccarint. (62.) Neque vero si ratione certa, causa Milonis semper a senatu probata. Videbant enim sapientissimi homines facti rationem, praetiam animi, <sup>1</sup> defensionis constantiam. An vero oblitus est judices, recenti illo nuntio necia Clodiane, non modo iniuriarum Milonis sermones et opinione, sed nonnullorum etiam imperitorum? Negabant eum Romanum esse redditurum. (63.) Sive enim illud animo irato ac percito fecisset, ut incendio odio trucidaret inimicum, arbitrabantur, eum tanti mortis P. Clodii putasse, ut sequo animo patria caceret, quum a guino inimici explesset odium suum, sive etiam illius maius patriam liberare voluisse, non dubitaturum fortem virum, quum suo periculo salutem rei publicae attulisset, deret sequo animo legibus, secum auferret gloriam sempiternam, nobis haec fruenda relinquere, quae ipse servare. Multi etiam Catilinam atque <sup>2</sup> illa portenta loquebantur. "Erumpet, occupabit aliquem locum, bellum patriæ faciat. Miseros interdum cives optime de re publica meritos, in quibus homines non modo res præclarissimas obliviscuntur, etiam nefarias suspicantur!" (64.) Ergo illa falsa fuerunt, quae certe vera exstitissent, si Milo admississet aliquid, quod non posset honeste vereque defendere.

<sup>1</sup> *Defensionis constantiam.* "The firmness of his defence," i. e. unchanging colour and undistayed aspect. See Justin, I, 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Sive illud . . . ut.* "If he had, through angry and excited feelings effected that,—as any foe would slay his enemy."

<sup>3</sup> *Cederet legibus,* i. e. would retire into exile, which was the punishment appointed for his crime by the laws.

<sup>4</sup> *Illa portenta.* "Those monstrous men," i. e. such as Catilina, Lentulus, &c. Thus Cicero calls Piso and Gabinius, *duo rei publicae portenta*, *Or. de Prov. Cons.*, I, 2. MATH. Schütz interprets *portenta* *portenta verborum*, such as *erumpet*, &c.

<sup>5</sup> *Conscientia.* "Through consciousness even of mere modish guilt." *Conscientia* is the ablative of the instrument.

<sup>6</sup> *Tota commissa est rei publica,* i. e. to whom is entrusted the safety

**XIV. QUID?** quæ postea sunt in eum congesta, quæ nvis etiam mediocrium delictorum <sup>5</sup> conscientia percunt, ut sustinuit! dii immortales! sustinuit? immo vero contempsit ac pro nihilo putavit! quæ neque maximo no nocens, neque innocens, nisi fortissimus vir, negligere iisset. Scutorum, gladiorum, frenorum, pilorumque etiam titudo deprehendi posse indicabatur; nullum in urbe in, nullum angiportum esse dicebant, in quo non Miloni ducta esset domus; arma in villam Oriculanam devecta eri; domus in clivo Capitolino scutis referta; plena omnia leolorum ad urbis incendia comparatorium. Hæc non ita solum, sed pæne credita, nec ante repudiata sunt, in quæsita. (65.) Laudabam equidem incredibilem dili-tiam Cn. Pompeii; sed dicam, ut sentio, judices. Nimis ita coguntur audire, neque aliter facere possunt ii, quibus ta commissa est res publica; quin etiam fuerit <sup>7</sup> audiendus a Licinius nescio qui de circo maximo; servos Milonis id se ebrios factos sibi confessos esse, de interficiendo Pompeio conjurasse, dein postea se gladio percussum esse ab eo de illis, ne indicaret, Pompeio in hortos nuntiavit. Ar-tor in primis. De amicorum sententia rem defert ad se-um. Non poteram in illius mei patriæque custodis tanta pacione non metu exanimari, sed mirabar tamen, credi-pæ, confessionem servorum audiri, vulnus in latere, quod i punctum videretur, pro ictu gladiatoris <sup>8</sup> probari. (66.) rum, ut intelligo, cavebat magis Pompeius, quam timebat, ea solum, quæ timenda erant, sed omnia ne vos aliquid ieretis. Oppugnata domus C. Cæsar, clarissimi et for-simi viri, per multas noctis horas nuntiabatur. Nemo dierat tam celebri loco, nemo senserat; tamen audiebatur.

te, not merely a single department of its policy, as below we have *se paries*.

*Audiendus, &c.* "Nay even a sacrificing priest must be listened (who said) that the slaves of Milo," &c. The passage is equal to *audiendus est popa Licinius qui dicebat seruos.* We have already referred to the omission of such words as *dicere*, &c. (chap. 18, 47.) A able instance occurs in Livy, iv. 20: *quum Augustum Cæsarem se in thorace linteo scriptum legisse audissem*, where *dicentem* is to supplied.

*Probari.* "Should be believed to be a gladiator's home-thrust." torinus (V. L. xviii. 16) compares Lysias (p. 172, Reiske): ὁ δὲ εἰς τὸ βαρυδαιμονίας ἤκει, ὥστε οὐκ αἰσχύνεται τραῦμά γε διομάζων ἴκτυπια.

hoc Clodianum crimen timemus, sed tuas, Un. Pom.  
enim jam appello, <sup>4</sup> et ea voce, ut me exaudire possis  
tuas, inquam, suspiciones perhorrescimus. Si M.  
times, si hunc de tua vita nefarie aut nunc cogi-  
molitum aliquando aliquid putas, si Italiæ delectus,  
nulli conquisitores tui dictitarunt, si hæc arma, si Ca-  
cohortes, si <sup>5</sup>excubiae, si vigiliæ, si <sup>6</sup>delecta juventu-  
tuum corpus domumque custodit, contra Milonis i-  
armata est, atque illa omnia in hunc unum instituta,  
intenta sunt, magna certe in hoc vis et incredibilis  
et non unius viri vires atque opes indicantur, <sup>7</sup> si quod  
hunc unum et præstantissimus dux electus et tota re  
publica armata est. (68.) Sed quis non intelligit, om-

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<sup>1</sup> *Tota re publica suscepta.* The government of the whole  
undertaken. See above, note 2, p. 310. The old grammarians  
that *recipimus rogati, suscipimus ultro.* Mathiæ thinks *suscipere*  
genus, “to undertake in any way;” *recipere*, to undertake what  
requested.

<sup>2</sup> *Senator inventus est.* P. Cornificius.—*Ut, eo dicente.* The  
reading of Grævius and Garaton. Mathiæ retains the MS.  
*nisi, eo tacente,* “Since the whole life of such a man and such  
could not convince Cornificius, unless the absolute fact in this  
should give its testimony: “*Hoc itaque opus esse videbatur Cor-*  
*res ipsa loqueretur, alioqui propter vitam ante actam fidem*  
*habuisse.*”

i publicæ partes ægras et labantes, ut eas his armis sanares  
confirmares, esse commissas? <sup>8</sup> Quod si locus Miloni  
tas esset, probasset profecto tibi ipsi, neminem umquam  
minem homini cariorem fuisse quam te sibi; nullum se  
quam periculum pro tua dignitate fugisse; cum illa ipsa  
terrima peste se sæpius pro tua gloria contendisse;  
unatum suum ad salutem meam, quæ tibi carissima  
met, consiliis tuis gubernatum; se a te postea defensum  
periculo capitis, adjutum in petitione præturæ; duos se  
bere semper amicissimos sperasse, te tuo beneficio, me  
l. Quæ si non probaret, si tibi ita penitus inhæsisset ista  
picio, nullo ut evelli modo posset, si denique Italia a  
ectu, urbs ab armis sine Milonis clade numquam esset  
quietura, næ <sup>9</sup> iste haud dubitans cessisset patria, is, qui  
natus est et ita consuevit; te, Magne, tamen <sup>10</sup> antesta-  
ur; quod nunc etiam facit.

**LXVI.** (69.) Vide, quam sit varia vitæ commutabilisque  
io, quam vaga volubilisque fortuna, quantæ infidelitates  
amicitiis, quam ad tempus aptæ simulationes, quantæ in-  
sulæ fugæ proximorum, quantæ timiditates. Erit, erit  
ad profecto tempus et illucescit ille aliquando dies, quum tu,  
salutaribus, ut spero, rebus tuis, sed fortasse motu aliquo

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*Quod si locus Miloni datus esset.* “Had an audience been granted Milo,” which was not. Pompey did not admit Milo when he came give him an explanation.

*Iste.* He points out Milo.—*Qui ita natus est.* “So disposed from birth,” as below (chap. 37), *ea mente natus est*; and the Greek δογμα πέφυκε. *Ita consuevit.*—“And so guided habitually his life;” *ita ex rationem instituit.*—MATH.

*Antestaretur.* “Calls you to bear testimony;” namely, that he wished for an audience in order to remove your suspicions.—*ad nunc etiam fecit,* inasmuch as he was denied admittance before.

*Salutaribus rebus tuis.* “While your resources are still protective” usually *salutaribus* is taken as if it were written *salvis*. But *salutare* means, “that which, safe itself, brings safety to others.” Thus Math, *its salvis, ut tua salus non imminuat sed ut aliis etiam et rei publicæ datum afferre possint.* Mathiæ and others refer the whole chapter to *prophetic power* in which Cicero used to boast. (Cf. *Sext.* 21, 47, *Non hæc denique a me tum, tanquam fata, in ipsa re gerenda caneuntur.*) See also *Cat.* iv. 2, § 3; ii. § 23.) Long experience in state affairs is wont to produce great foresight; but such a passage as this could be quite out of place in addressing Pompey, then in the zenith of his power. It seems more natural, then, to suppose that this whole chapter was added by Cicero at some later period.

comunium temporum (qui quam crebro accida scire debemus), et amicissimi benevolentiam et viri magnitudinem animi desideres. (70.) Quam hoc credat, Cn. Pompeium, juris publici, moris madenique publicae peritissimum, quum senatus ei cum videret, *ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet*, versiculo satis armati semper consules fuerunt, eti armis datis, hunc exercitu, hunc delectu dato, juc spectaturum fuisse in ejus consiliis vindicandis, qui ipsa tolleret? Satis judicatum est a Pompeio, si ista conferri in Milonem, qui legem tulit, qua, ut e Milonem absolvi a vobis <sup>2</sup> oporteret, ut omnes c liceret. (71.) Quod <sup>3</sup> in illo loco atque illis p præsidiorum copiis circumfusus sedet, satis declarat terrorem inferre vobis (quid enim minus illo dign cogere, ut vos eum condemnetis, in quem anim ipse et more majorum et suo jure posset?), sed esse, ut intelligatis, contra hesternam illam contion vobis, quod sentiatis, libere judicare.

**XXVII.** (72.) Nec vero me, judices, <sup>4</sup> Clodianum movet, nec tam sum demens tamque vestri sensu atque expers, ut nesciam, quid de morte Clodii De qua, si jam nolle ita diluere crimen, ut dilui, <sup>1</sup> pune Miloni palam clamare ac mentiri gloriose lice cidi, occidi, non Sp. Mælium, qui annona levanda que rei familiaris, quia nimis amplecti plebem videtur suspicionem incidit <sup>6</sup> regni appetendi: non Ti. Gracchus <sup>7</sup> collegæ magistratum per seditionem abrogavit, q

<sup>1</sup> *Quo uno versiculo.* “By which single sentence.” *De Leges Titias, Apuleias, Livias uno versiculo sublatæ.* — *Sallust Livy, iv. 53: hoc decreto consul armatus.* Sallust is classicus regarding the powers conferred by this decree. *per senatum, more Romano, magistratui maxima permittitur parare, bellum gerere, coercere quodvis omnibus socios atque militiæque imperium atque judicium summum habere.* — *Cat. 2:*

<sup>2</sup> *Oporteret, liceret.* These imperfects refer to the period law was passed, and the intention of the proposer.

<sup>3</sup> *In illo loco*, i. e. the *Aerarium*.

<sup>4</sup> *Clodianum crimen.* “The charge arising from the Clodius.” — *Mentiri gloriose.* “And boastfully to state a gloriari, sed ita ut mentiretur se Clodium tanquam pernicie consulto occidisse. *MATH.*

<sup>5</sup> *Jacturis.* See Man. Law, § 67.

res impleverunt orbem terrarum nominis sui gloria,  
 (auderet enim dicere, quum patriam periculo suo  
 sit), cuius <sup>8</sup> nefandum adulterium in pulvinaribus  
 imis nobilissimæ feminæ comprehenderunt; (73.)  
 jus suppicio senatus sollemnes religiones expiandas  
 insuit; eum, quem cum sorore germana nefarium  
 fecisse, L. Lucullus juratus, se, quæstionibus habitis,  
 nperisse; eum, qui civem, quem senatus, quem po-  
 lomanus, quem omnes gentes urbis ac vitæ civium  
 itorem judicarant, servorum armis exterminavit;  
 regna dedit, ademit, orbem terrarum, quibuscum  
 partitus est; eum, qui, plurimis cædibus in foro factis,  
 ri virtute et gloria civem domum vi et armis compu-  
 i, cui nihil umquam nefas fuit nec in facinore nec in  
 ; eum, qui ædem Nympharum incendit, ut memoriani  
 a recensionis, tabulis publicis impressam, extin-

(74.) eum denique, cui jam nulla lex erat, nulluni-  
 is, nulli possessionum termini; qui non calumnia  
 non injustis vindiciis ac sacramentis alienos fundos,  
 is, exercitu, signis inferendis petebat; qui non solum  
 ; (eos enim penitus contempserat), sed hunc P.  
 fortissimum atque optimum civem, judicem nos-  
 ellere possessionibus armis castrisque conatus est;  
 architectis et decempedis villas multorum hortosque  
 dat; qui Janiculo et Alpibus spem possessionum  
 dat suarum; qui, quum ab equite Romano splendido  
 M. Paconio, non impetrasset, ut sibi insulam <sup>10</sup> in  
 io venderet, repente lintribus in eam insulam mate-

*appetendi.* "Of aiming at sovereignty." Cf. PHIL. 11, 44,  
*Cassius et Mælius, M. Manlius propter suspicionem regni  
 sunt necati.*

*æ.* M. Octavius, who opposed the passing' of Gracchus's laws.  
 eposed from his tribunate.—*Periculo suo.* "Attended with  
 myself," the same as *cum suo periculo*.

*dum.* "Unnatural," "incestuos," from the violation of  
 the term is stronger than *nefarium* below. Cf. *in Pison.* iv.  
*m homine in stupris inauditis* (violation of the mysteries of  
 Dea) *nefarisque* (his intrigue with his sister) *versato.* GARATON.  
*imæ feminæ.* "Not only the vestals, but the most noble

*ari virtute, &c.* Cneius Pompey.—*Memoriam publicam, &c.*  
 lic record of the censure passed upon him, engraven on the  
 ords."

*ru Prilio.* Now *Lago di Castiglione.* ORELL.—*Atque arma.*

hominem mihi conjunctum fidissima gratia, absen-  
possessione fundi dejecit; qui parietem sic per ves-  
tibulum sororis instituit ducere, sic agere fundamenta, ut  
non modo vestibulo privaret, sed omni aditu et limi-

XXVIII. (76.) <sup>2</sup> QUAMQUAM hæc quidem jam to-  
videbantur, etsi æquabiliter in rem publicam, in priva-  
longinquos, in propinquos, in alienos, in suos irruerat  
nescio quomodo jam usu obduruerat et percalluerat  
incredibilis patientia. Quæ vero aderant jam et in-  
bant, quonam modo ea aut depellere potuissetis au-  
Imperium ille si nactus esset, omitto socios, exteris  
reges, tetrarchas; vota enim faceretis, ut in eos se-  
immitteret quam in vestras possessiones, vestra tec-  
tras pecunias; pecunias dico? a liberis, mediis fidi-  
conjugibus vestris numquam ille effrenatas suas libid-  
hibuisset. Fingi hæc putatis, quæ patent, quæ no-  
omnibus, <sup>4</sup> quæ tenentur? servorum exercitus illum  
conscriptorum fuisse, per quos totam rem publicam  
privatas omnium possideret? (77.) Quamobrem, si  
tum gladium tenens clamaret T. Annus: “Adeste,  
atque audite, cives; P. Clodium interfeci; ejus furor  
nullis jam legibus, nullis judiciis frenare poteramus, h-

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Usually rendered, “tools;” but this was a forcible occupation  
the common’s will and therefore arms were required — Martius

hac dextera a cervicibus vestris reppuli, per me ut unum, <sup>5</sup> aequitas, leges, libertas, <sup>6</sup> pudor, <sup>6</sup> pudicitia in civitate uerent," esset vero timendum, quonam modo id ferretas! Nunc enim quis est, qui non probet? qui non let? qui non unum post hominum memoriam T. Annium sumum rei publicæ profuisse, maxima lætitia populum nanum, cunctam Italianam, nationes omnes affecisse et t et sentiat? Non queo, vetera illa populi Romani lilia quanta fuerint, judicare. Multas tamen jam summo-imperatorum clarissimas victorias ætas nostra vidi, cum nulla neque tam diuturnam attulit lætitiam nec am. (78.) Mandate hoc memoriæ, judices. Spero multa liberosque vestros in re publica bona esse visuros; in iis ulis ita semper existimabis, vivo P. Clodio nihil eorum visuros fuisse. In spem maximam et, quemadmodum ido, verissimam sumus adducti, hunc ipsum annum, hoc summo viro consule, compressa hominum licentia, cupitibus fractis, legibus et judiciis constitutis, salutarem ati fore. Num quis est igitur tam demens, qui hoc, Plio vivo, contingere potuisse arbitretur? Quid? ea, quætis, privata atque vestra, dominante homine furioso, quod perpetuae possessionis habere potuissent?

XIX. Non timeo, judices, ne odio mearum inimicitia-inflammatus libentius hæc in illum evomere videar quam us. Etenim etsi præcipuum esse debebat, tamen ita munis erat omnium ille hostis, ut in communi odio <sup>7</sup> pæne aliter versaretur odium meum. Non potest dici satis, cogitari quidem, quantum in illo sceleris, quantum exitii it. (79.) Quin sic attendite, judices. Nempe hæc est stio de interitu P. Clodii. Fingite animis (liberæ sunt a nostræ cogitationes et, quæ volunt, sic intuentur, <sup>8</sup> ut

s manifest, it is said *patere*; when proofs are brought forward, i." GARAT.

*Pudor.* "Respect," *aiðώς*. The proper fear which prevents the commission of evil.

*Pudicitia* is personal "chastity."

*Pæne æqualiter.* "Was only on a par with that of others," i. e. hatred was only equal to that which others felt, was not more than.—*Exitii.* "Powers of ill;" powers to do injury to others.

*It ea cernimus, quæ videmus.* "As we perceive, those things h we see."—*Videmus ea quæ forte oculis objicientur, cernimus, quum solum totum, sed partes etiam distincte percipimus.*" MATH. Cf. i 20, 46: *nos ne nunc quidem oculis cernimus, quæ videmus.*

ea cernimus, quæ videmus),<sup>1</sup> fingite igitur cogitatione imaginem hujus condicionis meæ, si possim efficere, ut Milonem absolvatis, sed ita, si P. Clodius revixerit. Quid vultu extimuis? Quonam modo ille vos vivus afficeret, quæ mortuus inani cogitatione percussit? Quid? si ipse Cn Pompeius, qui ea virtute ac fortuna est, ut ea potuerit semper, quæ nemo præter illum, si is, inquam, potueret aut quæstionem de morte P. Clodii ferre aut ipsum ab inferis excitare, utrum putatis potius facturum fuisse? Etiam propter amicitiam vellet illum ab inferis evocare, propter rem publicam non fecisset. Ejus igitur mortis sedetis ultores, cuius vitam si putetis per vos restitui posse, nolitis, et de ejus nece lata quæstio est, qui si eadem lege revivisceret posset, lata lex numquam esset. Hujus ergo <sup>2</sup> interfector <sup>3</sup> esset, in confitendo ab iisne poenam timeret, quos liberavisset? (80.) Græci homines deorum honores tribuerunt in viris, qui tyrannos necaverunt. Quæ ego vidi Athenis, quæ aliis in urbibus Græciæ? <sup>4</sup> quas res divinas talibus institutas viris? quos cantus? quæ carmina? Prope <sup>5</sup> immortalitatis et religionem et memoriam consecravit. Vos tanti conservatorem populi, tanti sceleris ultorem non modo honoribus nullis afficietis, sed etiam ad supplicium rapaci patiemini? Confiteretur, confiteretur, inquam, si fecisset, et magno animo et libente, fecisse se libertatis omnium causa, quod esset ei non confitendum modo, verum etiam prædicandum.

XXX. (81.) Etenim, si id non negat, ex quo nihil petit, nisi ut ignoscatur, dubitaret id fateri, ex quo etiam præmia laudis essent petenda? nisi vero gratius putat esse vobis, mi-

<sup>1</sup> *Fingite igitur.* "Imagine then." *Igitur* recalls us to what preceded the parenthesis.—*Utrum putatis.* "Which of the two would be execute." Hermann erroneously supposed *utrum=an.*

<sup>2</sup> *Interfector qui esset.* "Any one who slew him." A general expression. Garaton reads *si esset*, i. e. Milo; but Milo already acknowledged he had put Clodius to death.

<sup>3</sup> *Quas res divinas, &c.* There is still extant a famous στόλος in honour of Aristogeiton; ἐν μύρτου κλαδὶ τὸ ξίφος φορήσω, &c. Δεμοτικ. παραπρ. 431, 16; οὓς νόμῳ διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας, ἀς ὑπῆρξαν εἰς ὄμρος, ἡ ἅπασι τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις σπουδῶν καὶ κρατήρων κονιώντες πεποιηθε, καὶ ἀδετε καὶ τιμᾶτε ἔξισον τοῖς ἥρωσι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς.

<sup>4</sup> *Ad religionem.* "To religious worship," ut religiose colandur.—*Immortalitatis religio.* "Worship due to immortality," i. e. to beings of immortal nature, scil. Diis. MATH.

quam vestri defensorem fuisse; <sup>5</sup> quum præsertim fessione, si grati esse velletis, honores assequeretur nos; si factum vobis non probaretur (quamquam at salus sua cuiquam non probari?) <sup>6</sup> sed tamen si ritissimi viri virtus civibus grata cecidisset, magno instantique cederet ex ingrata civitate. Nam quid ratus, quam lætari ceteros, lugere eum solum, propter ceteri lætarentur? (82.) Quamquam hoc animo mnes fuimus in patriæ proditoribus opprimendis, am nostra futura esset gloria, <sup>7</sup> periculum quoque et nostram putaremus. Nam <sup>8</sup> quæ mihi ipsi tribu- esset, quum tantum in consulatu meo pro vobis ac estris ausus essem, si id, quum conabar, sine max- cationibus meis me esse ausurum arbitrarer? Quæ celeratum ac perniciosum civem occidere non aude- ericulum non timeret? Proposita invidia, morte, i nihilo segnius rem publicam defendit, is vir vere est. Populi grati est, præmiis afficere bene meritos blica cives, viri fortis, ne suppliciis quidem moveri, r fecisse pœnitentia. (83.) Quamobrem uteretur eadem ne T. Annus, qua Ahala, qua Nasica, qua Opimius, ius, qua nosmet ipsi, et, si grata res publica esset, si ingrata, tamen in gravi fortuna conscientia sua.

Sed hujus beneficii gratiam, judices, fortuna omani et vestra felicitas et di immortales sibi de- ant. Nec vero quisquam aliter arbitrari potest, nullam <sup>9</sup> vim esse dicit numenve divinum, quem aperii nostri magnitudo neque sol ille nec cæli sig-

*præsertim, &c.* “Unless, forsooth, he thinks it more grateful that he has been the defender of his own life, than that he has defender of your order,” (which is absurd), *and gladly would such an act*, especially, since by his so confessing it, &c. *in præsertim* a sentence is implied: *hæc inest sententia, gratissi- putat esse, se vestri capit is defensorem fuisse, idque libenter*, *quum præsertim, &c.* MATH.

*men si.* “Yet still if.”

*dum quoque.* Cf. Herod. vii. 50. Μεγάλα πρήγματα μεγά- ννοσι ἐθέλει καταιρέσθαι. GARATON.

*nihi ipsi—esset.* “What praise should have been given to id I thought!” &c. *numenve divinum.* “No heavenly power or government.” *I have majestatem for vni.*

norumque motus nec vicissitudines rerum atque ordines  
movent neque, id quod maximum est, majorum sapientia,  
qui sacra, qui cærimonias, qui auspicia et ipsi sanctissime  
coluerunt et nobis, suis posteris, prodiderunt. (84.) <sup>1</sup> Est,  
est profecto illa vis; neque in his corporibus atque in ha-  
imbecillitate nostra inest quiddam, quod vigeat et sentiat, et  
non inest in hoc tanto naturæ tam præclaro motu. Ni  
forte idcirco non putant, quia <sup>2</sup> non apparet nec cernitur;  
proinde quasi nostram ipsam mentem, qua sapimus, qua  
providemus, qua hæc ipsa agimus ac dicimus, videre aut  
plane, qualis aut ubi sit, sentire possimus. Ea vis igitur  
ipsa, quæ sæpe incredibiles huic urbi felicitates atque opes  
attulit, illam perniciem extinxit ac sustulit, cui prima  
mentem injecit, ut vi irritare ferroque laceressere fortissimum  
virum auderet vincereturque ab eo, quem si vicisset, habi-  
turus esset impunitatem et licentiam sempiternam. (85.)  
Non est humano consilio, ne mediocri quidem, judices, deo-  
rum immortalium cura res illa perfecta. Religiones mehe-  
cule ipsæ, quæ illam beluam cadere viderunt, <sup>3</sup> commovisse  
se videntur et jus in illo suum retinuisse. Vos enim jam,  
Albani tumuli atque luci, vos, inquam, imploro atque testor,  
vosque Albanorum obrutæ aræ, sacrorum populi Romani  
sociæ et æquales, quas ille, præceps amentia, cæsis prostra-  
tisque sanctissimis lucis, substructionum insanis molibus  
oppresserat; vestræ tum, [aræ,] vestræ religiones viguerunt,  
vestra vis valuit, quam ille omni scelere polluerat, tuque ex  
tuo edito monte, Latiaris sancte Jupiter, cuius ille lacus,  
nemora finesque sæpe omni nefario stupro et scelere macu-  
larat, aliquando ad cum pœniendum oculos aperuisti; vobis

<sup>1</sup> *Est, est, &c.* "There exists, there does exist undoubtedly that power, and there cannot exist in these our mortal frames, and this our weakness a something which lives and feels, while it does not exist in," &c. The argument is, in our weak bodies a living principle exists, and therefore must exist in the wondrous movement of nature. Cf. *de Fato*, 1. *Non et sunt in sphæra maximi orbis, et hi non medii inter dividuntur*, which is the same as in *sphæra sunt maximi orbis, et hi medii inter se dividuntur*. MATH.

<sup>2</sup> *Non apparet nec cernitur.* CIC. *Tusc.* i. 2, 51. Bishop Butler. Anal. p. 1, ch. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Mentem injecit ut—auderet vincereturque.* "To the student this seems a slip, but to an auditor, such an expression would escape notice in delivery." MATH. To the former it appears absurd to say, *mentem injecit ut vinceretur*. What Cicero means is, inspired the resolution of daring, whence it resulted, that he should be vanquished.

**I**te, vobis vestro in conspectu seræ, sed justæ tamen et  
ebites pœnæ solutæ sunt. (86.) Nisi forte hoc etiam casu  
actum esse dicemus, ut ante ipsum sacrarium Bonæ Deæ,  
mod est in fundo T. Sestii Galli, in primis honesti et ornati  
dolescentis, ante ipsam, inquam, Bonam Deam, quum præ-  
sum commisisset, primum illud vulnus <sup>5</sup>acciperet, quo teterri-  
am mortem obiret, ut non absolutus judicio illo nefario  
ideretur, sed ad hanc insignem pœnam reservatus.

**XXXII.** Nec vero non eadem ira deorum hanc ejus  
stellitibus injecit amentiam, ut sine imaginibus, sine cantu  
que ludis, sine exsequiis, sine lamentis, sine laudationibus,  
ne funere, oblitus cruento et luto, spoliatus illius supremi  
rei celebritate, cui cedere etiam inimici solent, ambureretur  
jectus. Non fuisse credo fas, clarissimorum virorum  
armas illi tetro parricidæ aliquid decoris afferre, neque  
illo in loco potius mortem ejus lacerari, quam in quo esset  
ita damnata.

(87.) Dura, medius fidius, mihi jam fortuna populi Romani  
et crudelis videbatur, quæ tot annos illum in hanc rem  
publicam insultare pateretur. Polluerat stupro sanctissimas  
religiones, senatus gravissima <sup>6</sup>decreta perfregerat, pecunia  
et a judicibus palam redemerat, <sup>7</sup>vexarat in tribunatu sena-  
tum, omnium ordinum consensu pro salute rei publicæ gesta  
esciderat, me patria expulerat, bona diripuerat, domum  
decenderat, liberos, conjugem meam vexarat, Cn. Pompeio  
sacrarium bellum indixerat, magistratum privatorumque  
aedes effecerat, domum mei fratris incenderat, vastarat  
struriam, multos sedibus ac fortunis ejecerat; instabat,

<sup>4</sup> Commovisse se. "To have roused themselves to action." In his  
they have broken their usual tranquillity, and excited themselves  
to punish him.—Retinuisse. "And to have maintained their right in  
punishing him."—In illo. Scil. puniendo.

<sup>5</sup> Acceperit. Some read acciperet. "But the Latin writers, after the  
perfect use *ut* with the perfect subjunctive when the second action coincides  
in time with the first. They use the imperfect, when the second  
action extends over a longer time than the first." MATH.

<sup>6</sup> Decreta perfregerat. Above, chap. v. Potestas decernendi erupta e  
natu. (Att. 1, 3. Ep. vii. 8.) Pecunia se redemerat. Cf. Att. 1, 16.

<sup>7</sup> Senatum vexarat. Sext. 7. Bona vexarat. Sext. xxiv. 54. Vexa-  
tur uxor mea, liberi ad necem quærebantur . . . bona deripiebantur,  
que ad consules deferebantur. Pro Dom. xxiv. 62. Columnæ marmoreæ  
ædibus meis, inspectante populo Romano, ad soccrum consulis porta-  
natur.

urgebat; <sup>1</sup> capere ejus amentiam civitas; Italia, regna non poterant; <sup>2</sup> incidebantur jam domi leges servis nostris addicerent; nihil erat cujusquam, quæ ille adamasset, quod non hoc anno suum fore puta Obstabat ejus cogitationibus nemo præter Milonei ipsum, qui poterat obstare, novo reditu in grat divinctum arbitrabatur; Cæsar's potentiam suam bat; bonorum animos in meo casu contempserat; urgebat.

**XXXIII.** Hic dii immortales, ut supra dixi illi perditio ac furioso dederunt, ut huic faceret Aliter perire pestis illa non potuit; numquam publica suo jure esset ulta. Senatus, credo, præ <sup>4</sup>circumscripsisset. Ne quum solebat quidem id in privato eodem hoc, aliquid profecerat. (89.) Ar in prætore coercendo fortis fuissent? Primun occiso, habuisset <sup>5</sup>suos consules; deinde quis in e consul fortis esset, per quem tribunum? virtu sularum crudelissime vexatam esse meminisset? sisset omnia, possideret, teneret; lege nova, quæ ei apud eum cum reliquis legibus Clodianis, servos libertos suos fecisset. Postremo, nisi eum dii in eam mentem impulissent, ut homo effeminatum virum conaretur occidere, hodie rem publica:

<sup>1</sup> Capere ejus amentiam. DEMOSTH. *Phil.* iii. p. 118. Οὐτοῦθ' ἡ βάρβαρος τὴν πλεονεξίαν χωρεῖ τάνθρωπου. MATH.

<sup>2</sup> Incidebantur leges domi. Alluding to the proposal of give the Libertini the right of voting in the *country* tribes, a the four city tribes.

<sup>3</sup> *Ipsum illum.* Scil. Pompey, whose favour he had now See above, chap. viii. In fact, Cæsar and Pompey both fa dius, they intended him to be a thorn in the sides of the ar

<sup>4</sup> Circumscripsisset. "Limited his authority." See *Phil.* *Circumscriptus a senatu Antonius*, in which passage, because precedes, Mathiæ supposes that *circumscribere tribunum* take from him the power of giving a veto." Cicero in his le vii. 9, mentions different methods of curbing a tribune. "I plebis s.c.t.o. *circumscriptus*, aut *sublatus*, (as Octavius by aut expulsus sit.

<sup>5</sup> *Facere.* "To attempt that." Scil. To curb him. Matuates *ne quum solebat id facere, in privato eodem hoc aliquic* because he never heard of *circumscribere privatum*, but th remove the difficulty. We should take *circumscribere* in sense of "curbing," "restraining," without reference to its in a tribune's case.

beretis. (90.) An ille prætor, ille vero consul, si modo ex templo atque ipsa mœnia stare eo vivo tamdiu et consummum ejus exspectare potuissent, ille denique vivus malibil fecisset, qui mortuus, uno ex suis satellitibus [Sex. odio] duce, curiam incenderit? Quo quid miserius, quid erbius, quid luctuosius vidimus? Templum sanctitatis, iplitudinis, mentis, consilii publici, <sup>9</sup> caput urbis, aram torum, <sup>10</sup> portum omnium gentium, sedem ab universo pulo concessam uni ordini, inflammari, exscindi, funeri? neque id fieri a multitudine imperita, quamquam esset serum id ipsum, sed ab uno? Qui quum tantum ausus <sup>11</sup> uestor pro mortuo, quid signifer pro vivo non esset sus? In curiam potissimum abjecit, ut eam mortuus innderet, quam vivus everterat. (91.) Et sunt, qui de via ppia querantur, taceant de curia? et qui ab eo spirante rum potent potuisse defendi, cuius non restiterit cadaveria? Excitate, excitate ipsum, si potestis, a mortuis. mangetis impetum vivi, cuius vix sustinetis <sup>12</sup> furias inseulti? Nisi vero sustinuitis eos, qui cum facibus ad curiam acurrerunt, <sup>13</sup> cum falcibus ad Castoris, cum gladiis toto volitarunt. Cædi vidistis populum Romanum, conmem gladiis disturbari, quum audiretur silentio M. Cælius, ibunus plebis, vir et in re publica fortissimus et in suscepta causa firmissimus et bonorum voluntati et auctoritati

<sup>8</sup> *Suos consules.* "Consuls of his own party." "Sibi farentes et dictos."—MANUT.

<sup>9</sup> *Virtutem consularem.* "The essence of consular merit." Cicero course speaks of himself.

<sup>10</sup> *Libertos suos.* Scil. By conferring such privileges (see note 2, ge 322), he would have made them his own creatures.

<sup>11</sup> *Caput urbis.* "The head of the city," as the seat of intelligence d wisdom. Some for *urbis* have *orbis*, which is not true in the first case, and moreover, Cicero never uses *orbis* for the world without the addition of *terrarum* or *terrae*. The poets of the Augustan age first used *orbis=mundus*, and then the later prose writers followed their example.—MATH.

<sup>12</sup> *Portum.* "The haven." Cf. *de Off.* 11, 8, 26. *Regum, populorum, nationum portus erat et refugium senatus.*—*Funestari.* Scil. By the said body being placed and burned there.

<sup>13</sup> *Ustor.* "*Ustores* humile, sordidum, ac contemptum genus hominum int. Argumentatur igitur a minori ad majus. Si uestor tantum fuit, quantum signifer ausus esset."—MATH.

<sup>14</sup> *Furias.* "His demon spirit," ἀλάστορας, plural for singular.

<sup>15</sup> *Cum falcibus.* The *falc* was a formidable weapon, with a large

senatus deditus et in hac Milonis sive invidia sive singulari divina et incredibili fide.

**XXXIV.** (92.) **S**ED jam satis multa de causa causam etiam nimis fortasse multa. Quid restat orem obtesterque vos, judices, ut eam misericordibusatis fortissimo viro, quam ipse non implorat, egrepugnante hoc, et imploro et exposco? Nolite, si omnium fletu nullam lacrimam adspexitis Milorum semper eundem, si vocem, si orationem stabilemutatam videtis, hoc minus ei parcere. Haud multo etiam sit adjuvandus magis. Etenim si <sup>2</sup> toriis pugnis et in infimi generis hominum condicifortuna timidos atque supplices et, ut vivere liccrantes etiam odisse solemus, fortes et animosos et ipsos morti offerentes servare cupimus, eorumque miseret, qui nostram misericordiam non requiruqui illam efflagitant, quanto hoc magis in fortissim facere debemus? (93.) Me quidem, judices, exainterimunt hæc voces Milonis, quas audio assidue intersum quotidie. “Valeant, inquit, valeant cōsint incolumes, sint florentes, sint beati; stet præclara <sup>3</sup> mihi patria carissima, quoquo mmerita de me; tranquilla re publica mei cives mihi cum illis non licet) sine me ipsi, sed per perfrauantur; ego cedam atque abibo; si mihi publica frui non licuerit, at carebo mala, et qua tetigero bene moratam et liberam civitatem, in ea cam. (94.) O frustra, inquit, mei suscepti la-

iron hook at top, used in sieges to tear down the battleme defenders. These followers of Clodius wished to break open of Cæstor to get the arms stored there, (ERNESTI,) or rather the money which was deposited there for safety. *Falces* among the weapons sent by Lentulus to Catiline. (SALL. v.

<sup>1</sup> *Etiā repugnante.* Matthiæ cites Plutarch, *Cic.* 3: εὐθαρσῶς καὶ ἀνδρείως παριστασθαι τῷ ἄγωνι καὶ κόμην μεταβαλεῖν ἐσθῆτα φαιὰν ἀπαξιῶσαι ὅπερ οὐχ ἡκιστα δοκε αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τῆς καταδίκης.

<sup>2</sup> *In gladiatoriis pugnis.* “In the case of gladiators’ combut in P. Cornelio causa ipsius probetur. (Balb. 3.) In arquasi rete texunt. *De N. D.* 11, 48, 123.

<sup>3</sup> *Mihique patriam carissimam.* Although Milo was bovium, he speaks as being a citizen and in office at Rome. Cf. 11, 2, 5. *Nos et eam patriam dicimus, ubi nati, et illam qua ac-*

<sup>4</sup> *Me senatu dedissem.* “When I devoted myself to t

pes fallaces! O cogitationes inanes meæ! Ego, quum  
ribunus plebis, re publica oppressa, <sup>4</sup> me senatui dedissem,  
uem exstinctum acceperam, equitibus Romanis, quorum  
ires erant debiles, bonis viris, qui omnem auctoritatem  
Iodianis armis abjecerant, mihi umquam bonorum præsi-  
um defuturum putarem? ego, quum te (mecum enim  
spissime loquitur) patriæ redidissem, mihi putarem in  
stria non futurum locum? Ubi nunc senatus est, quem  
cuti sumus? ubi equites Romani illi, illi, inquit, tui? ubi  
udia municipiorum? ubi Italæ voces? ubi denique tua  
a, M. Tulli, quæ plurimis fuit auxilio, vox atque defensio?  
ihine ea soli, qui pro te toties morti me obtuli, nihil potest  
titulari?"

**XXXV.** (95.) Nec vero hæc, judices, ut ego nunc, flens,  
<sup>5</sup> ad hoc eodem loquitur vultu, quo videtis. Negat enim se,  
negat, ingratis civibus fecisse, quæ fecerit; timidis et omnia  
aricula circumspicientibus non negat. Plebem et infimam  
multitudinem, quæ P. Cludio duce fortunis vestris immine-  
at, eam, quo tutior esset vestra vita, se fecisse commemorat,  
t non modo virtute flecteret, sed etiam <sup>6</sup> tribus suis patri-  
moniis deleniret; nec timet, ne, quum plebem muneribus  
bearit, vos non conciliarit, meritis in rem publicam singu-  
libus. Senatus erga se benevolentiam temporibus his ipsis  
spe esse perspectam, vestras vero et vestrorum <sup>7</sup> ordinum  
excursiones, studia, sermones, quemcunque cursum fortuna  
luderit, secum se <sup>8</sup> ablaturum esse dicit. (96.) Meminit  
tiam, <sup>9</sup> vocem sibi præconis modo defuisse, quam minime  
considerarit, populi vero cunctis suffragiis, quod unum cupi-

*bre se alicui, = alicui gratum esse laborare omni obsequii officiique  
more." — ERNEST.*

<sup>5</sup> *Negat ingratis civibus*, i. e. he denies that his countrymen are  
ungrateful even though they condemn him, and assigns, as a reason for  
their hostility their timidity, and excessive caution

<sup>6</sup> *Tribus patroniis*. Firstly, by his natural inheritance from the  
Espin gens, next by that which he inherited from Annius by whom  
he was adopted, and thirdly by his property derived from his mother.  
ANNIUS. Cicero complains of Milo's extravagant prodigality, in  
*Brut. Frat.* iii. 9.

<sup>7</sup> *Ordinum*. For, it will be remembered, the judges were selected  
from three distinct ranks.

<sup>8</sup> *Ablaturum secum*. "Will bear with him," i. e. will ever remember.

<sup>9</sup> *Vocem præconis, &c.* When the comitia was over, the herald pro-  
claimed the successful candidate, but the elections in which Milo  
had been candidate were frequently interrupted and broken up, by the

erit, se consulem declaratum; nunc denique, si <sup>1</sup> h  
contra se sint futura, sibi facinoris suspicionem, i  
crimen obstare. Addit hæc, quæ certe vera sunt,  
sapientes viros non tam præmia sequi solere recte  
quam ipsa recte facta; se nihil in vita nisi præ  
fecisse, si quidem nihil sit præstabilius viro, quam  
patriam liberare; beatos esse, quibus ea res <sup>2</sup> honor  
suis civibus, (97.) nec tamen eos miseros, qui benef  
suos vicerint; sed tamen ex omnibus præmiis vi  
esset habenda ratio præmiorum, amplissimum esse  
gloriam; esse hanc unam, quæ brevitatem vitæ po  
memoria <sup>3</sup> consolaretur; quæ efficeret, ut absente  
mus, mortui viveremus; hanc denique esse, ‘cujus  
etiam in cœlum homines viderentur adscendere. (‘  
me, inquit, semper populus Romanus, semper omni  
loquentur, nulla umquam obmutescet vetustas. (‘  
tempore ipso, <sup>5</sup> quum omnes a meis inimicis face  
meæ subjiciantur, tamen omni in hominum cœtu  
agendis et gratulationibus habendis et omni sermo  
bramur. Omitto Etruriæ festos et actos et institu  
centesima lux est hæc ab interitu P. Clodii et, opino:  
qua fines imperii populi Romani sunt, ea non soli  
jam de illo, sed etiam lætitia peragravit. Quamob  
corpus hoc sit, non, inquit, labore, quoniam omnibus  
et jam versatur et semper habitabit nominis mei gl  
XXXVI. (99.) Hæc tu mecum sæpe, his abs

violence of the opposite party, when it seemed certain that I  
be elected, they were not allowed to proceed.

<sup>1</sup> *Hæc arma.* The armed force stationed round the  
Pompey's order.

<sup>2</sup> *Honor fuit a suis civibus.* Math. compares THUCYD. v  
*ἐν ἀξιώματι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστῶν.*

<sup>3</sup> *Consolaretur.* In strict grammar this should be *console*  
depends on *addit*; but Cicero, in long periods, is wont to vary le  
ology by introducing different tenses. Mathiæ aptly quotes  
xxi. 79: *Sic mihi persuasi, sic sentio, quum tanta celeritas  
sit . . . non posse eam naturam, quæ eas res contineat, esse mo  
quum simplex animi natura esset, neque haberet . . . nec  
dividi; quod si non possit, &c.*

<sup>4</sup> *Cujus gradibus.* “By whose steps men mount to heaven.  
is fond of this phrase, *Paradox* 1, 2: *Quibus tandem gradibus  
escendit in cœlum?* *pro Dom.* 28; *De Rep.* iii. *Dejot.* § 27.

<sup>5</sup> *Quum omnes, &c.* “Although,” as is proved by the occu  
tamen. When time alone is indicated by *quum*, it is follow

d iisdem audientibus hæc ego tecum, Milo: Te quidem, uod isto animo es, satis laudare non possum; sed, quo est a magis divina virtus, eo majore a te dolore divellor. Nec tamen, si mihi eriperis, reliqua est illa tamen ad consolandum erela, ut his irasci possim, a quibus tantum vulnus accedo. Non enim inimici mei te mihi eripient, sed amicis-<sup>ui</sup>, non male aliquando de me meriti, sed semper optime. Illum mihi umquam, judices, tantum dolorem inuretis (etsi is potest esse tantus?), sed ne hunc quidem ipsum, ut inviscar, quanti me semper feceritis. <sup>8</sup>Quæ si vos cepit oblivio, aut si<sup>9</sup> in me aliquid offendistis, cur non id meo nite potius luitur quam Milonis? Præclare enim vixero, quid mihi acciderit prius, quam hoc tantum mali videro. 10.) Nunc me una consolatio sustentat, quod tibi, T. mihi, nullum a me amoris, nullum studii, nullum pietatis ieiunium defuit. Ego inimicitias potentium pro te appetivi, o meum saepe corpus et vitam objeci armis inimicorum orum, ego me plurimis pro te supplicem abjeci, bona, formas meas ac liberorum meorum in communionem <sup>10</sup>tuorum temporum contuli: hoc denique ipso die, si qua vis est rata, si qua dimicatio capit is futura, deposco. Quid jam stat? quid habeo, quod faciam pro tuis in me meritis, nisi eam fortunam, quæcunque erit tua, ducam meam? Non quo, non recuso, vosque obsecro, judices, ut vestra benes, quæ in me contulisti, aut in hujus salute augeatis aut ejusdem exitio occasura esse videatis.

icative, when it has a causal notion, or is equal to *quamvis*, it takes subjunctive. MATH.

<sup>1</sup> *Gratiis.* Scil. returned to Milo. *Gratulationes* to the gods. CRU-  
IUS. Mathiæ however cites CIC. *Ep. Brut.* 3: *Nihil est in me inanum,*  
*ne enim debet; sed tamen omnium ordinum consensus, gratiarum*  
*io gratulatio me commovet.*

<sup>1</sup> *Quod isto animo es.* Ernesti reads *quum*, but *quum* causal requires subjunctive. See note 5 above. Mathiæ thinks the reading arose from the MS. contraction *qum* for *quoniam*.

<sup>1</sup> *Quæ si vos cepit oblivio.* Nothing is more usual than that the ative should agree with the following substantive, instead of being the genitive or ablative with a preposition. This sentence is the same as *cujus si vos cepit oblivio*, or *de quo si vos cepit oblivio*.

<sup>1</sup> *In me aliquid offendistis.* If you have met with anything offensive myself. *Offendere* is properly to strike against some unpleasant obstacle = σκανδαλίζω.

<sup>10</sup> *Tuorum temporum.* "Your exigencies," or "your perils." *Verr.* i., 113; *Manil.* 1.

appello, centuriones, vosque, milites; vobis non  
spectantibus, sed etiam armatis et huic judicio præsid  
hæc tanta virtus ex hac urbe expelletur, extermin  
projicietur? (102.) O me miserum, o me infelicem  
care tu me in patriam, Milo, potuisti per hos, e  
patria per eosdem retinere non potero? Quid res  
liberis meis, qui te parentem alterum putant? qu  
Quinte frater, qui nunc abes, consorti mecum te  
illorum? mene non potuisse Milonis salutem tu  
eosdem, per quos nostram ille servasset? At in qu  
non potuisse? quæ est grata \* \* gentibus, <sup>2</sup>a qui  
potuisse? iis, qui maxime P. Clodii morte acquieru  
deprecante? me. (103.) Quodnam ego concepi  
scelus, aut quod in me tantum facinus admisi, judice  
illa indicia communis exitii indagavi, patefeci, prot  
stinx? Omnes in me meosque redundant ex fo  
dolores. Quid me reducem esse voluistis? an ut  
tante me, expellerentur ii, per quos essem res  
Nolite, obsecro vos, acerbiorem mihi pati redditum es  
fuerit ille ipse discessus. Nam qui possum put  
restitutum esse, si distrahar ab iis, per quos re  
sum?

**XXXVIII.** Utinam dii immortales fecissent (pa  
patria, dixerim; metuo enim, ne scelerate dicam in

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o Milone dicam pie), utinam P. Clodius non modo viveret.  
*i* etiam prætor, consul, dictator esset potius, quam hoc  
 ectaculum viderem ! (104.) O dii immortales ! forte et  
*vobis*, judices, conservandum virum ! “ Minime, minime,  
 quicunque. Immo vero pœnas ille debitas luerit ; nos subeamus,  
 ita necesse est, non debitas.” Hicine vir patriæ natus  
 quam nisi in patria morietur, aut, si forte, pro patria ?  
*jus vos animi* monumenta retinebitis, corporis in Italia  
 illum sepulchrum esse patiemini ? hunc sua quisquam  
 intentia ex hac urbe expellet, quem omnes urbes expulsum  
*vobis* ad se vocabunt ? (105.) O terram illam beatam,  
*se* hunc virum exceperit ; hanc ingratam, si ejecerit, misere-  
 m, si amiserit ! Sed finis sit. Neque enim præ lacrimis  
*n* loqui possum, et hic se lacrimis defendi vetat. Vos oro  
 testorque, judices, ut in sententiis ferendis, quod sentictis,  
*audeatis*. Vestram virtutem, justitiam, fidem, mihi cre-  
 te, is maxime probabit, qui in judicibus legendis optimum,  
*sapientissimum et fortissimum* quemque delegit.

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*\*Aut, si forte.* “ Or if it should so happen,” *εἰ τύχοι.*

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immediately on the result of the trial being known, Milo withdrew to Marseilles : to this place Cicero sent the amended copy of his speech, probably identical with the present. When Milo read it, he is said to have observed, “ It is well that Cicero did not deliver this speech, else I should not now be eating those glorious mullets.” A few years after, he returned to Italy to join in the mad attempt of the tribune Clodius, and was slain at Compsa in Etruria.

## M. TULLII CICERONIS

IN

## M. ANTONIUM

## ORATIO PHILIPPICA SECUNDA.

Quum Cicero superiorem orationem habuisse, Antonius in villa  
dam Tiburtina septemdecim dies, quid responderet, commen-  
a. d. XIII Kal. Octobr. in senatum, qui in aede Concordiae habebat  
venit armatis stipatus, Ciceronemque, qui adesse ausus non  
vehementissima oratione insectatus est. Ei hac oratione Ciceronem  
vissime respondet, quae tamen scripta potius ita, tanquam si pr  
præsenti Antonio respondisset, quam vere habita est.

I. (1.) QUONAM meo fato, patres conscripti, fieri di  
ut nemo his <sup>1</sup> annis viginti rei publicæ fuerit hostis, qui  
bellum eodem tempore mihi quoque indixerit? Nec  
necesse est quemquam a me nominari; vobiscum ipsi re  
amini. Mihi pœnarum illi plus, quam <sup>2</sup> optarem, deder

<sup>1</sup> *Viginti annis.* Cicero reckons twenty years from his consulship to the supremacy of Mark Antony. *Romano more*, that is, counting the year of his consulship. We would omit that, and thus make the period nineteen years. “*A se consule vigesimum consulem invenerunt M. Antonium,*”—AHRENS.

<sup>2</sup> *Optarem.* “Than I would even now desire.” Madvig reads *optare*, but Cicero means that even now, if he could effect it, he would wish his enemies had been so severely punished.

<sup>3</sup> *Ut audacior.* “So that you should be thought.” “With the that.” The particle *ut* ancients *cut*, connected with *qui*, *quod*, *a* for *illud*, (see Key Lat. Gr. § 1457,) frequently expresses a result in this case always has the subjunctive. *Sol efficit ut omnia flo*—CIC.

<sup>4</sup> *Ultro.* “Unprovoked,” “unassailed,” the ablative of *ulter*, adverbially like *utro*, *citro*, *neutro*, &c. From the notion of an *e* crossing the frontier, the word has got the idea of suddenly, “

iror, Antoni, quorum facta imitare, eorum exitus non orrescere. Atque hoc in aliis minus mirabar. Nemo <sup>um</sup> inimicus mihi fuit voluntarius; omnes a me rei publica causa lacesisti. Tu, ne verbo quidem violatus, <sup>ut</sup> cior quam L. Catilina, furiosior quam P. Clodius vide-  
<sup>4</sup> ultro me maledictis lacesisti tuamque a me alienam commendationem tibi ad impios cives fore putavisti.

Quid putem? Contemptum me? Non video nec ita nec in gratia nec in rebus gestis nec in hac mea iocritate ingenii, quid despicere possit Antonius. An enatu facillime de me detrahi posse credidit? qui ordo issimis civibus bene gestæ rei publicæ testimonium tis, mihi uni conservatae dedit. An decertare mecum uit contentionе dicendi? Hoc quidem beneficium est. d enim plenius, quid uberior, quam mihi et pro me et tra Antonium dicere? Illud profecto est: non existit, sui similibus probari posse, se esse hostem patriæ, mihi esset inimicus. (3.) Cui priusquam de ceteris rebus xondeo, de amicitia, quam a me violatam esse criminatus quod ego gravissimum crimen judico, pauca dicam.

I. <sup>5</sup>Contra rem suam me, nescio quando, <sup>6</sup>venisse questus . An ego non venirem contra alienum pro familiari et essario? non venirem contra gratiam non virtutis spe, ætatis flore collectam? non venirem contra injuriam, m iste intercessoris iniquissimi beneficio obtinuit, non e prætorio? Sed hoc idcirco commemoratum a te puto,

edly," and, as here, "unassailed" by the assaulted party. See *n. Quint. Virg.*

*Contra rem suam.* This matter is rather obscure from a passage *ll. 16, 11, 1*, it would appear that one *Sicca* was defended by *me* against some young freedman beloved by Antony (*flore Etatis*), the more earnestly defended because some violent injury had perpetrated by Antony in the character of an *intercessor*. The *me* interference of Antony in behalf of a freedman necessarily tended men that he himself was the son-in-law of a freedman, *Fadius*. The first father-in-law of Antony was *Q. Fadius*, the second, *C. Antonius*, the third, *M. Fulvius Bambalio*.

*Venisse.* "Appeared" as an advocate. The verbs *adesse* and *stare* similarly used in legal phraseology.

*Jure prætorio.* "Not by the prætor's jurisdiction." Thus *Verr. 2*, "*eiusdem modi totum jus prætorum fuit per trienium in Sicilia.*" *Uenienti jus prætorium* indicates the collection or body of law made of the *edicta* of the prætors.

ut te infimo ordini commendares, quum te omnes res  
rentur libertini generum et liberos tuos nepotes Q.  
libertini hominis, fuisse. At enim te in disciplinam  
tradideras (nam ita dixisti), domum meam ventitaras.  
tu, si id fecisses, melius famæ, melius pudicitiæ tue  
luisses. Sed neque fecisti, nec, si cuperes, tibi id  
<sup>1</sup> Curionem facere licuisset. (4.) Auguratus petitioner  
te concessisse dixisti. O incredibilem audaciam ! O  
dentiam prædicandam ! Quo enim tempore,<sup>2</sup> me augi  
toto collegio expetitum Cn. Pompeius et Q. Hort  
nominaverunt<sup>3</sup> (neque enim licebat a pluribus nom  
'tu nec solvendo eras nec te ullo modo, nisi eversa  
lica, fore incolumem putabas. Poteras autem eo te  
auguratum petere, quum<sup>5</sup> in Italia Curio non esset  
'tum, quum es factus,<sup>7</sup> unam tribum sine Curione  
potuisses ? cuius etiam familiares de vi condemnatis  
quod tui nimis studiosi fuissent.

III. (5.) At beneficio sum tuo usus. Quo ? Quia  
illud ipsum, quod commoraras, semper præ me tuli.  
me tibi debere confiteri, quam cuiquam minus prudens  
satis gratus videri. Sed quo beneficio ? Quod me  
disii non occideris ? Quem ipse victor, qui tibi, i  
gloriari solebas, detulerat ex latronibus suis princi  
salvum esse voluisset, in Italiam ire jussisset, eum t

<sup>1</sup> *Per C. Curionem*, i. e. Curio the younger, an infamous coi  
of Antony, who was prevented by his influence from attem  
Cicero's efforts for his reformation.

<sup>2</sup> *Me augurem*. Cicero was chosen augur in 701, in  
M. Licinius Crassus, slain by the Parthians.

<sup>3</sup> *Neque licebat a pluribus nominari*. Since the tribes origina  
three, and one augur represented each tribe, on the occurre  
vacancy but two named the candidate, although at this t  
college of augurs amounted to fifteen.

<sup>4</sup> *Tu nec solvendo eras*. Literally, "you were not for  
Solvendo, the dative of the active imperfect participle in -endu  
used in the neuter like a verbal substantive, like our participle  
—KEY, 1283, &c.

<sup>5</sup> *In Italia Curio*, &c. Curio, at the time alluded to, was qu  
Asia. (*Ad Fam.* 2, 6.)

<sup>6</sup> *Tum, cum es factus*. Antony was elected in place of Q.  
suis, 704.

<sup>7</sup> *Unam tribum ferre*. "Poll a single tribe." The augu  
nominated by two of the college (see note 3 above), and then it  
to the people to ratify their decision. The word used by the

s? Fac potuisse. Quod est aliud, patres conscripti ficum latronum, nisi ut commemorare possint, iis se, iuse vitam, quibus non ademerint? Quod si esset bencm, numquam, qui illum interfecerunt, a quo erant contati, quos tu ipse clarissimos viros soles appellare, tantam at gloriam consecuti. Quale autem beneficium est, quod iustinueris nefario scelere? Qua in re non tam jucundum i videri debuit, non perfectum a te, quam miserum, te npune facere potuisse. (6.) Sed sit beneficium, quandolem majus accipi a latrone nullum potuit; in quo potes dicere ingratum? An de interitu rei publicæ queri non ui, ne in te ingratus viderer? At in illa querela, misera dem et luctuosa, sed mihi pro hoc gradu, in quo meatus populusque Romanus collocavit, necessaria, quid est tum a me cum contumelia? quid non moderate? quid i amice? Quod quidem cuius temperantiae fuit, de M. tonio querentem abstinere maledicto? præsertim quum reliquias rei publicæ dissipavisses, quum domi tuae turmo mercatu omnia essent venalia, quum leges eas, quæ quam promulgatae essent, et <sup>10</sup> de te et a te latas contere, quum auspicia augur, intercessionem consul sustuleris, quum esses fœdissime stipatus armatis, quum omnes uritates <sup>11</sup> pudica in domo quotidie susciperes, vino lusque confectus. (7.) At ego, tamquam mihi cum M.

ominating was *co-opto*, that used regarding the popular election in. (Phil. 13, 6, 12.)

*Brundusii*, i. e. when Cicero landed there after the battle of *Malia* (706). (Att. 11, 6, 7.). However Cicero may disguise the it was an act of forbearance on the part of Antony, for Cicero not then got his pardon from Cæsar.—*Interfectum*. Madvig thinks ironoun cannot be dispensed with; he places *me* after *interfectum*.

*In illa querela*, that is, in his first Philippic. The first Philippic delivered on the first of September. How changed were Cicero's ments regarding Antony from those he held of him in the April *ding*, when he wrote to him thus, “*te cariorem habeo neminem!*”

*De te*=for your interest. This was opposed to the second Æbulaw, “*quæ non modo eum, qui tulerit de aliqua curatione aut late, sed etiam collegas ejus, cognatos, affines exceptit, ne eis ea potestas sione mandetur.*” (De Leg. Agr. 8, 21.) It also opposed a Licinian ion, “*ne id quidem per legem Liciniam ut ipse tibi curationem facere potuisti.*” Pro Dom. 20, 51.

*Pudica in domo*. Scil. that of Pompey, which Antony, as Sector, seized upon. See below.

Quia est anima tollere e vita vita societatem, iurorum colloquia absentium? Quam multa joca sole epistola, quæ, prolata si sint, inepta videantur? quæ seria neque tamen ullo modo divulganda? (8.) Si humanitatis; stultitiam incredibilem videte. Quod mihi opponas, homo diserte, ut<sup>2</sup> Mustela Tironi Numisio videris (qui quum hoc ipso tempore cum gladiis in conspectu senatus, ego quoque te putabo, si ostenderis, quomodo sis eos<sup>3</sup> inter sicarii surus), sed quid opponas tandem, si negem, meas istas literas ad te misisse? Quo me teste convincas chirographo, in quo habes<sup>4</sup> scientiam quæstuosa possis? sunt enim librarii manu. Jam invideo te, qui te tanta mercede, quantam jam profecta sapere<sup>6</sup> docuit. (9.) Quid est enim minus, non toris, sed hominis, quam id objicere adversario, qui verbo negarit, longius progredi non possit, qui etiam? At ego non nego, teque in isto ipso convinco non humanitatis solum, sed etiam amentiæ. Quod enim vestitis literis est non plenum humanitatis, officii, beatitudinum? Omne autem crimen tuum est, quod de te in non male existimem, quod scribam tamquam auctorem, tamquam ad bonum virum, non tamquam ad scismaticum.

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<sup>1</sup> *Inhumanitas.* “Ignorance of the laws of society. inserts tuæ.

et latronem. At ego tuas literas, etsi jure poteram, a te  
acessitus, tamen non proferam, quibus petis, ut tibi per me  
iceat ? quendam de exsilio reducere, adjurasque, id te, invito  
ne, non esse facturum, idque a me impetas. Quid enim me  
interponerem audaciæ tuæ, quam neque auctoritas hujus  
ordinis neque existimatio populi Romani neque leges ullæ  
possent coercere ? (10.) Verumtamen quid erat, quod me  
rogares, si erat is, de quo rogabas, Cæsaris lege reductus ?  
Med videlicet meam gratiam voluit esse ; in quo ne ipsius  
quidem ulla esse poterat, lege lata.

V. **Sed** quum mihi, patres conscripti, et pro me aliquid et  
in M. Antonium multa dicenda sint, alterum peto a vobis,  
ut me pro me dicentem benigne, alterum ipse efficiam, ut,  
contra illum quum dicam, attente audiatis. Simul illud oro,  
mi meam quum in omni vita tum in dicendo moderationem  
modestiamque cognostis, ne me hodie, quum isti, <sup>8</sup> ut provo-  
cavit, respondero, oblitum esse putetis mei. Non tractabo  
consulem ; ne ille quidem me ut consularem. Etsi ille  
modo consul, vel quod ita vivit, vel quod ita rem pub-  
licam gerit, vel quod <sup>9</sup> ita factus est ; ego sine ulla contro-  
versia consularis. (11.) Ut igitur intelligeretis, qualein ipse  
consulem profiteretur, objecit mihi consulatum meum ;  
qui consulatus verbo meus, patres conscripti, re vester fuit.  
Quid enim ego constitui, quid gessi, quid egi nisi ex hujus  
ordinis consilio, auctoritate, sententia ? Hæc tu homo  
piens, non solum eloquens, apud eos, quorum consilio  
sipientiaque gesta sunt, ausus es vituperare. Quis autem,  
deum consulatum, præter P. Clodium, qui vituperaret,  
inventus est ? cuius quidem tibi fatum, sicuti C. Curioni,  
manet, <sup>10</sup> quoniam id domi tuæ est, quod fuit illorum utriusque  
fate. (12.) Non placet M. Antonio consulatus meus ! At

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public violence, are extant. *Ad Att.* 14, 13. He must be distinguished from the Sex. Clodius mentioned § 8.

<sup>8</sup> *Ut provocavit, = eo modo quo.* "In the same language as that with which he has assailed me."

<sup>9</sup> *Ita factus est.* Scil. *consul.* He was "made" consul by Cæsar's nomination, not "elected" by the people.

<sup>10</sup> *Quoniam id,* i. e. Fulvia. Cicero attributes to the intrigues of this lady the death of her former husbands. Clodius was slain by Milo : and Curio, Cæsar's lieutenant, was cut off in Africa by Juba. Her character is pithily drawn by Plutarch. Οὐ ταλασίαν οὐδ' οἰκουριαν ἴρονοῦν γύναιων, οὐδ' ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου κρατεῖν ἀξιοῦν, ἀλλ' ἄρχοντος ἱρχεῖν καὶ στρατηγοῦντος στρατηγεῖν βουλόμενον.

ut me primum decedens ex Syria vidi, complexus e  
lans meo beneficio patriam se visurum esse dixit. S  
ingulos commemoro? Frequentissimo senatui sic  
ut esset nemo, qui mihi non ut parenti gratias age  
mihi non vitam suam, fortunas, liberos, rem publicam  
acceptam.

VI. (13.) SED quoniam illis, quos nominavi, tot et  
viris res publica orbata est, veniamus ad vivos, qui  
consularium numero reliqui sunt. L. Cotta, vir  
ingenio summaque prudentia, rebus iis gestis, quas t  
hendis, supplicationem decrevit verbis amplissimis, e  
ipsi, quos modo nominavi, consulares senatusque  
assensus est; qui honos post conditam hanc urbem  
est togato ante me nemini. (14.) L. Cæsar, avuncul  
qua oratione, qua constantia, qua gravitate sententia  
in <sup>4</sup>sororis suæ virum, <sup>5</sup>vitricum tuum? Hunc tu  
auctorem et præceptorem omnium consiliorum te  
vitæ debuisses habere, vitrici te similem quam avunc

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<sup>1</sup> *Servilio, &c.* Orelli remarks that this enumeration shoul  
posed to include all those statesmen of the time whose politi  
Cicero approved of. Manutius wonders why there is no m  
Torquatus, (*Cos.* 689). Orelli quotes the ironical praise give  
in *pro Sull.* § 11. “*Patris tui, fortissimi viri atque optimi cor  
am consilia non intemperie*”

Hujus ego alienus consiliis consul usus sum, tu filius ecquid ad eum umquam de re publica rettulisti? At ad quos refert? Dii immortales! ad eos scilicet, in nobis etiam dies <sup>6</sup>natales audiendi sunt. (15.) non descendit Antonius. Cur? Dat nataliciam in Cui? Neminem nominabo; putate tum <sup>8</sup>Phormioni tum Gnathoni, tum etiam Ballioni. O fœditatem is flagitiosam! o impudentiam, nequitiam, libidinem prerendam! Tu quum principem senatorem, civem simus, tam propinquum habeas, ad eum de re publica referas, referas ad eos, qui suam rem nullam habent, exhauriunt?

TUUS, videlicet, salutaris consulatus, perniciosus Adeone <sup>9</sup>pudorem cum pudicitia perdidisti, ut hoc templo dicere ausus sis, in quo ego senatum illum, qui am florens orbi terrarum præsidebat, consulebam, tu es perditissimos cum gladiis collocavisti? (16.) At ausus es (quid autem est, quod tu non audeas?) in Capitolinum dicere, me consule, plenum servorum orum fuisse. Ut illa, credo, nefaria senatus consulta, vim afferebam senatui. O miser, sive illa tibi nota sunt (nihil enim boni nosti) sive sunt, qui apud tales am impudenter loquare! Quis enim eques Romanus, ræter te adolescens nobilis, quis ullius ordinis, qui se meminisset, quum senatus in hoc templo esset, in Capitolino non fuit? quis nomen non dedit? quam nec scribæ sufficere <sup>3</sup>nec tabulæ nomina illorum capere

explains by a reference to the tumult and bustle attendant on the celebration,

<sup>10</sup>descendit. As the aristocracy usually dwelt upon the higher parts of Rome, and the forum, &c. was in the valley, the phrase *descendere* was usual. Hence, even when the circumstances which gave rise to the phrase no longer existed, the word *descendo* was still used; for Antony now had possession of Pompey's house which was situated in the *Carinae*, one of the lowest places of Rome.

<sup>11</sup>ormioni. A parasite, a leading character in the Phormio of Plautus, as *Ballio* is in the Pseudolus of Plautus.

<sup>12</sup>dorem cum pudicitia. — *Pudor*, “mental purity.” *Pudicitia*, “chastity.” The terms are frequently joined by Cicero. See chap. 28.

<sup>13</sup>vum Capitolinum. “The slope up to the Capitol from the forum.” In this way the Gauls attempted to take the city; it is now rendered by “the hundred steps.”

potuerunt. (17.) <sup>1</sup>Etenim quum homines nefarii de parricidio confiterentur, consciorum indiciis, sua manū pāne literarum coacti, se urbem inflammare, cives dare, vastare Italiam delere rem publicam consensisse esset, qui ad salutem communem defendendam non e retur? præsertim quum senatus populusque Romanus haberet ducem, qualis si qui nunc esset, tibi idem, quod <sup>2</sup>accidit, contigisset. Ad sepulturam corpus vitri negat a me datum. Hoc vero ne P. quidem Clodius umquam, quem, quia jure ei inimicus fui, doleo a te omni vitiis [eum] esse superatum. (18.) Qui autem tibi veritatem redigere in memoriam nostram, te <sup>3</sup>domi P. Lentuli esse educatum? An verebare, ne non putaremus natum potuisse tam improbum evadere, nisi accessisset etiam disciplina?

VIII. TAM autem eras excors, ut tota in oratione tecum ipse pugnares, ut non modo non cohærentia in dices, sed maxime dijuncta atque contraria, ut non mecum, quanta tecum tibi esset contentio. Vitricum fuisse in tanto scelere fatebare, poena affectum queritur. Ita, quod proprie meum est, laudasti; quod totum emeritus, reprehendisti. Nam comprehensio sontium mei madversio senatus fuit. Homo disertus non intelligit, quem contra dicit, laudari a se, eos, apud quos dicit, vivi rari. (19.) Jam illud cuius est, non dico audaciæ (enim se audacem), sed, quod minime vult, stultitiæ vincit omnes, clivi Capitolini mentionem facere, quum subsellia nostra versentur armati? quum in hac cella cordiæ, dii immortales! in qua, me consule, salutares

<sup>1</sup> Etenim, &c. ¶ The construction is plainly, *etenim quum homines de patriæ parricidio* (in a case regarding the destruction of country) *confiterentur se consensisse urbem inflammare*, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Accidit, contigisset. Ernesti proposes to erase *accidit*. If be retained and used in a distinctive sense, *accidit* is “casually happened;” *contigisset*, “would have deservedly befallen you.”

<sup>3</sup> Domi P. Lentuli. See note 4, page 336. Julia, the mother of Cn. Lentulus, after the decease of M. Antonius Creticus, married P. Lentulus Sura.

<sup>4</sup> Tum copulatus. This union of the senate and knights is frequently boasted of by Cicero as his work; it did not last long, however, below.

<sup>5</sup> Ityraeis. Ιτυραῖοι, a people of Syria about mount Libanus were admirable archers, hence Antony brought a troop of them.

**XII. (28.)** At quemadmodum me coarguerit homo acutus, recordamini. Cæsare interfecto, inquit, statim cruentum alte extollens M. Brutus pugionem Ciceronem nominatim exclamavit atque ei recuperatam libertatem est gratulatus. Cur mihi potissimum? Quia sciebam? Vide ne illa causa merit appellandi mei, quod, quum rem gessisset consimilem rebus iis, quas ipse gesseram, me potissimum testatus est, simul mearum laudum exstisset. (29.) Tu autem, omnium stultissime, non intelligis, si id, quod me arguis, subiisse interfici Cæsarem, crimen sit, etiam, lætatum esse morte Cæsaris, crimen esse? Quid enim interest inter suasorem facti et probatorem? aut quid refert, utrum aliter fieri an gaudeam factum? Ecquis est igitur, tecepto et iis, qui illum regnare gaudebant, qui illud aut noluerit aut factum improbarit? Omnes ergo in culpa. enim omnes boni, quantum in ipsis fuit, Cæsarem occiderunt. Aliis consilium, aliis animus, aliis occasio defuit. plintas nemini. (30.) Sed stuporem hominis, vel dicam perdis, attendite. Sic enim dixit: *M.<sup>10</sup> Brutus, quem ego honoris causa nomino, cruentum pugionem tenens Ciceronem exclamavit, ex quo intelligi debet, cum conscientum fuisse.* Ergo ego sceleratus appellor a te, quem tu suspicatum aliquid suspicaris, ille, qui stillantem præ se pugionem tulit, is a te honoris causa nominatur? Esto; sit in verbis tuis hic

burned in it, and did Cicero from policy favour this false pretension? Or was Domitius himself and his posterity anxious in after times to deny the fact, when he was receiving the favours of Augustus, or when one of them, Nero, ascended the imperial throne?"

\* *Patri interitus.* L. Domitius Ænobarbus, slain by Antony after the fight at Pharsalia.

\* *Avunculi mors.* M. Cato of Utica, whose sister was married to L. Domitius.

\* *Cascae.* "The two Cascae." Shall I call them *Cascae* by their real name, or by *Ahalæ*, a name they merit? See note 2, page 342.

\* *Rem gessisset consimilem.* Cicero had executed Catiline's confederates, for aiming at tyranny. Brutus had slain Cæsar for attempting to take the title and name of king.

\* *Brutus.* With respect to the conduct of Brutus, Arnold remarks (vol. ii. 97), "About this time (708) Brutus divorced his first wife, Appia, the daughter of Appius Claudius, and married the famous Porcia, his cousin, the daughter of Cato. Soon after he received another mark of Cæsar's favour in being appointed *Prætor Urbanus* for the year 709: and he held that office, when he resolved to become the assassin of a man whose government he had twice acknowledged, by consenting himself to act in a public station under it. Sir Mathew Hale did

quidem potui; prius enim rem transegit, quam quis eum facturum id suspicaretur. At ego suasi. Scilicet animus erat Milonis, ut prodesse rei publicæ sine sū non posset. At lætatus sum. Quid ergo? in tanta lē cunctæ civitatis me unum tristem esse oportebat?

<sup>1</sup> Quamquam de morte Clodii fuit quæstio, non satis prud illa quidem constituta, (quid enim attinebat <sup>2</sup> nova lege c de eo, qui hominem occidisset, quum esset legibus quæ constituta?), quæsitum est tamen. Quod igitur, quæ agebatur, nemo in me dixit, id tot annis post tu es inve qui dices.

(23.) Quod vero dicere ausus es, idque multis vī opera mea Pompeium a Cæsar's amicitia esse disjunctur eamque causam culpa mea civile bellum esse natum, non tu quidem tota re sed, quod maximum est, tempora errasti.

X. Ego, <sup>3</sup> M. Bibulo, præstantissimo cive, consule, prætermisi, quantum facere enīque potui, quin Pomp a Cæsar's conjunctione avocarem; in quo Cæsar felicior ipse enim Pompeium a mea familiaritate disjunxit. <sup>4</sup> Pe vero quam se totum Pompeius Cæsari tradidit, quid illum ab eo distrahere conarer? Stulti erat sperare, sua impudentis. (24.) Duo tamen tempora inciderunt, quæ aliquid contra Cæsarem Pompeio suaserim; ea velim reprehendas, si potes; unum, ne <sup>5</sup> quinquennii imperium Ca prorogaret, <sup>6</sup> alterum ne pateretur ferri, ut <sup>7</sup> absentis

<sup>1</sup> *Quamquam* is frequently used as a *concessional* particle, when speaker limits and corrects what he had previously stated; it generally be translated "and yet" (why should I say this?)

<sup>2</sup> *Nova lege*, i. e. the unprecedented trial appointed by Pompe his third consulate, for the trial of Milo.

<sup>3</sup> *M. Bibulo*. Colleague of Cæsar in his consulship, 695. V Cæsar attempted to pass his measure for distributing the whole panian district among 20,000 of the poorer citizens, Bibulus preve him by proclaiming every day "holy" until the end of the year. then withdrew from all participation in state affairs, whence the suls of this year were humorously written JULIO ET CÆSARE. Cf. *Comitia cum Archilochio decreto distulit* (Att. ii. 20, 6.) *Bibuli cœlo est, nec quare scio. Sed ita laudatur quasi: unus homo nobis cōtando restituit res*, (19, 2). *M. Bibulus, Caio Cæsare leges ferent cœlo semper servabat*, (HARUSP. Resp. 23, 48).

<sup>4</sup> *Postea vero*, i. e. on the formation of the first triumvirate, 693.

<sup>5</sup> *Quinquennii*, i. e., in accordance with the proposal of Trebonius hence called the *Trebonia lex*.

haberetur. Quorum si utrumvis persuasissem, in has  
ias numquam incidi semus. Atque idem ego, quum iam  
omnes et suas et populi Romani Pompeius ad Cæsarem  
isset seroque ea sentire cœpisset, quæ ego multo ante  
deram, inferrique patris<sup>8</sup> bellum nefarium viderem,  
concordiæ, compositionis auctor esse non destiti,  
ne illa vox est nota multis: *Utinam, Cn. Pompei, cum  
care societatem aut numquam coisses aut numquam dire-  
s!* Fuit alterum gravitatis, alterum prudentiæ tuæ. Hæc  
M. Antoni, semper et de Pompeio et de re publica  
lia fuerunt; quæ si valuissent, res publica staret, tu  
lagitiis, egestate, infamia concidisses.

. (25.) SED hæc vetera; illud vero recens, Cæsarein  
consilio imperfectum. Jam vereor, patres conscripti, ne,  
turpissimum est, <sup>9</sup> prævaricatorem mihi apposuisse  
; qui me non solum meis laudibus ornaret, sed etiam  
raret alienis. Quis enim meum in ista societate glorio-  
i facti nomen audivit? cuius autem, qui in eo numero  
t, nomen est occultatum? occultatum dico? cuius non  
i divulgatum? Citius dixerim <sup>10</sup> jactasse se aliquos, ut  
in ea societate viderentur, <sup>11</sup> quum consciū non fuissent,  
ut quisquam celari vellet, qui fuisset. (26.) Quam  
imile porro est, in tot hominibus partim obscuris partim  
centibus neminem occultantibus meum nomen latere  
use? Etenim si auctores ad liberandam patriam desi-  
ntur illis <sup>12</sup>auctoribus, Brutos ego impellerem, quorum

terum. This was the law proposed by M. Cælius Rufus, A.U.C.

*uentis ratio.* As Pompey had accepted the office of sole consul,  
side at the trial of Milo, &c., he made this concession to Cæsar.  
*Item nefarium*, which began 704. Cf. Cic. *ad Fam.* 6, 6.  
*si sunt testes me et initio ne conjungeret se cum Cæsare monuisse-  
sum, et postea, ne sejungeret; conjunctione frangi senatus oper-  
zione civile bellum excituri videbam.*

*avaricatorem.* From *præ-varus*, “a sham accuser.” *Prævaricari*  
accuse a person in such a way as that his acquittal would be  
, and then he could not be tried for the same offence again.

*onceraret, oneraret*, a paronomasia, “would not only *laud* me with  
won by myself, but *load* with those appertaining to others.

*classe se aliquos.* Among these were P. Lentulus Spinther, and  
ivius, who afterwards, under Octavianus, paid the penalty for  
est.

*se consciū non fuissent.* “When they were not even privy to  
ch less *socii*. Hence the reading *socii* is to be neglected.

*his auctoribus.* “If authorities were wanting to these autho-

uterque <sup>1</sup> L. Bruti imaginem quotidie videret, <sup>2</sup> alter Ahalæ? Hi igitur his majoribus ab alienis potius copeterent quam a suis? et foris potius quam domo? C. Cassius, in ea familia natus, quæ non modo dom sed ne <sup>3</sup> potentiam quidem cujusquam ferre potuit, torem, credo, desideravit; qui etiam sine his clarissim hanc rem in Cilicia <sup>4</sup> ad ostium fluminis Cydni consi ille ad eam ripam, quam constituerat, non ad connaves appulisset. (27.) <sup>5</sup> Cn. Domitium non <sup>6</sup> patratus, clarissimi viri, non <sup>7</sup> avunculi mors, non dignitatis, ad recuperandam libertatem, sed mea au excitavit? An C. Trebonio ego persuasi? cui ne quidem ausus essem. Quo etiam majorem ei res gratiam debet, qui libertatem populi Romani unius a præposuit, depulsorque dominatus quam particeps maluit. An L. Tillius Cimber me est auctorem si quem ego magis fecisse illam rem sum admiratus, qu turum putavi; admiratus autem ob eam causam immemor beneficiorum, memor patriæ fuisset. Qu Servilius? <sup>8</sup> Cascas dicam, an Ahalas? et hos auctoribus mea censes excitatos potius quam caritate rei p Longum est persequi ceteros; idque rei publicæ præfuisse tam multos, ipsis gloriosum.

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rities; he hints that their example will be an authority to perhaps against Antony himself. I have restored, then, the ing. Orelli has *actoribus*.

<sup>1</sup> *L. Bruti imaginem.* Phil. i. 13: *Fuerit ille Brutus, qui dominatu regia rem publicam liberavit et ad similem virtutem factum stirpem jam prope in quingentesimum annum propagavit.*

<sup>2</sup> *Alter etiam Ahalæ.* "His mother Servilia traced her Ahala (*Αλαν*) Servilius, who, when Spurius Mælius (A.U.C. laying the basis of tyranny and agitating the people, seeing and hiding it under his arm, went forth to the Agora, and beside the man, as if intending to meet and speak with him, stood towards him, smote and slew him." PLUT. *Brut.* 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Potentiam.* In allusion to the slaughter, by his father of Sp. Cassius Viscellinus, (COS. 251) who proposed the first law.

<sup>4</sup> *Ad ostium,* i. e at the mouth of the bay of Tarsus. No of this attempt is found elsewhere.

<sup>5</sup> *Cn. Domitium.* (Phil. ii. 11.) "But Suetonius says (Nero. Domitius was accused without foundation, of having had a this deed. Was he among those Patrician youths who joined conspirators immediately after the murder, wishing to app

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burned in it, and did Cicero from policy favour this false pretension? Or was Domitius himself and his posterity anxious in after times to bury the fact, when he was receiving the favours of Augustus, or when one of them, Nero, ascended the imperial throne?"

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\* *Ram gessisset consimilem.* Cicero had executed Catiline's confederates, for aiming at tyranny. Brutus had slain Cæsar for attempting to take the title and name of king.

\* *Brutus.* With respect to the conduct of Brutus, Arnold remarks (vol. ii. 97), "About this time (708) Brutus divorced his first wife, Appia, the daughter of Appius Claudius, and married the famous Porcia, his cousin, the daughter of Cato. Soon after he received another mark of Cæsar's favour in being appointed *Prætor Urbanus* for the year 709: and he was holding that office, when he resolved to become the assassin of the man whose government he had twice acknowledged, by consenting himself to act in a public station under it. Sir Mathew Hale did

stupor; quanto in rebus sententiisque major? Constitue hoc, consul, aliquando, Brutorum, C. Cassii, Cn. Domitii, C. Trebonii, reliquorum quam velis esse causam; edomi<sup>1</sup> crapulam, inquam, et exhala. An faces admovendae sunt, quæte excitent, tantæ causæ indormientem? Numquamne intelliges, statuendum tibi esse, utrum illi, qui istam rem gesserunt, homicidæne sint an vindices libertatis?

XIII. (31.) ATTENDE enim paullisper cogitationemque sobrii hominis punctum temporis suscipe. Ego, qui sum illorum, ut ipse fateor, familiaris, ut a te arguor, socius; nego quidquam esse medium; confiteor eas, nisi liberatores populi Romani conservatoresque rei publicæ sint, plus quam sicarios, plus quam homicidas, plus etiam quam parricidas esse, siquidem est atrocius patriæ parentem quam suum occidere. Tu, homo sapiens et considerate, quid dicis? Si parricidas, cur honoris causa a te sunt et in hoc ordine apud populum Romanum semper appellati? cur M. Brutus referente te<sup>2</sup> legibus est solutus, si ab urbe plus quam decem dies abfuisset? cur<sup>3</sup> ludi Apollinares incredibili M. Brutii honore celebrati? cur<sup>4</sup> provinciæ<sup>5</sup> Bruto et Cassio datæ? cur quæstores additi? cur legatorum numerus auctus? Atque hæc acta per te. Non igitur homicidas. Se-

well to accept the place of the judge during the usurpation of Cromwell; but what should we think of him, if, whilst filling that office, he had associated himself with Colonel Titus, and other such wretches in their plans to remove the Protector by assassination? But the ingratitudine of Brutus was shown more fully by Cæsar's will."

<sup>1</sup> *Crapulam*. The strong fumes of wine; the effect of a debauch upon the head, from κραυπάλη, πάλλειν τὸ κάρα.

<sup>2</sup> *Si parricidas*. Scil. *dicis*, as below, *non igitur homicidas*. The usual reading is *parricidæ—homicidæ*.

<sup>3</sup> *Legibus est solutus*. Not "freed from all law;" but "freed from all the laws connected" with some office or leading law. Grævinus supposed that the plural was used for the singular, *legibus* for *lega*. Orelli shows the exact meaning to be that above given. "For suppose this law, *Prætor ab urbe plus quam x. dies ne abesto*; now he who was absolved from that law, was consequently absolved from the law regarding his personal superintendence of the Apollinarian games, and all others connected with the law requiring his presence."

<sup>4</sup> *Ludi Apollinares*. Were first celebrated by P. Cornelius Sulla, A.U.C. 541, on occasion of a victory over the Carthaginians. These games were celebrated by the ensuing prætors, but the day for their celebration was not fixed, in other words, they were *indictive not stativæ*. In the year 545, a pestilence arose at Rome, causing long but not fatal illness; hence P. Licinius Varus, as prætor, prepared and

ut liberatores tuo judicio sint, quandoquidem tertium  
test esse. (32.) Quid est? num conturbo te? Non  
ortasse satis, quæ<sup>7</sup> diunctius dicuntur, intelligis. Sed  
haec summa est conclusionis meæ, quoniam scelere a  
ati sunt, ab eodem te amplissimis præmiis dignissimos  
os. Itaque jam<sup>8</sup> retexo orationem meam. Scribam  
, ut, si qui forte, quod a te mihi objectum est, quærent,  
erum, ne cui negent. Etenim vereor, ne aut, celatum  
ipsis non honestum, aut, invitatum refugisse, mihi  
issimum. Quæ enim res umquam (pro sancte Jup-  
non modo in hac urbe, sed in omnibus terris est  
ajor? quæ glorirosior? quæ commendatior hominum  
se sempiternæ? In hujus me tu consilii societatem,  
m in equum Trojanum, cum principibus includis?  
Non recuso; ago etiam gratias,<sup>9</sup> quoquo animo facis:  
enim res est, ut invidiam istam, quam tu in me vis  
se, cum laude non comparem. Quid enim beatius  
os tu expulsos a te prædicas et relegatos? qui locus  
tam desertus aut tam inhumanus, qui illos, quum  
rint, non affari atque appetere videatur? qui homines  
restes, qui se, quum eos adsperixerint, non maximum  
vitæ fructum putent? quæ vero tam immemor pos-

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law that these games should be annually celebrated on a  
y, i. e. the third before the nones of Quintilis. (See Liv. 27,  
which mentions the twofold origin of these games. (Carm. i. 21.)

*Hic bellum lacrymosum, hic miseram famem  
Pestemque a populo, et principe Cæsare, in  
Persas, atque Britannos  
Vesta motus aget prece.*

incipit. Macedonia to Brutus, Syria to Cassius.

mus Brutus was appointed to succeed to the consulship in 711,  
and the command of Cisalpine Gaul. He was also mentioned  
in his will, among those who were to receive a share in his  
estate in case of the failure of his direct heirs. See note 10, p. 343.  
*disjunctè dicere.* “Too logically. *Disjunctè dicere*, is, “To prove by a  
false syllogism,” e. g. The slayers of Cæsar must either be  
murderers; but by your favours they are proved not to be  
murderers. They are patriots.

“I unravel,” “unweave;” as *texere orationem*, is used to  
the Greek μυθοντι ὑφαίνειν, &c. Thus *Retegens*. Cf. HOR. Sat.  
c. 1. 1. 10. *criptorum quæque relexens.*

*quo animo facis.* Cicero believed Antony’s object was to  
“veterans against him.” *Nullam aliam ob causam, me auctor  
Caesaris interficiendi criminatur, nisi ut in me veterani*  
: (Ad Fam. xii. 2.) MANUT.

teritas, quæ tam ingratæ literæ reperientur, quæ eorum gloriam non immortalitatis memoria prosequantur? Tu adscribe me talem in numerum.

XIV. (34.) Sed unam rem vereor ne non probes. enim <sup>1</sup> fuissem, non solum regem, sed regnum etiam publica sustulisse, et si <sup>2</sup> meus stilus ille fuisset, ut dic mihi crede, non solum unum actum, sed totam fabulam fecisset. Quamquam si interfici Cæsarem voluisse crederet, vide, quæso, Antoni, quid tibi futurum sit, querens Narbonem hoc consilium cum C. Trebonio cepisse nonnum est, et ob ejus consilii societatem, quum interficeret Cæsar, tum te a Trebonio vidimus sevocari. Ego autem (vide quam tecum agam non inimice), quod bene cogi aliquando, laudo, quod non indicasti, gratias ago, quod fecisti, ignosco. Virum res illa quærebatur. (35.) Quicquid te in judicium quis adducat usurpetque illud Cassius <sup>4</sup> cui bono fuerit, vide, quæso, ne hæreas. Quamquam quidem fuit, <sup>5</sup> ut tu dicebas, omnibus bono, qui servabant; tibi tamen præcipue, qui non modo non servaverunt, sed etiam regnas; qui maximo te ære alieno ad eadem <sup>6</sup> liberasti; qui <sup>7</sup> per easdem tabulas innumerabilem pecuniam dissipavisti; ad quem e domo Cæsaris tam multa decurserunt; cujus domi quæstuosissima est falsorum commerciorum et chirographorum officina, agrorum, oppidorum immunitatum, vectigalium flagitosissimæ nundinæ. (Etenim quæ res egestati et æri alieno tuo præter mortem Cæsaris subvenire potuisset? <sup>8</sup> Nescio quid conturbasse esse videris. Numquid subtimes, ne ad te hoc cri-

<sup>1</sup> Fuissem. Scil. in tali numero.

<sup>2</sup> Meus stilus. "If that had been my piece, as is said, trust I would not have completed merely a single act, but a complete tragedy." Cicero means, he would have slain all tyrants, including Antony.

<sup>3</sup> Narbonem. When Cæsar returned from Spain, after his conciliation of Pompey's sons, he delayed awhile at Narbo. Antony went to him, and brought in his train Trebonius. As Antony considered he had not been sufficiently rewarded by Cæsar, Trebonius hinted to him that Cæsar could be removed. If Antony did not heartily favour this design, or feared to execute it as Cicero declares, certainly he kept the matter secret. The date for this incident is 709. Antony's return from Narbo was caused by the threatened sale of his property for insolvency. The services of Antony to Cæsar were by no means unimportant. He had furnished Cæsar with a pretence for his rebellion by his flight from Rome, in 704. He had held the government of Italy during Cæsar's absence in Spain. Throughout the camp,

pertinere videatur? Libero te metu; nemo credet umquam; non est tuum de re publica bene mereri; habet istius pulcherrimi facti clarrissimos viros res publica auctores: ego te tantum gaudere dico, fecisse non arguo. Respondi maximis criminibus; nunc etiam reliquis respondendum est.

XV. (87.) Castra mihi Pompeii atque illud omne tempus objecisti. Quo quidem tempore si, ut dixi, meum consilium<sup>9</sup> auctoritasque valuissest, tu hodie egeres, nos liberi emus, res publica non tot duces et exercitus amisisset. Fiteor enim, me, quum ea, quae acciderunt, providerem fatura, tanta in maestitia fuisse, quanta ceteri optimi cives, si idem providissent, fuissent. Dolebam, dolebam, patres conscripti, rem publicam vestris quondam meisque consiliis conservatam brevi tempore esse perituram. Nec vero eram tam indoctus ignarusque rerum, ut frangerer animo propter timore cupiditatem, quae me manens conficeret angoribus, timissa molestiis omnibus liberaret. Illos ego praestansimmos viros, lumina rei publicae, vivere volebam, tot consulares, tot praetorios, tot honestissimos senatores, omnem praeterea florem nobilitatis ac juventutis, tum optimorum civium exercitus, qui si viverent, quamvis iniqua condicione pacis (mihi enim omnis pax cum civibus bello iungi utilior videbatur), rem publicam hodie teneremus. (88.) Quae sententia si valuissest, ac non ii maxime mihi, uorum ego vitae consulebam, spe victoriae elati obstitissent, et alia omittam, tu certe numquam in hoc ordine vel potius numquam in hac urbe mansisses. At vero Cn. Pompeii

In Greece he had by his exertions mainly contributed to the success of Caesar's operations, and after the battle of Pharsalia had humoured the victorious legions on their return to Italy, and kept Italy in subjection until Caesar's return from Egypt. See ARNOLD, vol. ii. p. 67.

<sup>4</sup> *Cui bono fuerit.* See Milo, chap. xii. note.

<sup>5</sup> *Ut tu dicebas.* Madvig proposes, *ut tum dicebas.*

<sup>6</sup> *Opia.* See below, § 93. Cicero means that Antony paid his debts by seizing the money deposited in the temple of Ops by Cæsar.

<sup>7</sup> *Per eundem tabulas.* Used for *per ejusdem (templi) tabulas.* See 93.

<sup>8</sup> *Nescio quid conturbatus.* "You appear to me to be somewhat disturbed." See ZUMPT, *L. Gr.* § 553 (note 1.)

<sup>9</sup> *Auctoritas valuissest.* Cicero had proposed that Pompey should strike into his province Spain, and then, at the expiration of their respective terms of office, that both Cæsar and Pompey should disband their armies.

voluntatem a me alienabat oratio mea. An ille qui quam plus dilexit? cum ullo aut sermones aut contulit saepius? Quod quidem erat magnum, de sua re publica dissentientes in eadem consuetudine amici permanere. Sed et ego, quid ille, et contra ille, quid sentirem et spectarem, videbat. Ego incolumitati civium primum, ut postea dignitati possemus, ille praesenti dignitati potius consulebat. Quod autem habebat uterque, sequeretur, idcirco tolerabilior erat nostra dissensio. Quid vero ille singularis vir ac pene divinus de me sensi sciunt, qui eum de Pharsalica fuga<sup>1</sup> Paphum persecuti sunt. Numquam ab eo mentio de me, nisi honorifica, nisi per amicissimi desiderii, quum me vidiisse plus fateretur, se ravissem meliora. Et ejus viri nomine me insectari a cuius me amicum, te<sup>2</sup> sectorem esse fateare?

XVI. SED omittatur bellum illud, in quo tu nimil felix fuisti. Ne de jocis quidem respondebo, quibus non castris usum esse dixisti. Erant quidem illa castra per curae, verumtamen homines, quamvis in turbidis rebus tamen, si modo homines sunt, interdum animis relaxati (40.) Quod autem idem maestitiam meam reprehendit, iocum, magno argumento est, me in utroque fuisse miratum.

<sup>1</sup> *Paphum*. There were two cities of this name in the island Cyprus, called old Paphos and New Paphos. Pompey, in his retreat, had first about sixty senators with him. He went first to Lesbos, then to Paphos and last to Egypt.

<sup>2</sup> *Sectorem*. There is a paranomasia in *insectari* and *sectorem*, which we cannot transfer to English. The property of condemned, proscription or insolvent persons, was divided (*secta*) among his creditors, or those who informed upon him; hence, those who obtained a share of plunder were called *sectores*. Gaius's definition is, "those are called *sectores* who purchase property *publice*".

<sup>3</sup> *Hereditates*. As bequests were supposed to prove friend Antony meant to infer that Cicero was destitute of friends.

<sup>4</sup> *HS. ducenties*=20,000,000 sesterces. *Sestertius*=*semis-tertius*. The third is a half, but the first two are whole. This is the same as the German *drittenhalb* or two and a half, and the Greek *τριπλον τάλαντον*. To the symbol for two, in order to express the half, the Romans added S, with a line through the whole symbol, as in our £ for pounds, thus £½; but printers have found it convenient to substitute the letters HS. KEY, L. G. § 272. A million of sesterces short of £10,000; hence the numbers required, when the sesterce became the unit, soon became inconveniently large, and the only mode the Romans had of expressing numbers above 100,000, was by means

<sup>1</sup> Hereditates mihi negasti venire. Utinam hoc tuum verum crimen esset; plures amici mei et necessarii viverent. Sed qui istuc tibi venit in mentem? Ego enim amplius <sup>2</sup> HS. ducenties acceptum hereditatibus rettuli. Quamquam in hoc genere fateor feliciorum esse te. Me nemo nisi amicus fecit heredem, ut cum illo commodo, si quod erat, animi quidam dolor jungaretur; te is, quem tu vidisti numquam, L. Rubrius <sup>3</sup> Casinas [fecit heredem.] (41.) Et quidem vide, quam te marit is, qui <sup>4</sup> albus aterne fuerit, ignoras: Fratris filium præteriit, Q. Fufi, honestissimi <sup>5</sup> equitis Romani, suique amantissimi, quem palam heredem semper <sup>6</sup> factitarat; te, quem numquam viderat aut certe numquam salutaverat, fecit heredem. Velim mihi dicas, nisi molestum est, L. Turselius qua facie fuerit, qua statura, quo municipio, qua tribu. Nihil nio, inquies, nisi quæ prædia habuerit. Igitur fratrem exheredans te faciebat heredem. In multas præterca pecunias alienissimorum hominum, ejectis veris heredibus, tamquam heres esset, invasit. (42.) Quamquam hoc maxime admiratus sum, mentionem te hereditatum ausum esse facere, quum ipse hereditatem <sup>7</sup> patris non adisses.

XVII. Hæc ut colligeres, homo amentissime, <sup>10</sup> tot dies in aliena villa declamasti? Quamquam tu quidem (ut tui familiarissimi dictitant) vini exhalandi, non ingenii acuendi

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the numeral adverbs, thus *accepi vices ducentia triginta quinque millia, quadragesantes septemdecim nummos*, "I received 2,235,417 sesterces." By way of brevity, *centena millia* was dropped with the adverbs, causing no ambiguity, because the adverbs could only be used with *sestertium* in this sense. Although *sestertium*, as used with *millia*, was in fact a genitive, it was found convenient to treat it as a neuter substantive, so that *sestertia* was used as a nominative or accusative plural. KEY, L.G. § 1071, 2, 3.

<sup>1</sup> Casinas, i. e. a native of *Casinum*, a town of Latium on the river *Casina*.

<sup>2</sup> *Albus aterne*. A proverbial expression. Orelli cites CATULL, 94. *Nisi nimum studio, Caesar, tibi velle placere. Nec scire, utrum sis Albus ater homo.*

<sup>3</sup> *Equis Romani*. Added to distinguish him from Q. Fufius Calenus, a senator, and father-in-law of Pansa. MANUT. L. Rubrius and Q. Fufius were either uterine brothers or cousins. ORELL.

<sup>4</sup> *Factitarat, te*. I have admitted Heusinger's correction, which was adopted by Madvig and Orelli. The common text has, *facitarat, ne* *neginat*.

<sup>5</sup> *Patris*. M. Antonius Creticus, who bequeathed nothing to his son.

<sup>6</sup> *Tot dies*. Seventeen, as we learn from Phil. v. 75.—*In aliena* <sup>7</sup> *Metella*. At the residence of Q. Metellus Scipio, who perished in Africa.

causa declamas. At vero adhibes joci causa magistrum, suffragio tuo et compotorum tuorum rhetorem, cui concessisti, ut in te, quæ vellet, diceret, salsum omnino hominem; sed materia facilis est in te et in tuos<sup>1</sup> dicta dicere. Vide autem, quid intersit inter te et svum tunu. Ille sensim dicebat, quod causa prodesset, tu cursum dicas alio. (43.) At quanta merces rhetori data est? Audite, audite, patres conscripti, et cognoscite rei publicæ vulnera. Duo milia jugerum campi<sup>2</sup> Leontini Sex. Clodio rhetori<sup>3</sup> assignasti, et quidem immunia, ut populi Romani tanta munera nihil sapere disceres. Num etiam hoc, homo audacissimus, ex Cæsar's commentariis? Sed dicam alio loco et de Laurentino agro et de Campano, quos iste agros excepit rei publicæ turpissimis possessoribus inquinavit. Jam enim, quoniam criminibus ejus satis respondi, de ipso emendatore et correctore nostro quedam dicenda sunt. Nec enim omnia effundam, ut, si saepius decertandum sit, ut erit, semper novus veniam, quam facultatem mihi multitudo iustius virorum peccatorumque largitur.

XVIII. (44.) VISNE igitur te<sup>4</sup> suspiciamus a puero! Sic, opinor; a principio ordiamur. Tenesne memoria,<sup>5</sup> praetextatum te<sup>6</sup> decoxisse? Patris, inquies, ista culpa est, Concedo. Etenim est pietatis plena defensio. Illud tamen audaciæ tuae, quod sedisti in quattuordecim<sup>7</sup> ordinibus, quum

<sup>1</sup> *Dicta dicere.* To utter jests. See *de Oratore.*, lib. iii.

<sup>2</sup> *Leontini.* Of the Leontines, a people of Sicily. This is not the name of a city.

<sup>3</sup> *Assignasti.* Properly, to assign or divide conquered lands. *Assignatio fit per leges agrarias, coloniis deducendis.* Dio. xi. 20.

<sup>4</sup> *Suspiciamus a puero.* This is modelled from the attack of Demosthenes, upon the childhood and youth of Æschines.

<sup>5</sup> *Praetextatum.* The male and female children of the Romans wore white tunics bordered with purple fringe, until the age of sixteen or seventeen, when the males assumed the toga. Late writers represent the *praetexta* as being laid aside at fourteen years of age, but this seems to have been permitted only in the case of the Caesars, or successors to the empire.

<sup>6</sup> *Decoarisce.* "Became bankrupt;" properly "to boil away;" hence to "dissipate" property; to cause it, as it were, to evaporate. Cf. Att. ix. 9. *Sciebam, cum agrum decoquere quoto anno.*

<sup>7</sup> *Patris.* M. Antonius Creticus. The name Creticus was given to him in derision, on account of his ill-managed and unsuccessful expedition to Crete. Cf. PLUT. Anton. 1. He held a command against the pirates, of equal extent to that conferred on Pompey.

erat lege<sup>8</sup> Roscia decoctoribus certus locus constitutus, quamvis quis fortunæ vitio, non suo decoxisset. Sumpsisti virilem, quam statim<sup>10</sup> muliebrem togam reddidisti. Primo vulgare scortum; certa flagitii merces, nec ea parva; sed cito Curio intervenit, qui te a meretricio quæstu abduxit et, tanquam<sup>11</sup> stolam dedisset, in matrimonio stabili et certo locavit. (45.) Nemo umquam puer emptus libidinis causam fuit in domini potestate quam tu in Curionis. Quoties te pater ejus domu sua ejecit? quoties custodes posuit, ne limen intrares? quum tu tamen, nocte socia, hortante libidine, cogente mercede, per tegulas demitterere. Quæ flagitia domus illa diutius ferre non potuit. Scisne, me de rebus mihi notissimis dicere? Recordare tempus illud, quum pater Curio mærens jacebat in lecto, filius se ad pedes meos prostrernens, lacrimans, te mihi commendabat, orabat, ut te contra suum patrem, si sestertium sexagies peteret, defendarem; tantum enim se pro te<sup>12</sup> intercessisse dicebat; ipse autem amore ardens confirmabat, quod desiderium tui discidii ferre non posset, se in exsilium iturum. (46.) Quo tempore ego quanta mala florentissimæ familiæ sedavi vel potius sustuli? Patri persuasi, ut æs alienum filii dissolveret, redimeret adolescentem summa spe et animi et ingenii præditum rei familiaris facultatibus, eumque non modo tua familiaritate, sed etiam congresione patrio jure et potestate prohiberet.

<sup>8</sup> *Ordinibus*, i. e. in the fourteen rows set apart by Otho in the theatre for the knights. The orchestra, or open place, in what we would call the pit, was set apart for senators. At the time here spoken of, Antony was but an *eques*.

<sup>9</sup> *Roscia*. Roscius Otho set apart fourteen rows in the theatre, behind the senators, for the knights, whose property amounted to 400,000 sesterces. From the occurrence of the verb *restituit* Otho, in *Murena*, chap. 19, it would appear that the knights anciently sat apart from the people, and that Otho merely restored to them this privilege; in the consulship of Cicero, the plebs endeavoured to annul this law, thinking it insulting to themselves. See *Att.* 11, 1. Another law, the *lex Julia*, was afterwards framed, confirming the enactments of the Roscian.

<sup>10</sup> *Muliebrem togam*. Scandalous women were obliged to wear the man's robe (*toga*). Matrons wore the *stola*, and this *stola* was first given to the young bride by the husband.

<sup>11</sup> *Stolam*. For the matrons used the *stola*. Harlots were obliged to wear the man's gown, *toga*. Cf. HOR. *Epist.* i. 18, 3. *Ut matrona meretrici dispar erit atque disolor.*

<sup>12</sup> *Intercessisse*. Had gone security for you to that amount. “*Sponsorum fieri pecuniae, quam suo quis interventu alteri conciliavit.*” ERNEST.

Hæc tu quum per me acta meminiſſes, niſi <sup>1</sup> illis, quos vide-  
mus, gladiis confideres, maledictis me provocare ausus  
eſſes?

XIX. (47.) SED jam stupra et flagitia omittamus; sunt quædam, quæ honeste non possum dicere; tu autem eo libe-  
rior, quod ea in te admisisti, quæ a verecundo inimico audire  
non posses. Sed reliquum vitæ cursum videte; quem quidem  
celeriter perstringam; ad hæc enim, quæ in civili bello, in  
maximis rei publicæ miseriis fecit, et ad ea, quæ quotidie  
facit, festinat animus. Quæ peto ut, quamquam multo no-  
tiora vobis quam mihi sunt, tamen, ut facitis, attente audiatis.  
Debet enim talibus in rebus excitare animos non cognitio  
solum rerum, sed etiam recordatio. Tametsi incidamus  
oportet media, ne nimis sero ad extrema veniamus.

(48.) Intimus erat in tribunatu Cludio, qui sua erga me  
beneficia commemorat; ejus omnium incendiorum fax; cuius  
etiam domi jam tum <sup>2</sup> quiddam molitus est. Quid dicam,  
ipse optime intelligit. Inde iter <sup>3</sup> Alexandream contra <sup>4</sup> se-  
natus consultum, contra rem publicam et religiones; sed  
habebat ducem Gabiniū, quicum quidvis rectissime facere  
posset. Qui tum inde reditus aut qualis? Prius in ultimam  
<sup>5</sup> Galliam ex Ægypto quam domum. Quæ autem erat domus?  
Suam enim quisque domum tum obtinebat, nec erat usquam  
tua. Domum dico? Quid erat in terris, ubi in tuo pedem

<sup>1</sup> *Illis gladiis.* Strictly demonstrative, Cicero intending to direct  
attention to the barbarian guards of Antony.

<sup>2</sup> *Quiddam.* An allusion to his attempt at an intrigue with Fulvia.

<sup>3</sup> *Alexandream.* A. 697. Antonius seized the command of the cavalry,  
which under Gabinius had restored Ptolemy Auletes, after his expulsion  
from Egypt.

<sup>4</sup> *Senatus consultum.* For the Sibylline books had forbidden Ptolemy  
to be restored by an army, and so his attempt was *contra religiones*.

<sup>5</sup> *Galliam.* Tu Cæsar, A.U.C. 700. [*In ultimam Galliam.* For Caesar  
was just returned from his expedition to Britain, and was stationed  
among the Morini, "extremi" hominum. VIRG.]

<sup>6</sup> *Misenum.* A little villa at Misenum, a town on the pleasant shore  
of Baia.

<sup>7</sup> *Sisaponem.* A town of Spain, in the district of Cordoba, famous for  
its mines, which were worked by joint-stock companies. Cicero means  
that Antony's creditors were shareholders, in all his apparent property,  
it was so involved.

<sup>8</sup> *Quæsturam.* A. 701. It was the first office which constituted  
a *magistratus*.

<sup>9</sup> *Parentem tuum,* i. e. his mother Julia, sister of L. Cæsar, his father

res, praeter unum<sup>6</sup> Misenum, quod cum sociis, tamquam ponem, tenabas?

L. (49.) VENISTI e Gallia ad<sup>8</sup> quæsturam petendam. dicere, te prius ad<sup>9</sup> parentem tuam venisse quam ad Acceperam jam ante Cæsaris literas, ut mihi satisfieri erat a te. Itaque ne loqui quidem sum te passus deus. Postea sum cultus a te, tu a me observatus in peti- quæsturæ. Quo quidem tempore P. Clodium, appro- populo Romano, in foro es conatus occidere; quumque em tua sponte conarere, non impulsu meo, tamen ita cabas, te non existimare, nisi illum interfecisses, um- mihi pro tuis in me injuriis satis esse facturum. In lemior, cur Milonem impulsu meo rem illam egisse quum te, ultiro mihi idem illud deferentem, numquam dhortatus,<sup>10</sup> quanquam, si in eo perseverares, ad tuam m rem illam referri malebam quam ad meam gratiam. tor es factus. (50.) Deinde continuo sine senatus- lto,<sup>11</sup> sine sorte, sine lege ad Cæsarem concurristi. Id unum in terris egestatis, æris alieni, nequitiæ, perditis rationibus, perfugium esse ducebas. Ibi te quum et largitionibus et tuis rapinis explevisse<sup>(12)</sup> si hoc est re, quod statim effundas), advolasti egens ad<sup>13</sup> tribuna- ut in eo magistratu, si posses,<sup>14</sup> viri tui similis esses.

KI. ACCIPITE nunc, quæso, non ea, quæ ipse in se atque

ed shortly after his Cretan expedition. The Latin grammarians at *parens* is masculine, even though applied to a woman. Some have *tuam*.

*nonquam.* "And yet," i. e. I never gave you such advice, because now you would not persevere, and yet had you persevered, &c. Orelli; Madvig has *quoniam*.

*sine sorte.* Usually the senate appointed the officers by lot, but y, immediately after his appointment, set out to Cæsar, and nominated by him as his own quæstor. Antony's quæstorship in A.U.C. 702.

*si hoc est explore.* Orelli, Madvig, &c., look upon this passage as sted; and from the consent of MSS. in this reading, Orelli derives f that all our present MSS. are derived from one original. But if the text be not mutilated at all? Suppose we take *hoc* as neuter, and *est* for *licet*, *ἴξεστι*. We have then, Cicero's correction previous sentence, "If it be possible to gorge yourself with that you must at once disgorge." At all events my proposal is easier o alter the text.

*tribunatum.* A.U.C. 704.

*viri tui.* Curio. See above, chap. xviii.

<sup>1</sup> in domesticum decus impure atque intemperanter, sed quo  
in nos fortunasque nostras, id est, in universam rem publi-  
cam, impie ac nefarie fecerit. Ab hujus enim oculare omnium  
malorum principium natum reperietis. (51.) Nam quum L.  
Lentulo, C. Marcello consulibus, Kalendis Januariis labo-  
tem et prope cadentem rem publicam fulcire cuperetis ipsi-  
que C. Cæsari, si sana mente esset, consulere velle; tam  
iste venditum atque <sup>2</sup> emancipatum tribunatum omni-  
vestris opposuit cervicesque suas ei subiecit <sup>3</sup> securi, quæ  
multi minoribus in peccatis occiderunt. In te, M. Antonius  
id <sup>4</sup> decrevit senatus, et quidem incolunis, nondum tamen  
nibus extinctis, quod in hostem togatum decerni est taliter  
more majorum. Et tu apud patres conscriptos contempsisti  
dicere ausus es, quum ab hoc ordine ego conservator esses?  
tu hostis rei publicæ judicatus? Commemoratio illius  
sceleris intermissa est, non memoria deleta. Dum  
hominum, dum populi Romani nomen existabit (quod quæ-  
erit, si per te licet, sempiternum), tua illa <sup>5</sup> pestifera inter-  
cessio nominabitur. (52.) Quid cupide a senatu, quid tem-  
fiebat, quum tú, unus <sup>6</sup> adolescens, universum ordinem des-  
nere de salute rei publicæ prohibuisti, neque id senat, sed  
sæpius? Neque tu tecum de senatus auctoritate agi posse  
es. Quid autem agebatur, nisi ne deleri et everti rem  
publicam funditus velles? Quum te neque principes civitatis  
rogando neque maiores natu monendo neque frequens senatus

<sup>1</sup> *In domesticum decus.* "Against his private character for honour." Most editors have *dedecus*, but this would be *contra dedecus*, i. e. to his honour, the direct reverse of what Cicero intended. The correction is due to Madvig, *Opusc. Acad.* 166.

<sup>2</sup> *Emancipatum.* "Sold," "enslaved" HOR. *Epd. ix. 11.*

*Romanus, eheu! posteri negabitis  
Emancipatus fæminæ, &c.*

Cato, chap. 11. *Si senectus nemini emancipata est.* Where see George Long's note.

<sup>3</sup> *Securi.* Cicero of course does not mean the axe, literally, but metaphorically, the penalty of the laws. To a Roman, exile was political death. Actual death, was at this time, impossible to be inflicted, *sine consensu populi*, which is tantamount to not at all.

<sup>4</sup> *Decrevit.* The famous clause, *consules viderent ne res publica, &c.*

<sup>5</sup> *Pestifera intercessio.* The senate passed a decree, that Caesar in person having laid down his command, should sue for the consulship. To this decree Antonius gave his veto.

<sup>6</sup> *Adolescens.* He was then thirty-four years of age, but the term *adolescens* is used often with a wide range.

ndo de<sup>7</sup> vendita atque addicta sententia movere potuit, illud, multis rebus ante tentatis, necessario tibi vulnus etum est, quod paucis ante te, quorum incolunis fuit<sup>10</sup>; (53.) tum contra te dedit arma hic ordo consulibus iusque imperiis et potestatibus; quæ non effugisses, nisi d'arma Cæsaris<sup>8</sup> contulisses.

XII. Tu, tu, inquam, M. Antoni, princeps C. Cæsari, ia perturbare cupienti, causam belli contra patriam in-adi dedisti. Quid enim aliud ille dicebat? quam causam lementissimi consilii et facti afferebat, nisi quod<sup>9</sup> inter-o neglecta, jus tribunicium sublatum,<sup>10</sup> circumscriptus iatu esset Antonius? Omitto, quam hæc falsa, quam , præsertim quum omnino nulla causa justa cuiquam esse it contra patriam arma capiendi; sed nihil de Cæsare; certe confitendum est, causam perniciosissimi belli in-ma tua constitisse. (54.) O miserum te, si intelligis, riorem, si non intelligis, hoc literis mandari, hoc memoriæ i, hujus rei ne posteritatem quidem omnium seculorum iam immemorem fore, consules ex Italia expulsos, cum-nis Cn. Pompeium, quod imperii populi Romani decus men fuit, omnes consulares, qui per valetudinem exsequi un illam fugamque potuissent,<sup>11</sup> prætores, prætorios, tri-s plebis, magnam partem senatus, omnem subolem itutis unoque verbo rem publicam expulsam atque ex-inatam suis sedibus! (55.) Ut igitur in seminibus est

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*addita.* Sold privately. *Addicta*, i. e., *auctio*nata**." "Sold to the st bidder." *Verres*. 11, 32. *Pretio* *addictam habere fidem*. The is properly used of an insolvent debtor whose person was given he possession of his creditor.

*contulisses.* Voluntarily betook yourself. It does not appear to rtain that any violence was used towards Antony, or that he was led. Most likely he took the senators' decree as a significant hint m to fly from Rome.

*intercessio.* Even Sulla, when he abolished the executive power s tribunes, allowed them to retain their power of *intercessio*. complained violently of Pompey's taking from them a power even Sulla had left. (*Bell. Civil.* 4.)

*circumscriptus.* Editors usually quote *Att.* 7, 9, where the four ds of coercing a refractory tribune are given. *Notatus* (to repri-). *S. consulto circumscriptus*, (coerced. See *Milo*, chap. 33.) us, as Octavius by Gracchus; or *expulsus*, as Antony pretended

*prætores.* One at least remained behind. M. Æmilius Lepidus, afterwards named Cæsar dictator, and was appointed by him r of the horse.

causa arborum et stirpium, sic hujus luctuosissimi bi-  
semen tu fuisti. Doletis <sup>1</sup> tres exercitus populi Romani  
interfectos; interfecit Antonius. Desideratis clarissim  
cives; eos quoque vobis eripuit Antonius. Auctoritas hu-  
ordinis afflita est; affixit Antonius. Omnia denique, q  
postea vidimus (quid autem mali non vidimus?), si re  
ratiocinabimur, uni accepta referemus Antonio. Ut Helen  
Trojanis, sic iste huic rei publicæ causa belli, causa per  
atque exitii fuit. Reliquæ partes tribunatus principiis simi  
Omnia perfecit, quæ senatus, salva re publica ne fieri p  
sent, perfecerat. Cujus tamen scelus in scelere cognosci

**XXIII. (56.) RESTITUEBAT** multos calamitosos; in  
<sup>2</sup> patrui nulla mentio. Si severus, cur non in omnes?  
misericors, cur non in suos? Sed omitto ceteros. Licini  
<sup>3</sup> Lenticulam, de alea condemnatum, collusorem suum, i  
tituit; quasi vero ludere cum condemnato non liceret;<sup>4</sup>  
ut, quod in alea perdiderat, <sup>5</sup>beneficio legis dissolvi  
Quam attulisti rationem populo Romano, cur eum resti  
oporteret? Absentem, credo, in reos relatum; rem indi  
causa judicatam; <sup>6</sup>nullum fuisse de alea lege judicium;  
oppressum et armis; postremo, quod de patruo tuo di  
batur, pecunia judicium esse corruptum. Nihil horum.  
vir bonus et re publica dignus. Nihil id quidem ad re  
ego tamen, quoniam condemnatum esse pro nihilo est, si  
esset, ignoscerem; hominem omnium nequissimum, qui i  
dubitaret vel in foro alea ludere, lege, quæ est de alea, c

<sup>1</sup> *Tres exercitus.* In Thessaly, at Pharsalia, under Pompey. At  
at Thapsus, under Scipio. Spain, at Munda, under Afranius.

<sup>2</sup> *Patrui.* C. Antonius, the colleague of Cicero in his consulship:  
now in exile, having been accused both of extortion in his provi-  
and complicity with Catiline. He spent his exile at Cephalonia u  
recalled to Rome by Cæsar.

<sup>3</sup> *Lenticulam.* This person is not otherwise known. He was resto  
by Antony shortly after Cæsar's death, in 710.

<sup>4</sup> *Sed ut.* "But the motive was."

<sup>5</sup> *Beneficio legis.* Antony owed money to Lenticula for losses  
gambling; he paid this debt by the service rendered to Lenticula  
the enactment of this law.

<sup>6</sup> *Nullum fuisse de alea lege judicium.* "There was no trial  
gambling, legally. Cicero merely says that this defence might be set  
by a special pleader. Cf. HOR. *Scu malis vetita legibus alea.*

<sup>7</sup> *In Hispaniam proficiens.* This was in the interval between  
evacuation of Brundisium by Pompey and the battle of Pharsala  
i.e. about 704.

m, qui in integrum restituit, is non apertissime suum ipse profitetur? (57.) In eodem vero tribu-  
um Cæsar<sup>7</sup> in Hispaniam proficiscens huic concul-  
italiam tradidisset, quæ fuit ejus peragratio itinerum?

municipiorum? Scio me in rebus celebratissimis sermone versari, eaque, quæ dico dicturusque sum, omnibus esse, qui in Italia tum fuerunt, quam mihi, fui. Notabo tamen singulas res; etsi nullo modo ratio mea satisfacere vestræ scientiæ. Etenim quod in terris tantum flagitium exstitisse auditum est? urpitudinem? tantum dedecus?

. (58.) VENEBATUR in<sup>8</sup> essedo tribunus plebis,

laureati antecedebant, inter quos aperta lectica portabatur, quam ex oppidis municipales homines obviam necessario prodeuntes, non noto illo et nomine, sed<sup>10</sup> Volumniam consulutabant; sequebatur cum lenonibus, comites nequissimi; rejecta mater impuri filii tamquam nurum sequebatur. O miseræ fecunditatem calamitosam! Horum flagitiorum iste omnia municipia, præfecturas, colonias, totam deniam impressit.

Reliquorum factorum ejus, patres conscripti, difficilis reprehensio et lubrica. Versatus in bello est; satu-  
sanguine dissimillimorum sui civium; felix fuit, si la in scelere esse felicitas. Sed quoniam<sup>12</sup> veteranis esse volumus, quamquam dissimilis est militum causa illi secuti sunt, tu quæsisti ducem, tamen, ne apud

. A Gallic or British chariot; the Tribunes, Flamens, and were forbidden the use of carriages.

*es laureati.* Cæsar had allowed his *legati* to have lictors decked with bay leaves. Antony, as being one of Cæsar's imed liberty to bring them with him on his progress.

*niam*, i. e. Cytheris, as being not only the mistress of Antony, tratalus Volumnius. Very likely, however, it was through a attery they styled her *Volumnia*, for that was the name of the riolanus.

*lenonibus.* A curious reading occurs in many MSS., *cum* and it appears that Antony had a fancy for keeping these (*Ad. Att. x. 13*). *Tu Antonii leones pertimescas, cave.* From pears likely that he had lions yoked to the chariot in which he theris. “*Ita primus leones Romæ ad currum junxit M. An-* . . . *Nam quod ita vectus est cum mimâ Cytheride, supra iam calamitatum est.*” (*PLIN. viii. 15.*) *anis cautum esse.* “We wish to take precautions for the

illos me in invidiam voces, nihil de genere belli dicam. Victor e Thessalia Brundisium cum legionibus revertisti. Illi me non occidisti. Magnum beneficium; potissimum enim fateor; quamquam nemo erat eorum, qui tam tecum ficerent, qui mihi non censeret parci oportere. (60.) Tanta est enim caritas patris, ut vestris etiam legiōnibus sanctos esse, quod eam a me servatam esse meminissent. Sed fac, id te deditse mihi, quod non ademisti, meque a te habere vitam, quia non a te sit erecta; licuitne mihi per tuas contumelias hoc tuum beneficium sic tueri, ut tuebar, pressertim quando te hæc auditurum videres?

XXV. (61.) <sup>1</sup>Venisti Brundisium, in sinum quidem et in complexum tue mimulae. <sup>2</sup>Quid est? num mentis? Quam miserum est id negare non posse, quod sit tu pium? mun confiteri! Si te municipiorum non pudebat, ne veniani quidem exercitus? Quis enim miles fuit, qui Brundisium illam non viderit? quis, qui nescierit, venisse eam? totus dierum viam gratulatum? quis, qui non indoluerit, tam nequasse, quam nequam hominem secutus esset, cognoscere? (62.) Italiæ rursus percursatio eadem comite mima; in oppidum militum crudelis et misera deductio; in urbe suri, argentea maximeque vini fœda direptio. Accessit, ut, <sup>4</sup>Cæsare ignare, quum esset ille Alexandræ, beneficio amicorum ejus magistrum equitum constitueretur. Tum existimavit, se suo jure cum <sup>5</sup>Hippia vivere, et <sup>6</sup>equos vectigales Sergio mimo tradere.

veterans," i. e. to retain for them their advantages." See Phil. 1, 2  
"Veterani—quibus hic ordo diligentissime caverat."

<sup>1</sup> Antony wrote to Cicero, requesting his consent to the restoration of Sex. Clodius from exile, telling him that though he was bound to restore him, as that was one of Cæsar's acts, yet he would not press the point if disagreeable to Cicero. The latter assented. To show how completely he was duped by Antony we cite a passage from Cicero's reply to Antony's request. (*Ad. Att. xiv. xiii.*) "Nam quoniam te semper amavi, primum tuo studio, post etiam beneficio, provocatus, tum his temporibus res publica te mihi commendavit, ut cariorem habeam neminem."

<sup>2</sup> After the battle of Pharsalia Antony returned to Italy with the victorious legions, and although during the contests in Greece the people of Italy had waited calmly to abide the result of the campaign, and accept whichever should be victor, it was soon proved that they had to pay the same penalties as the most violent. Antony's troops were billeted throughout the towns, and indulged in every species of debauchery and violence; and the whole command in Italy was conferred on, or assumed by, Antony, with the title of Cæsar's lieutenant. (See ARNOLD, vol. ii. p. 15.).

Tum sibi non 'hanc, quam nunc male tuetur, sed M. Pisonis domum, ubi habitaret, legerat. Quid ego istius decreta, quid rapinas, quid hereditatum possessiones datas, quid ereptas proferam? Cogebat egestas; quo se verteret, non habebat. Nondum ei tanta a L. Rubrio, non a L. Turselio hereditas venerat; nondum in Cn. Pompeii locum multorumque aliorum, qui aberant, repentinus heres successerat. Erat ei vivendum latronum ritu, ut tantum haberet, quantum rapere potuisset.

(63.) Sed haec, quæ robustioris improbitatis sunt, omittamus; loquamur potius de nequissimo genere levitatis. Tu fauibus, istis lateribus, ista gladiatoria totius corporis amitatem, tantum vini in Hippæ nuptiis exhauseras, ut tibi esset in populi Romani conspectu vomere postridie. Rem non modo visu foedam, sed etiam auditu! Si inter nam in ipsis tuis immanibus illis poculis hoc tibi accidet, quis non turpe duceret? In cœtu vero populi Romani, negotium publicum gerens, magister equitum, cui ructare turpe esset, is vomens frustis esculentis, vinum redolentibus, venium suum et totum tribunal implevit. Sed hoc ipse sitetur esse in suis sordibus; veniamus ad splendidiora.

**XXVI.** (64.) CÆSAR<sup>8</sup> Alexandria se recepit, felix, ut sibi idem videbatur; mea autem sententia qui rei publicæ infelix, felix esse nemo potest. Hasta posita pro æde Ævis Statoris bona Cn. Pompeii (miserum me! consumptis lacrimis, tamen infixus hæret animo dolor), bona, in-

<sup>8</sup> Tot dierum viam. From Rome to Brundisium, 350 miles.

<sup>9</sup> Cesare ignaro. For immediately after the battle of Pharsalia Caesar proceeded to Alexandria, and consequently was ignorant of affairs at Rome. It seems Caesar was annoyed at the appointment of Antony, for immediately on his return he appointed Lepidus as master of the horse in place of Antony.

<sup>10</sup> Hippia. Plutarch makes this person to be a *mimus*, like Serva, &c. Juvenal represents Hippia as an abandoned female; if a male, she was the wife of Sergius. (?)

<sup>11</sup> Equos vectigales. Some of the tributary states supplied Rome with a certain number of horses yearly. Senators had the privilege of hiring these for a small sum. Antony took his proper number, and then consigned them to Sergius to make what he could of them. All this appears from a passage of Asconius, (*in leg. Cass. 94.*) "C. Antonius redemptas habebat ab ærario vectigales quadrigas, quam redemptron senatori habere licet per legem, &c."

<sup>12</sup> Hanc, i. e. the house of Pompey.

<sup>13</sup> Alexandria, A.U.C. 707.

quam,<sup>1</sup> Cn. Pompeii Magni voci acerbissimæ subjecta preconis. Una in illa re servitutis oblita civitas ingemuit, servantibusque animis, quum omnia metu tenerentur, gemitus tamen populi Romani liber fuit. Exspectantibus omnibus, quisnam esset tam impius, tam demens, tam dum hominibusque hostis, qui ad illud scelus sectionis auderet accedere, inventus est nemo præter Antonium, præsertim quum tot essent circum hastam illam, qui alia omnia auderent. Unus inventus est, quid id auderet, quod omnium fugisset et reformidasset audacia. (65.) Tantus igitur stupor oppressit, vel, ut verius dicam, tantus furor, ut primum, quum<sup>2</sup> sector sis isto loco natus, deinde quum Pompei sector, non te exsecratum populo Romano, non detestabilem, non omnes tibi deos, omnes homines et esse inimicos et futuros scias? At quam insolenter statim heluo invasit in ejus viri fortunas, cuius virtute terribilior erat populus Romanus exteris gentibus, justitia carior?

XXVII. (66.) In ejus igitur viri copias quum se subite ingurgitasset, exultabat gaudio, persona de mimo, mode egens, repente dives. Sed ut est<sup>3</sup> apud poetam nescio quem, *male parta male dilabuntur*. Incredibile ac simile portentum est, quonam modo illa tam multa, quam paucis, non diebus mensibus, sed diebus effuderit. Maximus vini numerus fuit, permagnum optimi pondus argenti, pretiosa vestis, multa et lauta supellex et magnifica<sup>4</sup> multis locis, non illa quidam luxuriosi hominis, sed tamen abundantis. Horum paucis diebus nihil erat. (67.) Quæ Charybdis tam vorax? Charybdin dico? quæ si fuit, animal unum fuit; Oceanus,<sup>5</sup> medius fidius, vix videtur tot res, tam dissipatas, tam distractibus in locis positas, tam cito absorbere potuisse. Nihil erat clausum, nihil obsignatum, nihil scriptum. <sup>6</sup>Apotheosis

<sup>1</sup> *C. Pompeii Magni.* Notwithstanding the immense sums Cæsar had amassed by plunder and compulsory benevolences, the expenses of the African war compelled him to have recourse to further exactions. It was for this purpose, that he sold the property of his father-in-law, Pompey, and that of other nobles, which even the rapacity of Antony had left untouched. See ARNOLD, vol. ii. p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Sector isto loco natus.* "A buyer of confiscated property, born of so noble a family." Of course it was a degradation for a *nobilis* to become a *sector*.

<sup>3</sup> *Apud poetam.* C. Nævius, A.U.C. 550.

<sup>4</sup> *Multis locis,* i. e. in many different localities. Cf. below, *tam distractibus in locis positas*.

nissimis hominibus condonabantur. Alia mimi ralia mimæ. Dominus erat aleatoribus referta, plena. Totos dies potabatur, atque id locis pluribus. antur etiam sæpe (non enim semper iste felix) eatoria. <sup>7</sup> Conchyliatis Cn. Pompeii <sup>8</sup> peristromatis in cellis lectos stratos videres. Quamobrem desi- ri, hæc tam celeriter esse consumpta. Non modo rimonium, quamvis amplum, ut illud fuit, sed urbes celeriter tanta nequitia devorare potuisset. (68.) sedes etiam et hortos. O audaciam immanem! Tu redi illam domum ausus es? tu illud sanctissimum rare? tu illarum ædium diis penatibus os impuris- tendere? Quam domum aliquamdiu nemo adspicere iemq sine lacrimis præterire, hac te in domo tamdiu i non pudet? in qua, quamvis nihil sapias, tamen potest esse jucundum.

**II.** AN tu, illa in vestibulo rostra [spolia] quum i, domum tuam te introire putas? Fieri non potest. enim sine mente, sine sensu sis, ut es, tamen et te tuos nosti. Nec vero te umquam neque vigilantem somnis credo posse mente consistere. Necessse est, sis, ut es, vinolentus et furens, quum tibi objecta s singularis viri, perterritum te de somno excitari, iam sæpe vigilantem. (69.) Me quidem miseret ipsorum atque tectorum. Quid enim umquam a viderat nisi pudicum, quid nisi ex optimo more et na disciplina? Fuit enim ille vir, patres conscripti, is, quum foris clarus tum domi admirandus, neque ernalis magis laudandus quam institutis domesticis. sedibus pro cubiculis stabula, pro tricliniis popinæ tsi jam negat. Nolite quærere. Frugi factus est.

*fidius.* See *Milo*, ch. 28.

*æc.* In the upper part of the house, where the old wines i in *amphoræ*, to refine, &c. The *cella* was in the lower part se, where the new wines were stored.

*liatis,* i. e. costly garments dyed with purple. *The murex,* or plied the dye.

*omatis.* Greek nouns ending in *-ma*, make their dative and ural in *-atis*.

*ari.* "To lodge." Cicero hints that Antony will not long be to retain it. Cf. *qui in caupona aut alio quo loco deversatur.* i. 17.

<sup>1</sup> Illam suam suas res sibi habere jussit ; ex duodecim tabulis claves ademit, exegit. Quam porro spectatus civis, quem probatus, cuius ex omni vita nihil est honestum, quem quodcum mima fecit divertium ? (70.) At quam crebro tempore et consul et Antonius ? Hoc est dicere : et consul et impensis dicissimus, et consul et homo nequissimus. Quid est enim aliud Antonius ? Nam si dignitas significaretur in nomine dixisset, credo, aliquando avus tuus se et consulum et Antonium. Numquam dixit. Dixisset etiam collega tuus patruus tuus. Nisi tu es solus Antonius. Sed omnino peccata, quae non sunt <sup>2</sup> earum partium propria, quibus rem publicam vexavisti ; ad ipsas tuas partes redi, id est ad civile bellum, quod natum, confiatum, susceptum tua est.

XXIX. (71.) <sup>3</sup> Cui bello quum propter timiditatem tuorum propter libidines defuisti. Gustaras civilem sanguinem vel potius exsorberas ; fueras in acie Pharsalica subtilis nanus ; L. Domitium, clarrissimum et nobilissimum virum occideras, multosque præterea, qui e prælio effugerantur. Cæsar, ut nonnullos, fortasse servasset, crudelissime percutus trucidaras. Quibus rebus tantis, talibus gestis, fuit causæ, cur <sup>4</sup> in Africam Cæsarem non sequerere, quæ præsertim belli pars tanta restaret ? Itaque quem locum apud ipsum Cæsarem post ejus ex Africa redditum obtinuerat quo numero fuisti ? cuius tu imperatoris questor fuisti.

<sup>1</sup> *Illam suam*, i. e. Cytheris. There is deep irony in the use of *suas res sibi habere* ; the legitimate formula of divorce, the act of divorcing was the taking away the keys, *claves adimere*. The passage is punctuated after Klenz and Orelli ; others punctuate, *jussit ex duodecim tabulis*.

<sup>2</sup> *Earum partium*. "To that sphere of action," &c., i. e. the civil war, as Cicero explains two lines below.

<sup>3</sup> *Cui bello*, i. e. the Spanish portion of it. When Caesar had to oppose powerful and resolute enemies, e. g. Scipio, Cato, Juba king of Mauritania, &c.

<sup>4</sup> *In Africam*, i. e. A.U.C. 708.

<sup>5</sup> *Appellatus es*. "You were sued for the money." As debts were called *nomina*, hence arose the propriety of the word *appeller*, to demand the debts. See *Orat. pro Quint. ix.*

<sup>6</sup> *Exclusis*. Thus the Barberini MSS. and Orelli. The usual reading *excussis*, which cannot be explained to suit the passage, "quod <sup>7</sup> nec examinatos nec objectis explicare possumus." ORELLI. For <sup>8</sup> *exclusis* Heusinger quotes PLIN. Epist. ix. 13, 15, *iniquissimum usq; dolentium excludi*.

is magister equitum, belli princeps, crudelitatis praedæ socius, testamento, ut dicebas ipse, filius. atus es de pecunia, quam pro domo, pro hortis, pro debebas. (72.) Primo respondisti plane ferociter, mnia videar contra te, propemodum æqua et justa

A me C. Cæsar pecuniam? cur potius, quam ego an sine me ille vicit? At ne potuit quidem; ego belli civilis causam attuli, ego leges perniciosas go arma contra consules imperatoresque populi contra senatum populumque Romanum, contra rios arasque et focos, contra patriam tuli. Num icit? Quorum facinus est commune, cur non sit ræda communis? Jus postulabas; sed quid ad us ille poterat. (73.) Itaque <sup>6</sup> exclusis tuis vocibus, et ad <sup>7</sup> prædes tuos milites misit, quum repente est clara illa <sup>8</sup> tabula prolata. Qui risus hominum? esse tabulam, tam varias, tam multas possessiones, s præter partem Miseni nihil erat, quod is, qui etur, posset suum dicere. Auctionis vero misera-ectus: vestis Pompeii non multa, eaque maculosa; quædam argentea vasa collisa, sorditata mancipia, mus quidquam esse ex illis reliquiis, quod videre. (74.) Hanc tamen <sup>9</sup> auctionem heredes L. decreto Cæsaris prohibuerunt. Hærebat nebulo; erteret, non habebat. Quin his ipsis temporibus

; tuos. "Your sureties." *Præs* is a surety who gives his security for a defendant's appearance. *Vas*, one who gives security.

"A schedule," i. e. a list of all his goods, which Antony had to sell by auction, in order to pay off his debt to Cæsar.

tem. At Rome the sales of houses and lands were con-  
ng on, and as it was odious to become a purchaser, monied character and some of Cæsar's partisans, who cared not for nion, were able to buy splendid possessions at a very low is said that M. Antonius, having thus bought the house belonged to Pompey, was very unwilling to pay the price uming that his services to Cæsar entitled him to share in gratitously. But Cæsar, on his return from Africa, insisted on payment being made; and when Antony still demurred, i a military guard to take possession of his property." ol. ii. p. 66.

. Antony had frequently passed himself off as the heir of id eventually got his property: this the legitimate heirs en-  
to obtain from him.

domi Cæsaris percussor, ab isto missus, deprehensus esse  
batur esse cum sica. De quo Cæsar in senatu, aperte in tribunatu  
invehens, questus est. Proficiscitur<sup>1</sup> in Hispaniam Cæsar  
paucis tibi ad solvendum propter inopiam: tam proponit  
diebus. Ne tum quidem sequeris. Tam bonus gladiator  
rudem tam cito<sup>2</sup>? Hunc igitur quisquam, qui in suis  
tibus, id est, in suis fortunis, tam timidus fuerit, pertinet.

**XXX.** (75.) **PROFECTUS** est aliquando tandem in Hispaniam, sed tuto, ut ait, pervenire non potuit. Quorum igitur Dolabella pervenit? Aut non suscipienda fuit causa, Antoni, aut, quum suscepisses, defendenda usque ad extremum. Ter depugnavit Cæsar cum civibus, in Thessalia, Africa, Hispania. Omnibus adfuit his pugnis Dolabella; Hispaniensi etiam vulnus accepit. Si de meo judicio quoniam nolle<sup>3</sup>; sed tamen consilium a primo reprehendendum, danda constantia. Tu vero<sup>4</sup> quid es? Cn. Pompeii<sup>5</sup> tum primum patriam repetebant. Esto; fuerit haec pars causa communis. Repetebant præterea<sup>6</sup> deos penates, trios, aras, focos, larem suum familiarem, in qua tu inveneris. Hæc quum repeterent armis ii, quorum erant legibus, in rebus iniquissimis quid potest esse sequi?—tamen erat æquissimum contra Cn. Pompeii liberos pugnare quem? Te, sectorem. (76.) An tu Narbone mensas habuimus pitum convomeres, Dolabella pro te in Hispania dimicari?

Qui vero Narbone reditus?<sup>7</sup> Etiam quærebat, cur ego ipso cursu tam subito revertissem. Exposui nuper, patres conscripti, causam reditus mei. Volui, si possem, etiam ad Kalendas Januarias prodesse rei publicæ. Nam quod

<sup>1</sup> In Hispaniam. A.U.C. 709.

<sup>2</sup> In Hispaniensi, i. e. at Munda.

<sup>3</sup> Quid es. Sarcastically in the neuter. Cf. Juv. viii., quid erat Venti<sup>4</sup>dius, quid Tullius?

<sup>4</sup> Tum primum, i. e. “then sought their country as the first thing” before all other things. Not, “then for the first time.”

<sup>5</sup> Deos penates patrios. Their country’s household gods, the penates of Rome. Orelli rejects his former and the usual punctuation, *Deos penates, patrios*.

<sup>6</sup> Etiam quærebat. When his own return was so disgraceful, he however actually (*etiam*) dared to ask regarding my return. *Etiam indegnus est.* KLOTZ.

<sup>7</sup> Gallicis. “Notat autem turpem in Antonio decoris senatorii agit gentiam.” ORELLI. I do not think his carelessness of proper values is meant, but that allusion is made to Antony’s degradation at the

uomodo redissem, primum luce, non tenebris, deinde  
iceis et toga, nullis nec <sup>7</sup> Gallicis nec lacerna. At  
dspicis me, et quidem, ut videris, iratus. Næ tu jam  
in gratiam redeas, si scias, quam me pudeat nequitiae  
is te ipsum non pudet. Ex omnium omnibus flagitiis  
turpius vidi, nullum audivi. Qui magister equitum  
i viderere, in proximum annum consulatum peteres,  
is rogares, is per municipia coloniasque Galliæ, a  
tum, quum consulatus petebatur, non rogabatur,  
onsulatum solebamus, cum Gallicis et lacerna cu-

At videte levitatem hominis.

.. (77.) QUUM hora diei fere decima ad <sup>8</sup> Saxa rubra  
delituit in quadam cauponula atque ibi se occultans  
t ad vesperam; inde cisio celeriter ad urbem ad-  
sum venit capite obvolo. Janitor: "Quis tu?"  
eo tabellarius." Confestim <sup>9</sup> ad eam, cuius causa  
eique epistolam tradidit. Quam quum illa legeret  
at enim scripta amatorie, caput autem literarum,  
illa mima posthac nihil futurum; omnem se amorem  
<sup>10</sup> illinc atque in hanc transfudisse), quum mulier  
erius, homo misericors ferre non potuit; caput  
in collum invasit. O hominem nequam! quid enim  
am? magis proprie nihil possum dicere. Ergo ut  
nitum, nec opinato quum ostendisses, præter spem  
dspiceret, idcirco urbem terrore nocturno, Italiam  
dierum metu perturbasti? (78.) Et domi quidem  
moris habuit, foris etiam turpiorem, ne L. Plancus  
suos venderet. Productus autem in contionem a  
lebis, quum respondisses, te <sup>11</sup>rei tuæ causa venisse,

assuming the dress of a vanquished people in order to gain  
ages.

*rubra.* Between Rome and Veii on the *Cremera.* The  
*ra* refers to the slaughter of the Fabii, A.U.C. 277.

*n.* Scil. Fulvia.

"From her." Scil. Cytheris. Orelli prefers the colloquial  
tian form, *illim*: "*quia familiarem sermonem imitatur*

*stum.* *Catimitum* pro *Ganymede dixerunt*, FESTUS, i. e. by a  
z into t, and the use of the old Latin C which is G hard, as  
*Geneus.*

*es.* "Sureties," i. e. by giving their property (*bona*) as

*æ.* A word of double meaning, or rather triple, for *rea-*

percutiūnē aīeno egenlemque, si eundem nequā  
audacemque cognorat, hunc in familiaritatem li  
recipiebat. (79.) His igitur rebus p̄eclare con  
jussus es renuntiari consul, et quidem cum ip  
queror de Dolabella, qui tum est impulsus, induc  
<sup>1</sup> Qua in re quanta fuerit uterque vestrum perfid  
bellam, quis ignorat? Ille induxit, ut peteret,  
et receptum intervertit ad seque transtulit; tu ej  
voluntatem tuam adscripsisti. Veniunt Kalendæ  
cogimur in senatum; invictus est copiosius mult  
et paratus Dolabella quam nunc ego. (80.) I  
iratus quæ dixit, dii boni? Primum quum Cæsar c  
se, priusquam proficeretur, Dolabellam consule  
surum (quem negant regem, qui et faceret semper  
aliquid et diceret), sed quum Cæsar ita dixisset  
bonus augur eo se sacerdotio p̄reditum esse dixit,

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I. property at stake; or II. object of concern; or III. int  
his passion for Fulvia.

<sup>1</sup> *Qua in re, &c.* *Quanta perfidia* is the ablative of q  
which transaction, with what strange faithfulness each c  
towards Dolabella, who is ignorant?"

<sup>2</sup> *Id facturus*, i. e. "spoil the election," § 83, by pron  
die, &c.

<sup>3</sup> *Speciem*. Forcellinus thus explains "we augurs ha  
right of announcing to the political magistrate what on

auspiciis vel impedire vel vitiare posset, <sup>2</sup> idque se facturum esse asseveravit. In quo primum incredibilem stupiditatem omnium cognoscite. (81.) Quid enim? Istud, quod te sacerdotii jure facere posse dixisti, si augur non essem et consul essem, minus facere potuisses? Vide ne etiam facilius. Nam enim nuntiationem solum habemus, consules et reliqui agistratus etiam <sup>3</sup> spetionem. Esto; hoc imperite; nec nim est ab homine numquam sobrio postulanda prudentia; sed videte impudentiam. Multis ante mensibus in senatu dixit, se Dolabellæ comitia aut prohibiturum auspiciis aut facturum esse, quod fecit. Quisquamne <sup>4</sup> divinare potest, quid vitii in auspiciis futurum sit, nisi qui de cælo servare instituit? quod neque licet comitiis per leges, et, si qui exaravat, non comitiis habitis, sed priusquam habeantur, debet nuntiare. Verum implicata inscientia impudentia est; ecce scit, quod augurem, nec facit, quod pudentem deceat. (82.) Atque ex illo die recordamini ejus usque ad Idus Martias consulatum. Quis umquam apparitor tam humilis, tam abjectus? Nihil ipse poterat, omnia rogabat; caput inversam lecticam inserens beneficia, quæ venderet, a collega ostebat.

### XXXIII. Ecce Dolabellæ comitiorum dies; sortitio <sup>5</sup> præ-

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hat although he had not declared that he would watch the heavens or a certain period, he openly stated that he would prevent or vitiate the election of Dolabella."—ORELLI. I do not think this explanation is correct; I think Antony's ignorance rested in this, that he attributed to the augurship that privilege which *augurs had not, but consuls had*. Compare "Hic bonus augur eo se sacerdotio præditum esse dixit, ut comitia auspiciis impedire vel vitiare posset, with *Quid enim? istud, quod te sacerdotii jure facere posse dixisti, si augur non essem, et consul essem, minus facere potuisses?* Vide ne etiam facilius."

<sup>4</sup> *Prerogativa.* This is a much disputed passage. I give here the explanation of Orelli, reserving a fuller discussion for an Excursus. The whole number of centuries was 193: 97 therefore constituted an absolute majority. Now, when the votes of the prerogative century were examined, it was found they were all in favour of Dolabella, and the herald announced him as consul, (*renuntiatur Dolabella,*) for the prerogative century was generally considered as a test how the election would go. Antony is silent as yet. Then the first class gives its suffrages for him, i. e. Dolabella now has 83 votes, i. e. the vote of the *prerogativa*, with the 69 votes of the first class (which counted 70 centuries, deducting the prerogative): +12 centuries of equites, and one century of carpenters, which gave its votes with the first class. Then, as is usual, the *Sex suffragia* are called into the Ovilia; they vote for Dolabella. He has now 89 votes; but to constitute an absolute

rogative; quiescit. Renuntiatur; tacet. Prima classis vocatur; renuntiatur; deinde, ut assolet, suffragia; tunc secunda classis; quae omnia sunt citius facta, quam dixi. (83.) Confecto negotio bonus augur (<sup>1</sup> C. Lælium dicens) <sup>2</sup> alio die inquit. O impudentiam singularem! Quid videns? quid senseras? quid audieras? neque enim te de celo servasse dixisti nec hodie dicis. Id igitur obvenit vitium, quod tu jam Kalendis Januariis futurum esse provideras et tanto ante prædixeras. Ergo hercule magna, ut spero, tua potius quam rei publicæ calamitate ementitus es auspicis; abstrinxisti religione populum Romanum; augur auguri, consuli obnuntiasti. Nolo plura, ne acta Dolabellæ videantur convellere, quæ necesse est aliquando ad nostrum collegium <sup>3</sup> deferantur. (84.) Sed arrogantiam hominis insolentiamque cognoscite. Quamdiu tu voles, vitiosus consul Dolabellæ rursus, quum voles, salvis auspiciis creatus. Si nihil aliud quum augur iis verbis nuntiat, quibus tu nuntiasti, confite, quum *alio die* dixeris, sobrium non fuisse; sin est aliquis in istis verbis, ea quæ sit, augur a collega requiro.

Sed, ne forte ex multis rebus gestis M. Antonii rem unius pulcherrimam transiliat oratio, ad <sup>4</sup> Lupercalia veniamus.

**XXXIV.** Non dissimulat, patres conscripti; appetit esse commotum; sudat, pallet. Quidlibet, modo ne nauseat, faciat, quod in porticu Minucia fecit. Quæ potest esse turpitudinis tantæ defensio? Cupio audire, ut videam, ubi rhetoris tanta merces, ubi campus Leontinus appareat. (85.) Sedebat in rostris collega tuus, amictus toga purpurea, in

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majority 8 votes are still required; and so the *secunda classis* is called in 8 centuries of this class vote, and then Dolabellæ has the absolute majority, and there is no occasion to summon the other three classes according to the arrangement of Servius Tullius. The whole is plain thus:—

Prerogative century, considered as a test—	1
PRIMA CLASSIS. { Centuries 70, but deduct prerogative	69
12 centuries of equites . . . . .	12
1 of carpenters . . . . .	1
SEX SUFFRAGIA.—The centuries of city knights . . . . .	6
SECUNDA CLASSIS. { Of this class only 8 centuries were required to vote . . . . .	8

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But see EXCURSUS.

97

<sup>1</sup> C. Lælium. Surnamed Sapiens. “*Mitis Sapientia Læli*”—Hor.

<sup>2</sup> *Alio die*. The usual formula by which an augur announced that the election was vitiated.

irea, coronatus. Escendis, accedis ad sellam, (<sup>5</sup> ita upercus, ut te consulem esse meminisse deberes,) ostendis. Gemitus toto foro. Unde diadema? in abjectum sustuleras, sed attuleras domo meditatum atum scelus. Tu diadema imponebas cum plangore ille cum plausu rejiciebat. Tu ergo unus, scelerate! si es, qui, quum auctor regni esses, eum, quem col habebas, dominum habere velles, et idem tentares pulus Romanus ferre et pati posset. (86.) At etiam ordiam captabas; supplex te ad pedes abjiciebas; tens? ut servires? Tibi uni peteres, qui ita a puerō ut omnia paterere, ut facile servires; a nobis populo manō mandatum id certe non habebas. O præclaram eloquentiam tuam, quūm es nudus contionatus! oc turpius? quid fœdius? quid suppliciis omnibus? Num exspectas, dum te stimulis fodiam? Hæc illam partem habes sensus, lacerat, hæc cruentat Vereor, ne imminuam summorum virorum gloriam. tamen, dolore commotus. Quid indignius quam sum, qui imposuerit diadema, quum omnes fateantur effectum esse, qui abjecerit? (87.) At etiam adscribi fastis ad Lupercalia, *C. Cæsari, dictatori perpetuo, nium, consulem, populi jussu regnum detulisse, Cæsanoluisse.* Jamjam minime miror, te otium per non modo urbem odisse, sed etiam lucem; cum simis latronibus non solum <sup>6</sup> de die, sed etiam inere. Ubi enim tu in pace consistes? qui locus tibi

*antur.* "Must be laid before." Scil. that we may determine he proceedings should be annulled or allowed to stand.

*calia.* See 11, 34. Arnold thinks that this scene at the Lupercalia was purposely got up by Cæsar himself, in order, by his open of the crown, to remove from the people the impression that desired sovereignty. (See ARNOLD, vol. ii. p. 87.)

*as Lupercus.* "You were a Lupercal under such circum-

*ie, in diem.* "Not only extravagantly but improvidently." The time for the great meal of the day was the ninth hour, three o'clock in the afternoon, the preceding portion being the active pursuits of life. Hence arose the phrase *de die* to take a part from the day of business and devote it to rest. Thus HOR. "ab octava hora vivere, and frangere partem die." And in Persius, we have "*petulans nonaria.*" Now, *vivere*, is to live without thought or care for the morrow; to provision for its wants.

putares esse necessarium. sustulit tuum dicere mortem Romani; num etiam tuum de auspiciis judicium Cæsaris sustulit? Sed <sup>1</sup> incidi in id tempus, quo in quas ingressa erat oratio, prævertendum est. fuga, quæ formido præclaro illo die? quæ prop entiam scelerum desperatio vitæ? quum ex illa fug <sup>2</sup> eorum, qui te, si sanus esses, salvum esse volue te domum recepisti. (89.) O mea frustra semper auguria rerum futurarum! Dicebam illis <sup>3</sup> in liberatoribus nostris, (quum me ad te ire vellent fendendam rem publicam te adhortarer), quoad omnia te promissurum, simul ac timere desisses, futurum tui. Itaque quum ceteri consulares ire in sententia mansi; ‘neque te illo die neque p-

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<sup>1</sup> *Incidi.* But I have casually fallen into mention o which must be treated of previously to treating of those my discourse has entered on; i. e. I had begun to speak cation of the auspices; I accidentally mentioned your c the death of Cæsar, and this topic I must now treat of b of the former.

<sup>2</sup> *Eorum,* i. e. of M. Brutus and Trebonius.

<sup>3</sup> *In Capitolo,* i. e. on the morning of the 16th of J Capitol was held by Brutus and his gladiators, when many leading members of the aristocratical party joined Curiously enough the first person who attempted to seize

ue ullam societatem optimis civibus cum importunissimote fœdere ullo confirmari posse credidi. <sup>5</sup> Post diem ium veni in ædem Telluris, et quidem invitus, quum ies aditus armati obsiderent. (90.) Qui tibi dies ille, Antoni, fuit? Quamquam mihi inimicus subito extisi, tamen me tui miseret, quod tibi invidcris.

**XXVI.** Qui tu vir, dii immortales, et quantus fuisses, illius diei mentem servare potuisses! Pacem haberemus, erat facta per obsidem, puerum nobilem! <sup>6</sup> M. Bamonis nepotem. Quamquam bonum te timor faciebat, non turnus magister officii, improbum fecit ea, quæ, dum or abest, a te non discedit, audacia. Etsi tum, quum opum te putabant, me quidem dissentiente, funeri tyranni, llud funus fuit, sceleratissime præfuisti. (91.) Tua illa chra laudatio, tua miseratio, tua cohortatio. Tu, tu, uam, illas faces incendisti, et eas, quibus <sup>7</sup> semustilatus est, et eas, quibus incensa L. Bellieni domus deflagravit. illos impetus perditorum hominum et ex maxima parte vorum, quos nos vi manuque repulimus, <sup>8</sup> in nostras domos nisisti. Idem tamen, quasi fuligine abstersa, reliquis bus in Capitolio præclara <sup>9</sup> senatusconsulta fecisti: ne qua st Idus Martias immunitatis tabula neve cuius beneficii eretur. Meministi ipse, de cxsulibus, scis, de immunitate

I who feared they would be deprived of them if his acts (*acta*) were declared illegal.

<sup>1</sup> Post, &c. Although the conspirators amounted to about sixty, yet the great majority of the senate the murder of Cæsar caused sudden panic and dismay. They fled at once in terror from the senate house to their homes. The conspirators assembled in the forum to state that their only object was to restore the liberties of Rome; but not finding the popular favour with them, they withdrew to the Capitol which Brutus had already secured, as a refuge, by means of a body of assassins which he kept in pay, as Milo had previously on the same occasion. See note 3, page 370. *Post diem tertium*, i. e. on the third day after the death of Cæsar, 17th of March.

<sup>2</sup> *M. Fulvius Bambalio*, (ψελλιστής,) the father of Fulvia.

<sup>3</sup> *Semustilatus*. "Burned with maimed rites," i. e. in the strange manner kindled with the wreck of public buildings, not regularly on a funeral pile.

The assault upon these houses took place immediately after the general frenzy of the populace was excited by the burning of Cæsar.

At the meeting of the senate on the 17th March it was decreed: 1. That solemn funeral rites should be paid to Cæsar. 2. That all his *acta* should be confirmed. 3. That all offices conferred by him, and all grants of land, should be deemed inviolable. 4. That the whole transaction

quid dixeris. Optimum vero, quod dictatore nomine petuum de re publica sustulisti; quo quidem facte cepisse odium regni videbatur, ut ejus omnes proximum dictatorem metum tolleres. (92.) Cum publica videbatur aliis, mihi vero nullo modo, qui gubernante, naufragia metuebam. Num me igitu aut num diutius sui potuit esse dissimilis? Inspi vobis, toto Capitolio tabulae figebantur; neque s gulis veniebant<sup>1</sup> immunitates, sed etiam populis civitas non jam singillatim, sed provinciis totis. Itaque si haec manent, que stante re publica possunt, provincias universas, patres conscripti, p neque vectigalia solum, sed etiam imperium popul hujs domesticis nundinis deminutum est.

XXXVII. (93.) UBI est septies millies, quod i quæ sunt ad Opis,<sup>2</sup> patebat?<sup>3</sup> funestæ illius quicniæ, sed tamen quæ nos, si iis, quorum erat, non re a tributis posset vindicare. Tu autem quadringeri quod Idibus Martiis debuisti, quonam modo ante Aprilis debere desisti? Sunt ea quidem innumera<sup>4</sup> a tuis emebantur, non insciente te, sed unum egi rege Deiotaro, populi Romani amicissimo, decretum tollio fixum. Quo proposito nemo erat, qui in ipsi sum posset continere. (94.) Quis enim cuiquam quam Deiotaro Cæsar?<sup>5</sup> æque atque huic ordini, ut ut Massiliensibus, ut omnibus, quibus rem publica Romani caram esse sentiebat. Igitur, a quo vivo sens nec absens quidquam æqui boni impetravit, a tuum factus est gratiosus. <sup>6</sup> Compellarat hospitem

of the ides of March, should be buried in oblivion. This is the proposal of Cicero. See *Phil.* i. 1, 13.

<sup>1</sup> *Immunitates.* Scil. to the Cretans mentioned below, § 9:

<sup>2</sup> *Patebat.* "Was plain on the books," i. e. when the creditor account was balanced, there was written out a fair statement of the surplus. Cf. *Rosc. Com.* 2, *hoc nomen in adversariis patet*.

<sup>3</sup> *Funestæ, &c.* The construction is *ubi est septies millies pecuniae, sed tamen, pecuniae, quæ posset, &c.—Illiis;* scil. templi money seized from this temple Antony paid off Dolabella and thus bound him to his interest: he also paid his own amount of £300,000.

<sup>4</sup> *A tuis.* Purchased from your followers, especially Fulvius.

<sup>5</sup> *Igitur.* Not usually placed in the commencement of a Cicero, yet cf. above, § 41. It is so placed when it indicates a sophical deduction.

computarat, pecuniam imperarat, in ejus tetrarchia unum ex Græcis comitibus suis collocarat, Armeniam abstulerat a tenatu datam. Hæc vivus eripuit, reddit mortuus. (95.) At quibus verbis? Modo, æquum sibi videri, modo, non iniquum. Mira<sup>7</sup> verborum complexio. At ille numquam semper enim absenti adfui Deiotaro) quidquam sibi, quod nos pro illo postularemus, æquum dixit videri. Syngrapha IS. centies per legatos, viros bonos, sed timidos et imeritos, sine nostra, sine reliquorum hospitum regis sententia, facta in gynæceo, quo in loco plurimæ res venient et veneunt. Qua ex syngrapha<sup>8</sup> quid sis acturus, sed iter censeo. Rex enim ipse sua sponte, nullis commentariis Cæsar, simul atque audivit ejus interitum, suo Marte ex suas recuperavit. (96.) Sciebat homo sapiens, jus semper hoc fuisse, ut, quæ tyranni eripuissent, ea, tyrannis interceptas, ii, quibus erecta essent, recuperarent. Nemo igitur unreconsultus, ne iste quidem, qui tibi uni est<sup>9</sup> jureconsultus, per quem hæc agis, ex ista syngrapha deberi dicit pro iis iobus, quæ erant ante syngrapham recuperatae. Non enim a te emit, sed prius, quam tu suum sibi venderes, ipse possedit. Ille vir fuit; nos quidem contemnendi, qui auctorem odimus, acta defendimus.

XXXVIII. (97.) QUID ego de commentariis infinitis, quid de innumerabilibus chirographis loquar? quorum etiam instatores sunt, qui ea, tamquam<sup>11</sup> gladiatorum libellos, palam venditent. Itaque tanti acervi nummorum apud istum construuntur, ut jam<sup>12</sup> expendantur, non numerentur pecuniæ. At quam cæca avaritia est! Nuper fixa tabula est, qua

<sup>7</sup> Compellaret. "Sued." A stronger expression than *appellaret*. See above, § 92.

<sup>8</sup> Verborum complexio, ἐμπλόκη. "Confusion of terms."

<sup>9</sup> Quid sis acturus. "What form of action you will bring." What peculiar process of law you will adopt to recover it.

<sup>10</sup> Jureconsultus. Perhaps Sex. Clodius the scriba, whom Antony had recalled from exile.

<sup>11</sup> Antony had every facility for forging these *acta* of Cæsar; as he had all these documents in his possession, Calpurnia having given into his hands all the money and papers of her husband.

<sup>12</sup> Gladiatorum libellos. "List of gladiators." Generally, lists of the gladiators about to combat were sold at the schools. Some advertisements of this kind still remain on the walls of Pompeii.

<sup>13</sup> Expendantur. "Weighed out," to be placed in Antony's chest. *ad vig has appendantur*, i. e. money estimated only by weight BELL.

queror, primum eorum redditus <sup>3</sup> æquatos, quorum  
Cæsar dissimilem judicarit; deinde nescio, cur no-  
idem tribuas. Neque enim plus quam tres aut qua-  
liqui sunt. Qui simili in calamitate sunt, cur tu  
cordia simili non fruuntur? cur eos habes in loco  
de quo ferre, quum de reliquis ferres, noluisti; que  
ad censuram petendam impulisti, eamque petitione  
parasti, quæ et risus hominum et querelas movere  
Cur autem ea comitia non habuisti? an quia tribunum  
sinistrum fulmen nuntiabat? Quum tua quid inter  
auspicia sunt, quum tuorum, tum fis religiosus  
<sup>5</sup> eundem in septemviratu nonne destituisti; <sup>6</sup> I  
enim, cui metuisti, credo, ne salvo capite negare no-  
Omnibus cum contumeliis onerasti, quem patris lo-  
in te pietas esset, colere debebas. Filiam ejus,  
tuam, ejecisti, alia <sup>8</sup> condicione quæsita et ante p-  
Non est satis. Probri insimulasti pudicissimam  
Quid est, quod addi possit? Contentus eo non fui  
quentissimo senatu Kalendis Januariis sedente patr-  
tibi esse cum Dolabella causam odii dicere ausus

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<sup>1</sup> *Creta nihil.* For Cæsar had given Macedonia to Brutus.

<sup>2</sup> *Et de exilibus.* Orelli proposes to change *et* to *at*, with  
“I acknowledge that Cæsar actually did propose the law  
exiles, &c., but even in that case you acted wickedly.”

<sup>3</sup> We should read *omnino* “all right on the same level”

ab eo sorori et uxori tuae stuprum oblatum esse comperisses. Quis interpretari potest, impudentiorne, qui in senatu, an improbior, qui in Dolabellam, an impurior, qui patre audiente, an crudelior, qui in illam miseram tam spurge, tam impie dixeris? Sed ad chirographa redeamus.

**XXXIX.** (100.) Quæ tua fuit cognitio? Acta enim Cæsaris pacis causa confirmata sunt a senatu, quæ quidem Cæsar egisset, non ea, quæ egisse Cæsarem dixisset Antonius. Unde ista erumpunt? quo auctore proferuntur? si sunt falsa, cur probantur? si vera, cur veneunt? At sic placuerat, ut ex Kalendis Junii de Cæsar's actis cum consilio cognosceretis. Quod fuit consilium? quem umquam convocasti? quas Kalendas Junias exspectasti? an eas, ad quas te, peragratis veteranorum coloniis, stipatum armis rettulisti?

O præclaram illam percusationem tuam mense Aprilisque Maio, tum, quum etiam Capuam coloniam deducere posatus es! Quemadmodum illinc abieris, vel potius pæne non abieris, scimus. (101.) Cui tu urbi minitaris. Utinam ponere, ut aliquando illud pæne tollatur! At quam nobilis est tua illa peregrinatio? Quid prandiorum apparatus, quid furorum violentiam tuam proferam? Tua ista detrimenta sunt; illa nostra. Agrum Campanum, qui quum de vectigalibus eximebatur, ut militibus daretur, tamen infligunt magnum rei publicæ vulnus putabamus, hunc tu compransibus tuis et collusoribus dividebas: mimos dico et mimas, patres conscripti, in agro Campano collocatos! Quid jam querar de agro Leontino? quoniam quidem hæ quondam arationes, Campana et Leontina, in populi Romani patrimonio <sup>9</sup> grandi

<sup>9</sup> *metuisti.* Metuisti, &c., i. e. For I assure you, senators, he secretly opposed him, (*intervenit.*) Why did you secretly oppose him? What led you to fear? Forsooth, you would not openly refuse your aid to him (*negare*) with safety to yourself. But see next note.

<sup>1</sup> *Intervenit enim, cui metuisti.* "For some one (supposed to be Piculus or Lento) interfered to whom you feared to give any denial." His power was so great, forsooth, that he wrung this concession from you. *Cui*, dative after *negare*. This is the reading of Orelli.

<sup>7</sup> *Sororem,* i. e. his cousin, whom he divorced in order to unite himself with Fulvia.

<sup>8</sup> *Condicio.* "A marriage;" so called from the deeds of settlement, *ta.*, which were mutually agreed on.

<sup>9</sup> *Grandi fenore.* There is a strange reading, *glandifcræ*, which is noticed by Marcianus Capella. "Licit Tullius glandiferas possessiones licet."

novam jure ueuaci; colonos novos auscriui posse r  
Tu autem insolentia elatus, omni auspiciorum jure  
Casilinūm coloniam deduxisti, quo erat paucis ani  
deducta, ut vexillum tolleres, ut aratrum circumd  
cujus quidem vomere portam Capuae pæne perstrinx  
florentis coloniæ territorium minueretur. (103.)  
religionum perturbatione advolas in M. Varronis, san  
atque integerrimi viri, fundum Casinatem. Quo juri  
ore? Eodem, inquies, quo in heredum L. Rubrii, quo  
dum L. Turselii prædia, quo in reliquas innumerabiles  
siones. Et si <sup>2</sup> ab hasta, valeat hasta, valeant tabulæ, me  
sar is, non tuæ; quibus debuisti, non quibus tu te lib  
Varronis quidem Casinatem fundum quis venisse  
quis hastam istius venditionis vidit? quis vocem p  
audivit? Misisse te dicis Alexandream, qui emeret a  
Ipsum enim exspectare magnum fuit! (104.) Qu  
audivit umquam (nullius autem salus curæ pluribus  
fortunis Varronis rem ullam esse detractam? Q  
etiam scripsit ad te Cæsar, ut redderes? quid sati  
dici de tanta impudentia? Remove gladios parump  
quos videmus; jam intelliges, aliam causam esse  
Cæsar is, aliam confidentiæ et temeritatis tuæ. Non  
dominus modo illis sedibus, sed quivis amicus, vicinus,  
procurator arcebit.

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**XLI.** At quam multos dies in ea villa turpissime est rhabacchatus! Ab hora tertia bibeatur, ludebatur, vomebatur. O tecta ipsa misera, <sup>3</sup> quam dispari domino! Quamquam quomodo iste dominus? sed tamen quam a dispari iebantur! Studiorum enim suorum M. Varro voluit esse id, non libidinum deversorium. (105.) Quæ in illa villa tea dicebantur? quæ cogitabantur? quæ literis mandatur? Jura populi Romani, monumenta majorum, omnis nientia ratio omnisque doctrinæ. At vero, te inquilino (non in domino), personabant omnia vocibus ebriorum; nataat pavimenta vino; madebant parietes; ingenui pueri cum tritoriis, scorta inter matresfamilias versabantur. Casino utatum veniebant, Aquino, Interamna. Admissus est mo. Jure id quidem; in homine enim turpissimo obsolebant dignitatis insignia. (106.) Quum inde Romam proiscens ad Aquinum accederet, obviam ei processit (ut est quens municipium) magna sane multitudo. At iste erta lectica latus per oppidum est ut mortuus. Stulte puinates; sed tamen in via habitabant. Quid <sup>4</sup> Anagnini? i, quum essent devii, descenderunt, ut istum, tamquam si sit consul, salutarent. Incredibile dictu, sed tum nimis ter omnes constabat, neminem esse resalutatum, præsertim cum duos secum Anagninos haberet, Mustelam et Laconem, orum alter gladiorum est princeps, alter poculorum. (107.) Quid ego illas istius minas contumeliasque commorem, quibus inventus est in Sidicinos, vexavit Puteonos, quod C. Cassium et Brutos patronos adoptassent? agno quidem judicio, studio, benevolentia, caritate, non ut ut <sup>5</sup> Basilum, vi et armis, et alios vestri similes, quos entes nemo habere velit, non modo illorum cliens esse.

**XLII.** INTEREA dum tu abes, qui dies ille collegæ tui t, quum illud, quod tu venerari solebas, bustum in foro erit? Qua re tibi nuntiata, ut constabat inter eos, qui a fuerunt, concidisti. Quid evenerit postea, nescio. Etum credo valuisse et arma. Collegam quidem <sup>6</sup> de cælo

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**Basilus.** L. Munatius Basilus served under Cæsar in Gaul. From *Fam.* 6, 15, he appears to have joined in the conspiracy against Cæsar. Probably at this time he regained the favour of Antony. Mütz supposes this Basilus to have been a gladiator; but, as Orelli remarks, who ever could choose a gladiator as patron?

*De cælo detraxisti*, i. e. "degraded, disgraced." The phrase appears reversed in one of the letters of Atticus (xiv. 21). "Sæpius me agitas, quod rem gestam Dolabellæ nimis in cælum efferre videar."

detraxisti effecistique, non tu quidem etiam nunc, ut similis tui, sed certe, ut dissimilis esset sui.

(108.) Cui vero inde redditus Romam? quæ perturbatio totius urbis? Memineramus Cinnam nimis potentem; Sullam postea dominantem, modo regnantem Cæsarem videbamus. Erant fortasse gladii, sed absconditi, nec ita multi. Ista vero quæ et quanta barbaria est! Agmine quadrato cum gladius<sup>1</sup> sequuntur; scutorum lecticas portari videmus. Atque his quidem jam inveteratis, patres conscripti, consuetudine obduruimus. Kalendis Juniis quum in senatum, ut erat constitutum, venire vellemus, metu perterriti repente diffugimus. (109.)<sup>2</sup> At iste, qui senatu non egeret, neque desideravit quemquam et potius discessu nostro lœtatus est statimque illa mirabilia facinora effecit. Qui chirographa Cæsaris defendisset lucri sui causa, is leges Cæsaris easque præclaras, ut rem publicam concutere posset, evertit; numerum annorum provinciis prorogavit; idemque, quum actorum Cæsaris defensor esse deberet, et in publicis et in privatis rebus acta Cæsaris rescidit. In publicis nihil est lege gravius, in privatis firmissimum est testamentum. Leges alias sine promulgatione sustulit, alias ut tolleret, promulgavit. Testamentum irritum fecit, quod etiam infimis civibus semper obtentum est. Signa, tabulas, quas populo Cæsar una cum hortis legavit, eas hic partim in hortos Pompeii deportavit, partim in villam Scipionis.

XLIII. (110.) Et tu in Cæsaris memoria diligens? tu illum amas mortuum? Quem is honorem majorem consecutus erat, quam ut haberet pulvinar, simulacrum,<sup>3</sup> fastigium, flaminem? Est ergo flamen, ut Jovi, ut Marti, ut Quirino, sic divo Julio M. Antonius. Quid igitur cessas? cur non inaugurate? sume diem; vide, qui te inauguret; collegae sumus; nemo negabit. O detestabilem hominem, sive quod tyranni sacerdos es, sive quod mortui! Quæro deinceps,

<sup>1</sup> *Sequuntur.* Antony had brought up all the veterans to Rome, by assuring them that their interests were at stake in the discussion then to ensue. On the day of meeting, their aspect was so menacing that but few senators met, and from this paucity Antony derived a pretext for wholly neglecting the senate afterwards.

<sup>2</sup> *At iste, &c.* The construction is, “*At iste, qui senatu non egerit, neque desideraret quemquam, ET (both) potius lœtatus est nostro discessu statim QUE (and) illa, &c.* Some suppose the first *neque* to couple *desideraret* and *lœtatus est*, but in that case we should have *statim*, not *statim QUE*.

m, hodiernus dies qui sit, ignores? Nescis, <sup>4</sup>heri quartum circa diem ludorum Romanorum fuisse? te autem ipsum populum tulisse, ut quintus præterea dies Cæsari tribuerit? Cur non sumus prætextati? cur honorem Cæsari lege datum deserit patimur? an supplicationes addendo in contaminari passus es, pulvinaria noluisti? Aut undique religionem tolle aut usquequa conserva. (111.) Iures, placeatne mihi, pulvinar esse, fastigium, flaminem. Mihi vero nihil istorum placet. Sed tu, qui acta Cæsaris fendas, quid potes dicere, cur alia defendas, alia non cures? si forte vis fateri, te omnia quæstu tuo, non illius dignæ metiri. Quid ad hæc tandem? (Exspecto enim eloquentiam tuam; disertissimum cognovi avum tuum, at te am apertiores in dicendo; ille numquam nudus est conmatus, tuum hominis simplicis <sup>5</sup>pectus vidimus.) Responbisne ad hæc? aut omnino hiscere audebis? Ecquid peries ex tam longa oratione mea, cui te respondere posse nfidas? Sed præterita omittamus.

XLIV. (112.) HUNC unum diem, unum, inquam, hodiernum diem, hoc punctum temporis, quo loquor, defende, si tes. Cur armatorum corona senatus sæptus est? cur me i satellites cum gladiis audiunt? cur valvæ Concordiæ non stent? cur homines omnium gentium maxime barbaros, yræos, cum sagittis deducis in forum? Præsidii sui causa facere dicit. Nonne igitur millies perire est melius, quam i sua civitate sine armatorum præsidio non posse vivere? sed nullum est istuc, mihi crede, præsidium. Caritate et nevolentia civium sæptum oportet esse, non armis. (113.) Tepiet et extorquebit tibi ista populus Romanus, utinam vis nobis! sed quoquo modo nobiscum egeris, dum istis miliis uteris, non potes, mihi crede, esse diuturnus. Etenim tua minime avara conjux, quam ego sine contumelia decribo, nimium debet diu populo Romano <sup>6</sup>tertiam pen-

<sup>1</sup> *Fastigium.* Not a "dome," or "temple," but the "architrave of a temple." SUET. *Cæs.* 81. Salmas, *ad Spartian.* Pescenn. 12. *Cæsaris fastigium docet non de templo capiendum sed de ornamento tecto, quale ergo etiam in templis fuerit.* Plutarchus ἀκρωτήριον vocat.—ERNESTI. The Greeks call this ἀέτωμα.—ORELL.

<sup>2</sup> *Heri quartum,* xiv. kal. Octob.—18th of September. A fifth day afterwards added.

<sup>3</sup> *Pectus,* i. e. when he appeared naked at the Lupercalia.—*Simplicis.* e breast of thee, thou man without disguise!

<sup>4</sup> *Tertiam pensionem.* When a husband divorced his wife, he was

sionem. Habet populus Romanus, ad quos gubernacula rei publicæ deferat; qui ubicunque terrarum sunt, ibi est omne rei publicæ præsidium vel potius ipsa res publica, quæ adhuc tantummodo ulta est, nondum<sup>1</sup> recuperavit. Habet quidem certe res publica adolescentes nobilissimos paratos defensores. Quam volent, illi cedant, otio consulentes, tamen a re publica revocabuntur. Et nomen pacis dulce est et ipsa res salutaris; sed inter pacem et servitutem plurimum interest. Pax est tranquilla libertas, servitus postremum malorum omnium, non modo bello, sed morte etiam repellendum. (114.) Quod si se ipsos illi nostri liberatores e conspectu nostro abstulerunt, at exemplum facti reliquerunt. Illi, quod nemo fecerat, fecerunt. Tarquinium Brutus bello est persecutus, qui tum rex fuit, quum esse Romæ regem licebat. Sp. Cassius, Sp. Mælius, M. Manlius propter suspicionem regni appetendi sunt necati. Hi primi cum gladiis non in regnum appetentem, sed in regnante impetum fecerunt. Quod quum ipsum factum per se præclarum est atque divinum, tum expositum ad imitandum; præsertim quum illi eam gloriam consecuti sint, quæ vix cælo capi posse videatur. Etsi enim satis in ipsa conscientia pulcherrimi facti fructus erat, tamen mortali immortalitatem non arbitror esse contemnendam.

XLV. (115.) RECORDARE igitur illum, M. Antoni, diem, quo dictaturam sustulisti; pone ante oculos lætitiam senatus populi Romani; confer cum hac nundinatione tua tuorumque; tum intelliges, quantum inter laudem et lucrum intersit. Sed nimirum, ut quidam morbo aliquo et sensus stupore suavitatem cibi non sentiunt, sic libidinosi, avari, facinorosi veræ laudis gustatum non habent. Sed si te laus allicere ad recte faciendum non potest, ne metus quidem fœdissimis factis potest avocare? <sup>2</sup> Judicia non metuis. Si propter innocentiam, laudo; sin propter vim, non intelligis, qui isto modo judicia non timeat, ei quid timendum sit?

obliged to pay back to her relatives, her dowry within the year, in three instalments, each instalment was called a "pensio," payment." Cicero means that Fulvia had already made two payments to the Roman people of her debt to them, namely, the deaths of Clodius and Curio; her third payment, yet due, is the death of Antony. Cicero moreover, hints that the deaths of her two husbands were owing to Fulvia's violence and intrigue.

<sup>1</sup> Recuperarit. "Legally recovered." The recuperatores were judges

(116.) Quod si non metuis viros fortes egregiosque cives, quod a corpore tuo prohibentur armis, tui te, mihi crede, iutius non ferent. <sup>3</sup>Quæ est autem vita, dies et noctes timere a suis? Nisi vero aut majoribus habes beneficiis obligatos, quam ille quosdam habuit ex iis, a quibus est interfectus, aut tu es ulla re cum eo comparandus. Fuit in illo ingenium, ratio, memoria, literæ, cura, cogitatio, diligentia; res bello gesserat, quamvis rei publicæ calamitosas, tamen magnas; multos annos regnare meditatus, magno labore, multis periculis, quod cogitarat, effecerat; muneribus, monumentis, <sup>4</sup>congiariis, epulis multitudinem imperitam legerat; suos præmiis, adversarios clementiæ specie deinxerat. Quid multa? Attulerat jam liberæ civitati partim astu, partim patientia consuetudinem serviendi.

XLVI. (117.) CUM illo ego te dominandi cupide contere possum, ceteris vero rebus nullo modo comparandus. Sed ex plurimis malis, quæ ab illo rei publicæ sunt nata, hoc tamen boni est, quod didicit jam populus Romanus, quantum cuique crederet, quibus se committeret, a rebus caveret. Hæc non cogitas? nec intelligis, satis esse viris fortibus didicisse, quam sit re pulchrum, beneficio statum, fama gloriosum tyrannum occidere? An, quum illum homines non tulerint, te ferent? (118.) Certatim posthac, mihi crede, ad hoc opus curretur, neque occasionis tarditas exspectabitur.

Respicere, quæso, aliquando rem publicam, M. Antoni; quibus ortus sis, non quibuscum vivas, considera: <sup>5</sup>mecum, ut voles; redi cum re publica in gratiam. Sed de te tu videris; ego de me ipso profitebor. Defendi rem publicam adolescentis, non deseram senex; contempsi Catilinæ gladios, non pertimescam tuos. Quin etiam corpus libenter obtulerim, si <sup>6</sup>repræsentari morte mea libertas civitatis potest, ut aliquando dolor populi Romani pariat, quod jamdiu patitur. (119.) Etenim si abhinc annos prope viginti hoc ipso

who decided regarding the recovery of money or property, or who estimated the proper amount of a fine.

<sup>3</sup> *Judicia non metuis.* Because surrounded by armed soldiers.

<sup>4</sup> *Quæ est autem vita.* Quæ=qualis.

<sup>5</sup> *Congiariis.* "Populo congarium, militi donativum proposuit."—*Suet. Ner. 7.*

<sup>6</sup> *Mecum.* Scil. "Redi in gratiam."

<sup>7</sup> *Repræsentari.* At once obtained by.—*Repræsentare*, is properly used regarding money paid down at the appointed time.

in templo <sup>1</sup> negavi posse mortem immaturam esse consulari, quanto verius nunc negabo seni? Mihi vero, patres conscripti, jam etiam optanda mors est, perfuncto rebus in quas adeptus sum quasque gessi. Duo modo haec opto: unum, ut moriens populum Romanum liberum relinquam; hoc mihi majus ab diis immortalibus dari nihil potest; alterum, ut ita cuique eveniat, ut de re publica quicunque mereatur.

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<sup>1</sup> Negari posse. "Neque enim turpis mors forti viro potest accidere, neque immatura consulari, nec misera sapienti." (Cat. iv. 2.)

# 'M. TULLII CICERONIS

PRO

## L. MURENA

### ORATIO.

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**M. TULLII CICERONIS, &c.** "Oration of Marcus Tullius Cicero, in defence of Licinius Murena." At the comitia held during the consulship of Cicero, Decimus Junius Silanus and Licinius Murena were elected consuls for the ensuing year. The latter individual had for his competitor the celebrated lawyer Sulpicius Rufus; who, being assisted by Cato and Cn. Postumius, charged Murena with having prevailed by bribery and corruption. This impeachment was founded on the Calelian law, which had lately been rendered more strict, on the suggestion of Sulpicius, by a *senatusconsultum*. Along with this accusation, the profligacy of Murena's character was objected to, and also the unfitness of his rank, as he was but a knight and a soldier, whereas Sulpicius was a patrician and lawyer. Cicero therefore shows, in the first place, that he amply merited the consulship, from his services in the war with Mithridates, which introduces a comparison between a military and forensic life. While he pays his usual tribute of applause to the cultivated eloquence, he derides the forms and phraseology of the learned jurisconsults, by whom the civil law was studied and practised. As to the proper subject of the accusation, bribery in his estimation, it seems probable that Murena had been guilty of some practices, which, strictly speaking, were illegal, yet warranted by custom. They seem to have consisted in encouraging a crowd to attend him in the streets, and in providing shows for the entertainment of the multitude; which, though expected by the people, and usually overlooked by the magistrates, appeared heinous offences in the eye of the rigid and stoical Cato. Aware of the weight added to the accusation by the authority of Cato, Cicero, in order to obviate this influence, treats his moral principles in the same tone which he had already used concerning the profession of Sulpicius. In concluding, he avails himself of the difficulties of the times, and the yet unsuppressed conspiracy of Catilina, which rendered it unwise to deprive the city of a consul well qualified to defend it in so dangerous a crisis. [This charge of Cato's against Murena was exceedingly unwise, as tending to sever the friends of the constitution at a time when their support was most needed.—*old, vol. i. 337.*]

I. (1.) <sup>1</sup>Quia deprecatus a diis immortalibus sum, more institutoque majorum, illo die, quo, <sup>2</sup>auspicat tiis centuriatis L. Murenam consulem renuntiavi; mihi <sup>3</sup>magistratique meo, <sup>4</sup>populo plebique Roma atque feliciter eveniret; eadem precor ab eisdem dñi talibus, <sup>5</sup>ob ejusdem hominis consulatum una cu obtainendum, et ut vestræ mentes atque senten populi Romani voluntatibus suffragiisque consentiar res vobis, populoque Romano, pacem, tranquillitatem concordiamque afferat. <sup>6</sup>Quod si illa solemnis co

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This case was one of great expectation, from the dign accusers and the eloquence of the defender's advocates. Be spoke, it had been pleaded by Hortensius, and Crassus th who had both appeared in favour of Murena, and Cicero n utmost exertions to surpass these rivals of his eloquence. In he shows much delicacy and art in the manner in which h the attack on the philosophy of Cato and the profession of both of whom were on very intimate terms with him, and also in the estimation of the judges whom he addressed. *Rom. Lit. vol. ii. p. 302, seqq. Lond. ed.*)

This speech was delivered A.U.C. 690, during the interval t between the second and third orations against Catiline. The favourable for Murena, who was acquitted, and held the con following year.

<sup>1</sup> *Quae deprecatus.* The student will note the elegant use *eadem* in this passage, requiring to be rendered in our ic adverbial form of expression. Compare BAUER, *ad Sanct.* p. 250, seqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Judices.* Cases of bribery, like the present, were tried of the praetors and a select council of *assessores* or *judices*. note 11, page 141.

<sup>3</sup> *Auspicio.* The auspices were always taken on the mor day when the comitia were to be held, by the magistrate preside.

<sup>4</sup> *Comitiis centuriatis.* Consult note 4, page 210.—*Renunti* candidate who received most votes, was called forward b siding magistrate, and, after a solemn prayer, and taking an declared to be elected, through a herald. It is to this p Cicero here refers, and not, as some suppose, to that with business of the comitia was opened. One of the consuls : sided at the comitia for the election of new consuls. Cicer on this occasion, in preference to his colleague Antonius, I was *consul prior*, i. e. had been elected to the consulship by number of votes.

<sup>5</sup> *Magistratique meo.* Referring to his consular author would continue until the end of the year, when the new con succeed. The latter, in the meantime, would be called *co nati*, "consuls elect."

recatio, consularibus auspiciis consecrata, tantam habet in vim et religionem, quantam rei publicæ dignitas postulat: em ego sum precatus, ut eis quoque hominibus, quibus & consulatus, <sup>10</sup>me rogante, datus esset, ea res fauste, feli- ter, prospereque eveniret. (2.) Quæ cum ita sint, judices, cum omnis deorum immortalium potestas aut translata t ad vos, aut certe communicata vobiscum; idem consul im <sup>11</sup>vestræ fidei commendat, qui antea diis immortalibus commendavit; ut ejusdem hominis voce et declaratus consul, defensus, <sup>12</sup>beneficium populi Romani cum vestra atque

\* *Populo plebique Romanæ.* The allusion here is to all orders of the roman people, including even the lowest of the commons. *Populus* being opposed to *plebs*, in the time of Cicero, was regarded as the generic term, and denoted the whole body of Roman citizens, including the patricians and patricians; while by *plebs*, in such a construction, were meant the lower orders of the commons. On the other hand, in the expression *senatus populusque Romanus*, the term *populus* meant all the roman people but the senate. [The ancient distinction between *populus*, "burghers," and *plebs*, "commons," had long fallen into disuse.]

<sup>1</sup> *Ob ejusdem, &c.* Literally, "For the retention of the consulship by the same individual, together with all his personal privileges." *Obtinere* gets here the meaning of "retaining," from its primitive import, "to hold against another," i. e. in the present case, to hold successfully against the accusation which had been preferred, and consequently to inter upon and enjoy.—*Salute.* By *salus*, Cicero means Murena's privi- leges as a Roman citizen, since, if convicted, he would be deprived of all his civil rights and sent into exile.

\* *Eaque res.* "And that this agreement." The agreement of opinion we spoken of will show itself, of course, in the acquittal of Murena, since the Roman people have already, by their suffrages, declared him worthy of the consulship. It will also bring with it peace and tranquillity to the state, since an energetic consul will be required the ensuing year, to crush what remains of the conspiracy of Catiline; and Murena will be found to be such a one.

\* *Quod si illa solemnis, &c.* This sentence is explanatory of what precedes. If the prayer offered up at the comitia, when the result of election was made known to the assembled people, possessed a full and thorough efficacy, it must be supposed to have embraced the individual welfare of the candidates, as well as the interests of the state at large, and, therefore, it is perfectly proper for Cicero now to treat the gods in behalf of one of them.

<sup>10</sup> *Me rogante.* The literal import of these words is, "I, as presiding over, asking the people their pleasure in the premises." Compare note 3, page 86.

<sup>11</sup> *Vestræ fidei.* "To your protection."—*Antea.* "On a previous occasion," i. e. at the comitia.

<sup>12</sup> *Beneficium populi Romani.* "The favour conferred upon him by the Roman people." Alluding to the consulship.

normam dirigenti, et diligentissime perpendenti

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<sup>1</sup> *In hoc officio.* “In the discharge of this duty.”—*Sic defensionis, &c.* “The zeal that marks my defence of him the very undertaking of his cause by me.”

<sup>2</sup> *Non quo mihi, &c.* “Not because a vindication of the I am here discharging appears of more importance in my particular period, than a defence of the rights and privilege individual, but that, when once my conduct shall have been of by you, I may with the greater weight,” &c. As regard of the Latin writers in the case of *non quo*, consult ZUMPT, J. KENNICK’s *transl.*

<sup>3</sup> *Honore, fama, fortunisque.* It has been already stated (p. 385), in general terms, that Murena, if convicted, would lose of his civil rights and banished. For if an individual was guilty upon a trial for bribery, he was deprived of the office which he had been elected to that office, and the competitor whom he was nominated in his place. He was also heavily fined and incapable of bearing any office for the time to come, or of serving in the senate: and by the Tullian law, which Cicero brought and had passed, an additional penalty of ten years’ exile was

<sup>4</sup> *M. Catoni.* The same who ended his days by his own hand at Utica. He was at this time one of the tribunes elect. Obnoxious to the great corruption that had crept into the consular elections, he was appointed to the tribuneship, concluded a severe charge to the people by affirming on oath, that he would prosecute every one who offend in this way. Hence his coming forward, on the occasion, among the accusers of Murena. (Compare PLUT. V. 10.)

<sup>5</sup> *Vitam ad certam rationis, &c.* “Who regulates his

officiorum omnium,<sup>6</sup> de officio meo respondebo. Negat fuisse  
rectum Cato, me et consulem,<sup>7</sup> et legis ambitus latorem,  
<sup>8</sup> et tam severe gesto consulatu,<sup>9</sup> causam L. Murenae attin-  
gere. <sup>10</sup> Cujus reprehensio me vehementer movet, non solu-  
nt vobis, judices, quibus maxime debeo, verum etiam ut ipsi  
Catoni, gravissimo atque integerrimo viro, rationem facti  
mei probem. A quo tandem, M. Cato, est iniquius consulem  
defendi, quam a consule? Quis<sup>11</sup> mihi in re publica potest  
aut debet esse conjunctior, quam is, cui res publica a me  
uno traditur sustinenda, magnis meis laboribus et periculis  
sustentata? <sup>12</sup> Quod si in iis rebus repetendis, quae mancip-

<sup>6</sup> Et tam severe gesto consulatu. "And one, whose own consulship has been exercised with so much wholesome rigour." Cato alludes to the proceedings of Cicero against Catiline, in driving him from the city. It is worthy of remark, however, that the severity, for which Cato here commends Cicero, was only but just begun; since the present oration was delivered in the month of November, and the accomplices of Catiline, who were tampering with the ambassadors of the Allobroges, were only arrested and punished in the early part of the ensuing month.

<sup>7</sup> Causam L. Murenae attingere. "To have sought to do with the cause of Licinius Murena."—*Attinere*, literally, "to touch even in slight degree," "to meddle with in the least."

<sup>8</sup> Cuius reprehensio. "The censure of this individual." *Cuius* follows, as it begins a clause. —*Ut rationem facti mei probem*. "To explain the reasons of my conduct," i. e. to prove the grounds of my conduct have been perfectly correct.

<sup>9</sup> Mihi conjunctior. "More intimately connected with me." —*Cu-  
re publica, &c.* "Into whose hands that publick is delivered by me individually, to be supported by him, after having been upheld by great toils and dangers of my own." The common text has *una*, for which we have substituted *uno*, a conjecture of Lambinus; which Servius received into the text. Cicero says *a me uno*, as he had provided alone.

<sup>10</sup> Quod si in iis rebus repetendis, &c. "For if, when a demand is made for the recovery of those things which are proper objects of sale, that individual is bound to guarantee the risk of a decision giving this property to another, who, by the very terms of the agreement covenanted so to do," i. e. if A conveys property to B, and gives him at the same time a warranty that the title is sound, and if C then comes in and claims the same property as his, A is bound, by the very terms of the sale, to guard B against the chances of dispossession by a verdict of a court of law in favour of C. Among the Romans, *remancipi* (contracted for *mancipi*) were those things which might be sold and alienated, or the property of them transferred from one person to another, by a certain rite or form of proceeding used among Roman citizens only, and such sale was always accompanied with a *curia* of title. By *judicium* is meant a decision of a court of law.

sunt. is periculum judicii præstare debet, qui se nexu obli-gavit; <sup>1</sup> profecto etiam rectius in judicio consulis designati, is potissimum consul. qui consulem declaravit, <sup>2</sup> auctor bene-ficii populi Romani defensorque periculi esse debebit. (4.) <sup>3</sup> Ac, si, ut nonnullis in civitatibus fieri solet, <sup>4</sup> patronus huic causæ publice constitueretur, is potissime honore affecto defensor daretur, qui, eodem honore præditus, non minus afferet ad dicendum auctoritatis, quam facultatis. <sup>5</sup> Quod si e portu solventibus ii, qui jam in portum ex alto invehuntur, <sup>6</sup> præcipere summo studio solent et tempestatum rationem, et prædonum, et locorum; <sup>7</sup> quod natura fert, ut eis fave-

in favour of the title of some third person; and by *nexus*, the obligation of warranty always connected with *res mancipi*, by the provisions of the Roman law. (Compare HEINRIC. *Antiq. Rom.* p. 336, ed. Hanbold.) The *res mancipi* were such things as farms, slaves, quadrupeds, pearls, and the rights of country farms, called servitudes, (*servitutes*.) The distinction between *res mancipi*, and *res nec mancipi* is not recognised by the Justinian code, it having been abolished by that emperor. Meerman maintains, that *res mancipi* were things connected with agriculture, and hence deemed of greater value than others.

<sup>1</sup> *Profecto etiam rectius.* &c. "With still more justice, surely, on the trial of a consul elect, will that consul in particular, who declared him elected to office, be bound to become unto him the guarantee of the favour conferred by the Roman people, and his defender from danger." Cicero here makes an application of the rule of law which he has just been citing. The consulship is now regarded, in a figurative sense, as one of the class of *res mancipi*, and Cicero as the holder. Having pre-sided at the consular comitia, and announced the election of Murena to the assembled people, he may be said, by virtue of his office, to have transferred the consulship, in due form, to Murena, as a thing to be possessed by him in his turn, and to have bound himself to aid the latter against all who should seek to dispossess him.

<sup>2</sup> *Auctor.* This term is here employed to denote one who sells or conveys a thing to another, and pledges himself for the soundness of the title. Compare the explanation of Ernesti, (*Clar. Cic. s. v. Auctor*, § 11): "*Est renditor, qui suum esse spondet. quod rendit, et ejus rendendis potestatem habere: adeoque actione tenetur de erictione, aut periculum judicii præstat, ut in mancípio.*" It is from this use of the term, that the reference to selling, in the Latin term, "*auctio*," and the English word "auction," is derived.

<sup>3</sup> *Ac, si, ut nonnullis.* &c. "And if, as is wont to happen in some states, a patron should be appointed, by public authority, for the management of this cause, that individual, of all others, would be assigned as a defender to a man who invested with an elevated office, and who, being himself clothed with the same dignity, would bring no less authority than ability to his defence."

<sup>4</sup> *Patronus.* It is better to retain the Roman law-term "patron," in preference to the more usual term "advocate." For the strict dis-

nus, <sup>8</sup> qui eadem pericula, quibus nos perfuncti sumus, grediantur: quo tandem me animo esse oportet, <sup>9</sup> prope jam magna jactatione terram videntem, in hunc, cui video maximas rei publicae tempestates esse subeundas? Quare est, boni consulis, non solum <sup>11</sup> videre, quid agatur, verum iam providere, quid futurum sit, ostendam alio loco, quantum salutis communis intersit, <sup>13</sup> duos consules in re publica Kalendis Januariis esse. (5.) Quod si ita est, non in me <sup>14</sup> officium debuit ad hominis amici fortunas, quam a publica consulem ad communem salutem defendendam care.

between the two compare the language of Asconius, *Ad Or. Cecil. c. 4*: “*Qui defendit alterum in iudicio, aut Patronus dicitur, orator est; aut Adrocatus, si aut jus suggerit, aut präsentiam suam modat amico,*” &c.

<sup>8</sup> *Quod si e portu,* &c. We have inserted the preposition *e* from *Satirian* 5, 11, 23. It is given also by Victorius, Lambinus, Gruter, and others.

<sup>9</sup> *Principere summo studio,* &c. “Are accustomed to give, with earnestness, an account of the storms, and pirates, and dangerous places we have encountered.” *Principere* carries with it the idea of meaning beforehand, as a warning or caution. By *locorum* are meant reefs, quicksands, &c.

<sup>10</sup> *Quod natura fert,* &c. “Because a natural impulse leads us to feel interest for those,” &c.

<sup>11</sup> *Qui eadem pericula,* &c. It must be borne in mind that this oration is delivered before the arrest and execution of Lentulus and the other accomplices of Catiline. Cicero, therefore, imagines that the conspiracy will still give trouble during the ensuing year, under the government of the new consuls.

<sup>12</sup> *Prope jam terram,* &c. It was now the month of November, and the end of the ensuing month his consular authority would cease. Once he says figuratively, that he is almost within sight of land. The land which he is soon to behold, is the haven of repose after a stormy consulship.

<sup>13</sup> *Maximas tempestates.* Compare note 8.

<sup>14</sup> *Videre, quid agatur.* “To attend to what is at present passing.” — *No loca.* In the 37th chapter of this speech.

<sup>15</sup> *Quantum salutis communis,* &c. Cicero says this, because he expects that the conspiracy will still give trouble during the ensuing year. Compare note 8.

<sup>16</sup> *Duos consules.* Silanus and Murena; and not merely one, Silanus, which would be the case if Murena were condemned. Both consuls will be wanted, he thinks, to make head against the conspiracy, and the time of their entering on office will be the Calends, or first, of January.

<sup>17</sup> *Officium.* “A sense of duty.” — *Res publica.* “The interests of the republic,” i. e. the danger which threatens from the conspiracy of Catiline.

III. <sup>1</sup> NAM quod legem de ambitu tuli, certe ita tuli, ut eam, quam mihi met ipsi jampridem tulerim de civium periculis defendendis, non abrogarem. Etenim si <sup>2</sup> largitionem factam esse confiterer, idque recte factum esse defendere; facerem improbe, <sup>3</sup> etiam si aliis legem tulisset: <sup>4</sup> cum vero nihil commissum contra legem esse defendam, quid est, quod meam defensionem latio legis impedit? (6.) <sup>5</sup> Negat esse ejusdem severitatis, Catilinam, exitium rei publicæ intra mœnia molientem, <sup>6</sup> verbis et pœne imperio urbe expulisse, <sup>7</sup> et nunc pro L. Murena dicere. <sup>8</sup> Ego autem has partes lenitatis et misericordiæ, quas me natura ipsa <sup>9</sup> docuit, sem-

<sup>1</sup> *Nam quod legem, &c.* “For as to my having proposed a law concerning bribery, I certainly did it with this view, that I might not abrogate the one which I had long since proposed to my own bosom, as regarded the warding off of those dangers which might threaten my fellow citizens.” The allusion is again to the Tullian law. Consult note 3, page 386.

<sup>2</sup> *Largitionem factam esse.* “That bribery had actually been committed by Murena.”—*Defenderem.* This verb has here the meaning of “to allege in defence.”

<sup>3</sup> *Etiam si aliis legem tulisset.* “Even though another should have been the author of the law in question.”

<sup>4</sup> *Cum vero, &c.* “But now, when I maintain that nothing has been done by Murena in violation of that law, why is the mere proposing of it on my part to operate as a hindrance to my defence of him?”

<sup>5</sup> *Negat esse ejusdem severitatis*, i. e. that it is a deviation from my former severity. Hotomannus inserts *Cato* in the text.

<sup>6</sup> *Verbis et pœne imperio.* A forcible allusion to the strenuous efforts made by Cicero in driving out Catiline, but not by any means intended as a censure of his conduct in so doing. It is merely adduced, by way of contrast, to Cicero’s now appearing for one whom Cato regards as a public offender.

<sup>7</sup> *Et nunc pro L. Murena dicere.* “And to be now pleading in behalf of Licinius Murena.”

<sup>8</sup> *Ego autem, &c.* “I, however, have always acted with pleasure this part of gentleness and compassion, which nature herself has taught me.”—*Agere partes* is borrowed from the language of the stage, and denotes, not to undertake merely, as some erroneously render the phrase, but to go through with a part or character. As regards the peculiar meaning of *partes* here, compare the language of Ernesti (*Cliv. Cic. s. v. Pars*): “Pars in scena est persona, quam quis suscepit agendum”

<sup>9</sup> *Docuit.* This is another term borrowed from the language and movements of the stage.—*Docere fabulam* is analogous to the Greek διδάσκειν δρᾶμα. The parts were studied by means of reiterated recitation from the poet: and the chorus, too, was practised in the same way. This was called *teaching a play*.

<sup>10</sup> *Illam vero, &c.* Cicero means, that his natural inclinations always

er egi libenter : <sup>10</sup> illam vero gravitatis severitatisque <sup>11</sup> personam non appetivi ; sed ab re publica mihi impositam susinui, sicut hujus imperii dignitas in summo periculo civium postulabat. <sup>12</sup> Quod si tum, cum res publica vim et severitatem desiderabat, vici naturam, et tam vehemens fui, quam ogebar, non quain volebam : nunc, <sup>13</sup> cum omnes me causae d misericordiam atque ad humanitatem vocent, quanto andem studio debo <sup>14</sup> naturae meae consuetudinique servire ? At de <sup>15</sup> officio defensionis meae, ac de ratione accusationis tuae, fortasse etiam alia in parte orationis dicendum nobis rit.

ed him to the side of gentleness and mercy, and that the severe and rigid character, which he had been compelled to assume towards Catiline and his accomplices, was a duty he owed to the state, in the discharge of which, private feelings could, of course, exercise no influence.

<sup>11</sup> *Personam.* By *persona* is literally meant the "mask" worn by the ancient actor, in representing a character, and then the term comes, to denote the character itself. The ancient masks were entire head-pieces, and of various kinds, to express every age, sex, country, condition, and complexion, to which they were assimilated with the greatest skill and nicety. The Greek term for one of these appendages is *πρόσωπον*, (or, as it was afterward called *προσωπεῖον*,) denoting something applied to the face. The Latin term "persona" is derived from the verb "persono," and refers to the peculiar construction of the mouth of the mask, which was made on the plan of a speaking-trumpet, (their largo theatres requiring a great volume of sound,) and was as it were "sounded through," that is, made the venue of transmission for a loud sound. (Compare *Theatre of Greeks*, 1st ed. pp. 266, seqq.—TYRWIITT, in *Aristot. Poet.* p. 139.—*Mus. Crit.* vol. ii. p. 211, &c.)

<sup>12</sup> *Quod si tum, &c.* "And if, on that occasion, when the state of public affairs required a vigorous and rigid exercise of authority, I triumphed over the dictates of my nature," &c. i. e. I suppressed at once every feeling of lenity.—*Desiderare.* "To desire earnestly," "to feel the want of," "to need," "to require," &c.

<sup>13</sup> *Cum omnes, &c.* "When every motive prompts me," &c. The cause of Murena is one which warmly enlists all the better feelings of Cicero.

<sup>14</sup> *Naturae meae, &c.* "To yield obedience to the dictates of my nature, and the force of early habit." *Naturae*, because all his kindly feelings are now called into action : *consuetudini*, because he is more accustomed to defend than to accuse.

<sup>15</sup> *At.* The common text has *Ac*, which we have changed to *At* which is adopted by Cörenz. (*Ad Cic. Acad.* 2, 2.) Lallemand, in order to avoid doubling the *ac*, reads in the second clause of the sentence, *& de ratione, &c.*

<sup>16</sup> *Officio defensionis meae.* "The duty that has prompted my present defence."—*Ratione accusationis tuae.* "The reasons that have led to

(7.) Sed me, judices, non minus <sup>1</sup> hominis sapientissimi atque ornatissimi, Ser. Sulpicii, conquestio, quam Catonis accusatio <sup>2</sup> commovebat: qui <sup>3</sup> gravissime et acerbissime ferre dixit, me <sup>4</sup> familiaritatis necessitudinisque oblitum, causam L. Murenæ contra se defendere. Huic ego, judices, satis facere cupio, vosque adhibere <sup>5</sup> arbitros. Nam cum grave est, vere accusari in amicitia, tum, etiam si falso accuseris, <sup>6</sup> non est negligendum. <sup>7</sup> Ego, Ser. Sulpici, me in petitione tua tibi omnia studia atque officia, pro nostra necessitudine, et debuisse confiteor, et præstitisse arbitrор. Nihil tibi, consulatum petenti, <sup>8</sup> a me defuit, quod esset aut ab amico, aut a gratico, aut a consule postulandum. Abiit illud tempus: <sup>9</sup> mutata ratio est. <sup>10</sup> Sic existimo, sic mihi per-

your accusation of him," i. e. the motives that have induced you to become his accuser.

<sup>1</sup> *Hominis sapientissimi atque ornatissimi, &c.* "Of that very wise and accomplished man, Servius Sulpicius." The individual here named was regarded as the most eminent lawyer of his day. Consult Historical Index.

<sup>2</sup> *Commovebat.* The imperfect tense is here employed, to carry us back to the time when the complaint of Sulpicius was first uttered, namely, at the period of his speech against Murena.

<sup>3</sup> *Gravissime et acerbissime ferre.* Literally, "that he bore it very heavily and bitterly," i. e. that it was to him a source of the bitterest regret.

<sup>4</sup> *Familiaritatis necessitudinisque.* "Of the claims of long acquaintance and intimate friendship." *Familiaritas* implies that we have long been acquainted with another. *Necessitudo* is of stronger import, and denotes the existence of some tie or bond of friendship between the two parties. It is in fact a term of very general import among the Latin writers, and always implies the existence of some strong connecting tie, which involves, as it were, a *necessity* for mutual esteem and regard. Compare the explanation of ERNESTI: "*Necessitudo est omnis conjunctio, sanguinis, affinitatis, conjugii, collegii, amicitiae, &c., quæ a causa aliqua oritur, quæ nobis necessitatem amoris benevolentiacem affert.*" Cicero and Sulpicius had been friends from early youth, and had studied together, when young, both at Rome and in the island of Rhodes, under the celebrated Molo.

<sup>5</sup> *Arbitros.* "As umpires." *Arbiter* is here used in a general sense, and is analogous to the civil law term *compromissarius*. In its special acceptation, it denotes one who judged in those cases that were called *bonæ fidei*, or arbitrary, and who was not restricted by any law or form, but determined what seemed equitable. (HEINECC. *Aniq. Rom.* 4, 6, 39, p. 694, ed. Haubold.)

<sup>6</sup> *Non est negligendum.* Because friendship is too sacred a thing to be even exposed to suspicion.

<sup>7</sup> *Ego, Ser. Sulpici, &c.* "I both acknowledge, Servius Sulpicius,

adeo, me tibi contra honorem L. Murenae, quantum tu a  
postulare ausus sis, tantum debuisse: contra salutem,  
huius debere. (8.) Neque enim, si tibi tum, cum peteres,  
insulatum, adfui, idcirco nunc, <sup>11</sup>cum Murenam ipsum  
tas, adjutor <sup>12</sup>eodem pacto esse debeo. Atque hoc non  
odo non laudari, sed ne concedi quidem potest, ut, amicis  
stris accusantibus, non etiam alienissimos defendamus.

IV. MIHI autem cum Murena, judices, et vetus, et magna  
nicitia est, quae <sup>13</sup>in capitibus dimicatione a Ser. Sulpicio <sup>14</sup>non  
circum obruetur, quod ab eodem in honoris contentione su-  
rata est. <sup>15</sup>Quae si causa non esset, tamen vel dignitas  
omnis, vel honoris ejus, quem adeptus est, amplitudo,  
immam mihi superbiæ crudelitatisque famam inussisset, si

at I owed, and think candidly that I afforded unto you, in your  
application for the consulship, all that zealous co-operation, and all  
the kind offices, which our intimate friendship demanded."

<sup>14</sup>*A me defuit.* "Was wanting on my part."—*Gratioso.* "A man of  
fluence in the state." An influential person.

<sup>15</sup>*Mutata ratio est.* "The aspect of affairs is changed." The change  
commenced with the defeat of Sulpicius, and the elevation of Murena  
to the consulship.

<sup>16</sup>*Sic existimo, &c.* "This is now my opinion, of this I am now  
trusted."—*Contra honorem.* "Against the advancement," i. e. elec-  
tion to the consulship.—*Contra salutem.* "Against his personal rights."  
Consult note 7, page 385.

<sup>17</sup>*Cum Murenam, &c.* "When you are attacking Murena himself." The  
term is now employed in a gladiatorial sense, "to aim a blow at an-  
other," "to make a thrust," "to attack." *Petere consulatum* is merely  
a sue for the consulship."

<sup>18</sup>*Eodem pacto.* "By the same rule."—*Etiam alienissimos.* "Even  
strangers."

<sup>19</sup>*In capitibus dimicatione.* "In a case where all his civil rights are at  
stake." Compare note 7, page 385.—*Capitus.* The term *caput* is here  
used in its legal sense, and refers to the civil condition, liberty, personal  
privileges, &c., of an individual. Thus ERNESTI (*Clar. Cic. s. v.*),  
*Caput dicitur pro hominis statu, libertatis et civitatis jure,*" &c. So, in  
the language of the Roman law, any loss of liberty or of the rights of  
citizens was called "*diminutio capitis*".

<sup>20</sup>*Non idcirco obruetur.* "Shall not for this reason be overcome." Literally,  
"be crushed," or "overwhelmed."—*Quod ab eodem, &c.* In  
a contest for the consulship Cicero gave his interest to Sulpicius  
against Murena.

<sup>21</sup>*Quae si causa non esset, &c.* "And even if this motive did not  
exist, still, either the high rank of the man himself, or the elevated  
nature of the office which he has obtained, would have branded me  
with the deepest stigma of pride and of cruelty, if I had refused to  
undertake the cause of one, most distinguished both for his own

inventer uesimo. cum autem iuga iauris uesuviam, re  
supplicum superbiam, amicorum neglectio <sup>5</sup> impr  
coarguit: nimirum hæc causa est ejusmodi, quam ne

merits, and for the honours conferred upon him by the Rom  
when it was fraught with so much danger to his welfare." T  
alluded to at the beginning of this sentence is his friend  
Murena.

<sup>1</sup> *Neque est mihi integrum.* "Nor is it wholly within my p

<sup>2</sup> *Premia tanta.* The various offices which had been besto  
him, and especially the last and highest of them, the consuls  
*hac industria.* "For my active exertions in this behalf,"  
fending others.

<sup>3</sup> *Labores per quos, &c.* "To discontinue the efforts by w  
have obtained these rewards, when once you have made th  
own, would be the part of both a cunning and an ungratefu  
*Astuti.* Because his motive, in defending and aiding othe  
have been the mere wish of ultimately benefiting himself by  
popular; a motive craftily concealed, however, until his o  
accomplished.—*Ingrati.* Because he ought to show his gra  
fresh efforts for the good of those who have raised him to offi

<sup>4</sup> *Quod si.* "If however."—*Te auctore.* "By your own a  
*Nulla turpitudo.* "No disgraceful imputation."

<sup>5</sup> *Improbitatem.* "Worthlessness."—*Coarguit.* "Clearly a

<sup>6</sup> *De tuo ipsius studio.* "From your own pursuits," i. e. fr  
own professional conduct; from your own way of acting at th

<sup>7</sup> *Etiam adversariis, &c.* "To give advice even to the ad  
of your friends, when consulting you on a point of law." *R*  
is the technical term applied to the giving of advice on the p  
Roman iuris consult. *Thua Cis de clar Orat o 20.* "Rut

rius, nec misericors, nec officiosus deserere possit. Atque  
tujusce rei conjecturam <sup>6</sup> de tuo ipsius studio, Servi, facillime  
esperis. Nam si tibi necesse putas, <sup>7</sup> etiam adversariis ami-  
corum tuorum de jure consulentibus respondere; <sup>8</sup> et, si  
surpe existimas, <sup>9</sup> te advocato, illum ipsum, quem contra  
veneris, <sup>10</sup> causa cadere: noli tam esse injustus, ut, cum <sup>11</sup> tui  
fontes vel inimicis tuis pateant, nostros rivulos etiam amicis  
ates clausos esse oportere. (10.) Etenim, si me <sup>12</sup> tua  
familiaritas <sup>13</sup> ab hac causa removisset, et, si hoc idem Q.  
Hortensio, M. Crasso, clarissimis viris, si item ceteris, a  
quibus intelligo tuam gratiam magni aestimari, accidisset:  
En ea civitate consul designatus defensorem non haberet, in

Friends of Sulpicius, and thereupon comes to the latter, states the nature of the controversy, and obtains his professional advice. The friend then waits upon Sulpicius, and requests him to appear as his advocate on the trial of this very point. Will not Sulpicius, on that trial, feel his self-love seriously wounded, if the opposite party, to whom he had given advice in this very same case, and who, acting on that advice, has defended the case, be defeated and lose his cause? We have given the explanation of Ferratius, which seems much more in unison with the context than that of Ernesti. The latter understands *alio tempore* after *veneris*, and makes the meaning to be this: "If you deem it discreditable, when you appear for one, against whom you have pleaded on a previous occasion, that this individual should sue his cause," i. e. that you should not exert yourself now in his behalf, merely because you appeared against him before this.

<sup>10</sup> *Te advocato.* By *advocatus* appears to be meant here, not one who takes part in the actual pleading of a cause, but who stands by and aids another by his advice and presence. Compare the explanation of Isconius, as given under note 4, page 388.

<sup>11</sup> *Causa cadere.* A legal expression for losing a cause, used here in general sense; although in its special acceptation, it applies rather to the loss of a cause through some failure in the form of proceeding; that we call in English a non-suit. Compare CIC. *de Invent.* 2, 19: *Ita jus civile habemus constitutum, ut causa cadat is, qui non quemadmodum oportet, egerit.*"

<sup>12</sup> *Tui fontes.* "The rich springs of your legal wisdom." Compare note 1, page 392.—*Nostros rivulos.* "That our scanty rills."

<sup>13</sup> *Tua familiaritas.* "My long acquaintance with you," i. e. the friendship I entertain for you. The possessive pronoun is here used in what the grammarians call its passive sense. The active meaning of *tua familiaritas* would be, "your long acquaintance with me," or your friendship towards me." Consult *Sanct. Minerv.* 2, 13, p. 331, sl. i. ed. Bauer.

<sup>14</sup> *Ab hac causa removisset.* "Had induced me to decline this cause." —Q. Hortensio, M. Crasso. These two individuals were associated with Cicero in the management of the defence.—A quibus, &c. "By whom well know, your esteem is highly prized," i. e. who I well know set a

qua nemini umquam<sup>1</sup> infimo maiores nostri patronum deesse voluerunt. Ego vero, judices, ipse me existimarem<sup>2</sup> nefarium, si amico; crudelem, si misero; superbum, si consuli defuissem. Quare<sup>3</sup> quod dandum est amicitiae, large dabitur a me, ut tecum agam, Servi, non secus, ac si meus esset frater, qui mihi est carissimus,<sup>4</sup> isto in loco. <sup>5</sup>Quod tribuendum est officio, fidei,<sup>6</sup> religioni, id ita moderabor, ut meminerim, me contra amici studium pro amici periculo dicere.

V. (11.) <sup>7</sup>INTELLIGO, judices, tres totius accusationis partes fuisse, et earum unam in reprehensione vitae, alteram in contentione dignitatis, tertiam in criminibus ambitus eversatam. Atque harum trium partium prima illa,<sup>8</sup> que

high value upon your friendship, and would make great sacrifices to preserve it,

<sup>1</sup> Infimo. "Even among the lowest of the people."

<sup>2</sup> Nefarium. "A wicked man." A violator of the holy law of friendship.

<sup>3</sup> Quod dandum est amicitiae, &c. Cicero means, that, in the management of the present case, he will make the same allowance for the claims of friendship, on the part of Sulpicius, as if the latter were his own brother Quintus, to whom he was most tenderly attached.

<sup>4</sup> Isto in loco. Literally, "in the situation in which you now are," i. e. an accuser of Murena. The student will note the force of *iste* here. A want of attention to the peculiar meaning of this pronoun has led Manutius into the error of supposing that the phrase *isto in loco* is here equivalent to *in hac dignitati consulari*.

<sup>5</sup> Quod tribuendum est, &c. "Whatever, on the other hand, is to be yielded by me to the claims of duty, of honour, of religion, this I will regulate in such a way, as to bear in mind that I am pleading for the safety of one friend against the hot attack of another." Literally, "in behalf of the danger of one friend."

<sup>6</sup> Religioni. [Because Cicero had implored the favour of heaven towards Murena, and his colleague Silanus, on the day of the comitia. Compare note 1, page 388.]

<sup>7</sup> Intelligo, judices, &c. "I perceive, judges, that there have been three heads to the entire accusation, and that one of these has been taken up with the censure of his private life, the second with concerning his claim as a fit candidate for the consulship, the third with the charge of bribery." By *dignitas* is here meant personal merit or worth and by *contentio dignitatis*, a disputing of the claim of Murena to the consulship, on the ground of his not possessing sufficient personal merit for that elevated station. Under this head of personal merit the question of family is also brought in.

<sup>8</sup> Quae gravissima, &c. "Which ought to have been the weightiest." i. e. ought to have been managed in such a way as naturally to form the heaviest and gravest charge against him.

gravissima esse debebat,<sup>9</sup> ita fuit infirma et levis, ut illos  
 magis quedam accusatoria, quam vera maledicendi  
 scutitas de vita L. Murenae dicere aliquid coegerit.<sup>10</sup> Ob-  
 jecta est enim Asia: quae ab hoc<sup>11</sup> non ad voluptatem et  
 luxuriam expetita est, sed in militari labore perigrata.<sup>12</sup> Qui  
 adolescens, patre suo imperatore, non meruisset; aut  
 vestem, aut patris imperium timuisse, aut a parente repudi-  
 sus videretur.<sup>13</sup> An, cum sedere in equis triumphantium  
 praetextati potissimum filii soleant,<sup>14</sup> huic donis militaribus  
 patris triumphum decorare fugiendum fuit, ut, rebus com-  
 miter gestis, pene simul cum patre triumpharet? (12.)  
 Ec vero, judices, et fuit in Asia, et viro fortissimo, parenti  
 quo, magno adjumento in periculis, solatio in laboribus,

<sup>9</sup> *Ita fuit infirma et levis, &c.* “Has proved so weak and frivolous  
 one, that some established practice on the part of accusers, rather  
 than any real grounds for imputing criminality, has compelled them  
 to say something about the life of Licinius Murena.” By *lex accu-  
 satoria* is meant an established practice, on the part of accusers, to  
 impute to the accused an ill-spent and dissolute life.—*Maledicendi  
 scutitas*. Any grounds for establishing real criminality.

<sup>10</sup> *Objecta est enim Asia.* “Asia namely has been made a source of  
 approach to him.” The particle *enim* is here employed in the sense of  
*scilicet*, like the inchoative *γάρ* in Greek.—*Asia*. The Romans regarded  
 Asia as the source whence all their luxury originated. Compare LIVY,  
 39, 6: “*Luxuriae enim peregrinæ origo ab exercitu Asiatico invecta in  
 urbem est: ii primum lectos æratos, vestem stragulam pretiosam, plagulas,  
 et alia textilia, et, quæ tum magnificæ supellectilis habebantur, monopodia  
 et abacos Romam advexerunt*,” &c.

<sup>11</sup> *Non ad voluptatem et luxuriam.* “Not for purposes of pleasure  
 and debauchery.”—*In militari labore.* He was serving under his  
 father L. Murena, who had been left by Sylla in command of the  
 Asiatic forces.

<sup>12</sup> *Qui si adolescens, &c.* “Now, had he, when a young man, not  
 performed military service, his father being at the time commander  
 there.”

<sup>13</sup> *An, cum sedere, &c.* The triumphant general’s children sat with  
 him in the car. His sons who wore the *praetexta* rode on the horses  
 drawing it, or followed on other horses. The *praetexta* was worn by  
 the Roman youth till the age of seventeen, when the *toga virilis*, or  
 manly gown, was assumed.

<sup>14</sup> *Huic donis militaribus, &c.* The meaning of this is, was not Murena  
 to perform military service under his father in Asia, in order that,  
 by distinguishing himself there, he might, on his return home, grace  
 the triumph of his parent by displaying the military rewards he him-  
 self had received? This, of course, is meant as an answer to the  
 charge of his having been in Asia. It was the very country where he  
 ought to have been at the time.

gratulationi in victoria fuit. <sup>1</sup> Et, si habet Asia suspicionem luxuriæ quandam, non Asiam nunquam vidisse, sed in Asia continenter vixisse, laudandum est. Quamobrem non Asia nomen objiciendum Murenæ fuit, ex qua laus familiæ, memoria generi, honos et gloria nomini constituta est: <sup>2</sup> sed aliquod aut in Asia susceptum, aut ex Asia deportatum flagitium ac dedecus. <sup>3</sup> Meruisse vero stipendia in eo bello, quod tum populus Romanus non modo maximum, sed etiam solum gercbat, virtutis: patre imperatore libentissime meruisse, pietatis: finem stipendiorum, patris victoriam et triumphum fuisse, felicitatis fuit. <sup>5</sup> Maledicto quidem idcirco nihil in hisce rebus loci est, quod omnia laus occupavit.

<sup>1</sup> *Et, si habet Asia, &c.*, i. e. and since Asia carries with it a certain suspicion of dissolute living, not his having never seen Asia, but his having lived temperately in Asia must be made a source of praise to him.

<sup>2</sup> *Sed aliquod aut in Asia, &c.* “But some flagrant and disgraceful vice, either contracted by him in Asia, or introduced by others from that country,” i. e. either some vice which he himself had contracted while living in Asia, or one of Asiatic origin, brought to Rome by some other individual, and contracted by Murena at the latter place.

<sup>3</sup> *Meruisse stipendia.* “To have performed military service.” The literal meaning of *merere stipendia* is “to earn pay.”—*In eo bello.* The Mithridatic war.—*Virtutis.* “Was a proof of his courage.”

<sup>4</sup> *Pietatis.* “Of his filial piety.” Shown as well by his cheerfulness in serving under his parent as by his wish to contribute to that parent’s glory.—*Finem stipendiorum.* “The termination of his service.”

<sup>5</sup> *Maledicto.* “For censure.”—*Occupavit.* “Has pre-occupied.”

<sup>6</sup> *Saltatorem.* Dancing was regarded as disgraceful by the Romans. It was the dancing, however, which had found its way from the stage into convivial circles that was justly condemned, and not every species. For the Romans had their sacred or religious dances, with which of course no fault was found. Compare the explanation of GRÆVIUS: “*Saltator hic est histrio. Non enim quævis saltatio Romæ turpis erat, probosa, sed histrionica et mollior.*” With the Greeks a different usage prevailed. Consult the remarks of Cornelius Nepos, in his preface, and also the first chapter of his life of Epaminondas.

<sup>7</sup> *Maledictum est, si vere objicitur, &c.* “This, if it be truly objected against him, is the charge of an angry accuser; but, if falsely, of a slanderous calumniator.” In either case, therefore, Cato ought not utter this reproach against Murena, since an angry feeling is as inconsistent with the character of a sage, as a disregard for the truth.

<sup>8</sup> *Quare cum ista, &c.,* i. e. wherefore, since you are a person of such weight of character, you ought not, Marcus Cato, to snatch a calumny from the lips of the rabble, or from some carousal of buffoons, and rashly to call a consul of the Roman people a dancer.

VI. (18.) <sup>6</sup>SALTATOREM appellat L. Murenam Cato. Maledictum est, si vere objicitur, vehementis accusatoris: non falso, maledici conviciatoris. <sup>8</sup>Quare cum ista sis aucto-tate, non debes, M. Cato, arripere maledictum <sup>9</sup>ex trivio, ut ex <sup>10</sup>scurrarum aliquo <sup>11</sup>convivio, neque temere consulem opuli Romani saltatorem vocare: sed conspicere, quibus ræterea vitiis affectum esse necesse sit eum, cui vere istud objici possit. Nemo enim fere saltat sobrius, nisi forte usanit: neque in solitudine, <sup>12</sup>neque in convivio moderato atque honesto. Tempestivi convivii, amœni loci, multarum eliciarum comes est extrema saltatio. <sup>13</sup>Tu mihi arripis id, uod necesse est omnium vitiorum esse postremum: <sup>14</sup>relinuis illa, quibus remotis, hoc vitium omnino esse non potest.

<sup>6</sup> *Ex trivio.* By *trivium* is literally meant a place where three ways meet, and where all manner of idlers and low persons are accustomed to congregate. It is then taken, as in the present instance, to denote this class of persons themselves, or, in other words, the rabble, the *west vulgar*.

<sup>10</sup> *Scurrarum.* By *scurra* is meant a buffoon, a scoffer, a jester, one who, for the sake of exciting merriment, cares not what he either says or does, and who is particularly fond of raising a laugh at the expense of others, by some coarse slander. Verrius Flaccus derives the term *a sequendo*, ("scurra, quasi secura"), and makes its primitive meaning to be "a parasite," or one who "follows" in the train of a rich person, to amuse him by his buffoonery. Festus ridicules this etymology very properly. (*Fest. de Verb. Sign.* p. 240, ed. Lind.) The word appears either to be of the same family with the German "*scherzen*," "to rail at," "to jeer," &c.

<sup>11</sup> *Conririu.* The common text has *convicio*, which Lambinus first altered, on conjecture, to *convivio*. This latter reading is adopted by Knesti and Scheller.

<sup>12</sup> *Neque in convirio moderato atque honesto.* "Not at a well-regulated and becoming repast."—*Tempestivi convirii*, &c. Dancing is the last companion of the revels of the table, of a place devoted to pleasure, of such enjoyment," i. e. is the last act in a debauch, in a place where every thing breathes of pleasure, &c. By *tempestivum convivium*, (literally, "an unseasonable banquet,") is meant an entertainment which commenced earlier than the ordinary hour, and was protracted until a much later one than usual. Compare note 4, page 154.

<sup>13</sup> *Tu mihi arripis id*, &c. "You eagerly catch at that, which," &c. *Mihi* is here elegantly redundant, unless we render it by a species of paraphrase: "in order to thwart my intended defence," or else something analogous.

<sup>14</sup> *Relinquis illa*, &c. "You leave those things unnoticed," &c. i. e. you are silent about other moral blemishes. Cicero means, that no other moral failings are spoken of by his opponents, as existing in the character of Murena; whereas dancing would imply, of course, an

<sup>1</sup> Nullum turpe convivium, non amor, non commissatio, non libido, non sumptus ostenditur. Et, cum ea non reperiatur, <sup>2</sup> quæ voluptatis nomen habent, quæque vitiæ sunt: in quo ipsam luxuriam reperire non potes, in eo te <sup>3</sup> umbram luxuriæ repertum putas? (14.) Nihil igitur in vitam L. Murenæ dici potest? Nihil, inquam, omnino, judices. Si a me consul designatus defenditur, ut ejus nulla fraus, nulla avaritia, nulla perfidia, nulla crudelitas, <sup>4</sup> nullum petulans dictum proferatur. Bene habet: jacta sunt fundamenta defensionis. Nondum enim nostris laudibus, quibus ubi postea, sed prope inimicorum confessione, virum bonum, atque integrum hominem defendimus.

VII. <sup>5</sup> Quo constituto, facilior est mihi aditus ad contentionem dignitatis, quæ pars altera fuit accusationis.

(15.) <sup>6</sup> Summam video esse in te, Ser. Sulpici, dignitatem generis, integritatis, industrie, ceterorumque ornamentorum

indulgence in many other excesses, and could not, in fact, exist without them.

<sup>1</sup> *Nullum turpe convivium, &c.* "No disgraceful banqueting, no amours, no revelling, no lewdness, no extravagant expenditure is pointed out." As regards *comissatio* consult note 5, page 52.

<sup>2</sup> *Quæ voluptatis nomen habent, &c.* "Which bear the very name of pleasure, and are actual vices," i. e. which stand forth to the world with the name and character of reprehensible pleasures.

<sup>3</sup> *Umbram luxuriæ.* "The unbidden companion of debauchery." Among the Romans, an uninvited guest, who accompanied another generally some distinguished personage, to a feast, was called his "umbra." (Compare HORAT. Sat. 2, 8, 21.) The term is here forcibly applied to dancing, which is always, according to the Roman way of thinking, sure to follow, as an uninvited guest, in the train of debauchery. Compare ERNESTI (*Clar. Cic. s. v.*): "*Umbra, comes: Muren. 6: Saltatio est umbra luxuriae.*"

<sup>4</sup> *Nullum petulans dictum.* "No lascivious expression." In the common text, the words *in vita* follow; but they are out of place here, and seem to have originated from *in vitam*. Ernesti retains them in his text, but condemns them in his note. Beck encloses them within brackets. We have rejected them with Schütz.

<sup>5</sup> *Quo constituto.* "This point being established," i. e. the charge against the private life of Murena having been thus disproved.

<sup>6</sup> *Summam dignitatem generis, &c.,* i. e. The highest degree of personal merit, founded on birth, integrity, the active exercise of talent, and all those other accomplishments, relying on which it is right for you to aspire to an application for the consulship.

<sup>7</sup> *Contempsisti.* "You have treated with contempt." Referring to the manner in which Sulpicius, in the course of his remarks, had sought to depreciate the origin of Murena.

nium, quibus fretum ad consulatus petitionem aggredi est. Paria cognosco esse ista in L. Murena, atque ita ia, ut neque ipse dignitate vinci potuerit, neque te digni- e superarit. <sup>7</sup> Contempsisti L. Murenæ genus: extulisti un. <sup>8</sup> Quo loco si tibi hoc sumis, nisi qui patricius sit, ninem bono esse genere natum: facis, ut rursus plebes Aventinum sevocanda esse videatur. <sup>9</sup> Sin autem sunt plæ et honestæ familiæ plebeiæ; et <sup>10</sup> proavus L. Murenæ, avus, prætores fuerunt, et pater, cum amplissime atque iestissime <sup>11</sup> ex prætura triumphasset, hoc faciliorem huic dum consulatus adipiscendi reliquit, quod is jam <sup>12</sup> patri- itus, a filio petebatur. (16.) Tua vero nobilitas, Ser. pici, tametsi summa est, tamen <sup>13</sup> hominibus literatis et toricis est notior, populo vero et suffragatoribus obscurior. er enim <sup>14</sup> fuit equestri loco: avus nulla illustri laude bratus. Itaque non ex sermone hominum recenti, sed

*Quo loco, &c.* “If in handling this topic you take it upon yourself insert.”—*Aventinum.* Cicero refers here to the first secession of the de, which, according to Piso, an earlier historian than Livy, and is cited by the latter, (2, 32,) was made to the Aventine Hill, and to Mons Sacer.

*Sin autem, &c.* “But if, on the contrary, there are distinguished honourable families of plebeian origin, then both the great-grand- er,” &c. This is the same as saying in our own idiom: “But there on the contrary, distinguished and honourable plebeian families, both the great-grandfather,” &c.

*Proavus.* P. Licinius Murena, who was prætor A.U.C. 596.—*Avus.* he same name with the preceding, and prætor A.U.C. 640.

*Ex prætura.* “In his prætorship.” He triumphed for successes Mithridates.

*Patri debitus.* He had gone through all the subordinate offices, only stopped short at the consulship, for which he had the fairest n for services rendered his country.—*Filio.* The Murena who was used on the present occasion.

*Hominibus literatis et historicis.* “To literary men and historians.” Licinius traced back his origin to Servius Sulpicius, who was consul in tenth year after the expulsion of the kings, A.U.C. 253. Compare

*Brut.* 16; and SIGONIUS, *Fast. Cons.* p. 23, ed. OXON.—*Populo et agatoribus obscurior.* “Is less familiar to the people and voters at tiona.” Cicero means, that the intermediate Sulpicii, from the end of the line downward, especially those of more recent times, not signalized themselves in such a way as to be brought in a very ed manner before the notice of the people.

*Fuit equestri loco.* From this we see that a patrician might remain ques.—*Nulla illustri laude.* “For no illustrious action.” *Laus* is put for an action deserving of praise. Compare ERNESTI (*Clav.* s. v.): “*Laus, pro rebus laude dignis.*”

<sup>1</sup> ex annalium vetustate eruenda est memoria nobilitatis tua. Quare ego te semper in nostrum numerum aggregare soleo, quod virtute industriaque perfecisti, ut, cum equitis Romani essem filius, summa tamen amplitudine dignus putarere: nec mihi umquam minus in <sup>2</sup> Q. Pompeio, novo homine, et fortissimo viro, virtutis esse visum est, quam in homine nobilissimo, <sup>3</sup> M. Æmilio. Etenim <sup>4</sup> ejusdem animi atque ingenii est, posteris suis, quod Pompeius fecit, amplitudinem nominis, <sup>5</sup> quam non acceperit, tradere; et, ut Scaurus, memoriam prope intermortuam generis sui virtute renovare.

VIII. (17.) QUAMQUAM ego jam putabam, judices, multis viris fortibus ne ignobilitas objiceretur generis, <sup>6</sup> meo labore esse perfectum: <sup>7</sup> qui non modo <sup>8</sup> Curiis, Catonibus, Pompeiis, antiquis illis, fortissimis viris, novis hominibus, sed

<sup>1</sup> Ex annalium retustate. Referring to the early date of that ancestor of his who was regarded as the founder of the line. Comp. note 13, p. 401.

<sup>2</sup> Q. Pompeio. Q. Pompeius Nepos, who, though of plebeian origin, attained nevertheless to the highest honours in the state. Consult Historical Index.

<sup>3</sup> M. Æmilio. M. Æmilius Scaurus, who was consul A.U.C. 638, and a second time A.U.C. 646. Consult Historical Index.

<sup>4</sup> Ejusdem animi atque ingenii est. "It requires the same degree of spirit and of talent."

<sup>5</sup> Quam non acceperit. Plutarch says, that he was thought to have been the son of a flute-player. (*Apophthegm.* p. 200, vol. vi. p. 755, ed. Reiske.)—Memoriam prope intermortuam, &c. "To revive by his own merit the almost extinct remembrance of his line." Compare Asconii, in *Or. pro Scaur.*

<sup>6</sup> Meo labore esse perfectum. "That it had been brought about by my exertions," i. e. that I, a man of humble origin, had proved of so much service to my country, as to cause low birth to be no longer regarded as a barrier to the consulship.

<sup>7</sup> Qui non modo Curiis, &c., i. e. who were nevertheless excluded from the consulship, on account of their humble origin, or else discouraged from applying for it, although they could point to many bright instances in the past and present history of their country, where men of humble birth had, by reason of signal merit, been advanced to the highest office in the state.

<sup>8</sup> Curiis, Catonibus, Pompeiis. The plural is here used to give emphasis to the sentence. Curius Dentatus, Cato the censor, and Quintus Pompeius, are meant; and, in the succeeding part of the sentence, Caius Marius, T. Didius, C. Cælius Caldus.—Manutius makes a difficulty here by imagining that Cicero means the Quintus Pompeius, surnamed Rufus, who was consul A.U.C. 665, during the youth of the orator, and who could not well, therefore, be ranked among the "antiqui," when Marius, Didius, and Cælius are styled "recentes;" and he thinks that for Pompeius we should read Appiis. Cicero, however,

intibus, Mariis, et Didiis, et Cæliis commemorandis  
it. Cum ego vero <sup>10</sup>tanto intervallo <sup>11</sup>claustra ista  
tis refregissem, ut aditus ad consulatum posthac,  
oud majores nostros fuit, non magis nobilitati, quam  
pateret: non arbitrabar, cum <sup>12</sup>ex familia vetere et  
consul designatus ab equitis Romani filio, consule,  
retur, de generis novitate accusatores esse dicturos.  
mihi ipsi accidit, ut cum <sup>13</sup>duobus patriciis, altero  
ssimo atque audacissimo, altero modestissimo atque  
viro, peterem: superavi tamen <sup>14</sup>dignitate Catilinam,  
Galbam. <sup>15</sup>Quod si id crimen homini novo esse  
profecto mihi neque inimici, neque invidi defuisse  
mittamus igitur de genere dicere, <sup>16</sup>cujus est magna  
ue dignitas: videamus cetera.

to Pompeius Rufus, but to Pompeius Nepos. Thus ERNESTI  
tz, *ad loc.*

*int.* As regards the peculiar force of this verb in the present  
compare the remark of ERNESTI (*Clav. Cic. s. v.*): “*Jacere*  
*qui minus gratiosi sunt. Imprimis autem, qui nullam spem*  
*us consequendi habent, cum candidati sint, aut, eam ipsam ob*  
*via nihil sperant, ne petunt quidem.*”

*o intervallo.* “After so long an interval.” Compare SALLUST,  
“*Namque antea pleraque nobilitas inridia æstuabat, et quasi*  
*consulatum credebant, si eum, quamvis egregius, homo novus adeptus*

*stra ista nobilitatis*, i. e. those barriers so carefully guarded by  
pride.—*Ista* here denotes contempt, with a covert reference  
to prejudices of his opponent; those barriers of nobility which  
had again seek to make an obstacle in the path of Murena.

*familia vetere et illustri.* The family of Murena, although  
of origin, was nevertheless an old and distinguished one.—*Ab*  
*mani filio.* Compare note 3, page 124.

*ne patriciis.* L. Sergius Catilina and P. Sulpicius Galba.—  
*imo atque optimo viro.* “A man of the utmost modesty and  
Asconius (*Arg. Orat. contra Compet.*) calls him, “*vir sobrius*  
*e.”*

*itate.* “In personal merit.”—*Gratia.* “In influence,” i. e. in  
ith the people. The allusion is to that influence which anti-  
family had hitherto claimed as its peculiar right.

*l si id crimen, &c.* “Now, if this ought to have been alleged  
e against a man of humble birth, undoubtedly on that occa-  
her enemies nor envious persons would have been wanting to  
ainst me.” The pronoun *id* refers here to success in gaining  
ulship; and the strong meaning to be attached to *crimen*  
lucidation from the language of Sallust, referred to in a  
note: “*et quasi pollui consulatum credebant.*”

*s est magna in utroque dignitas.* “Of which there is a large

<sup>1</sup> "Quæsturam una petiit, et sum ego factus  
<sup>2</sup> Non est respondendum ad omnia. Neque enim qui  
 vestrum fugit, <sup>3</sup> cum multi pares dignitate fiant, unum  
 primum solus possit obtinere, non eundem esse  
 dignitatis et renuntiationis; propterea quod re-  
 gradus habeat, dignitas autem sit per se eadem.  
<sup>4</sup> Sed quæstura utriusque præmodum pari moue-  
 fuit. Habuit hic <sup>5</sup> lege Titia provinciam tacitam et  
<sup>6</sup> tu illam, cui, cum quæstores sortiuntur, etiam

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and distinguished share in each." The Licinian family, of plebeian origin, is here placed on a full equality with the Sulpicii.

<sup>1</sup> *Quæsturam una petiit, &c.* These words are supposed to be by Sulpicius. Cicero adverts here to another allegation on the latter, namely, that he was declared quæstor before Murænus, preceeded him in the order of election. "He sought the ship along with me, and I was declared before him." The precedence among the successful candidates was regulated by the number of votes which each received; and Sulpicius seeks this a proof of his superiority, in point of personal merit, because, when they both were elected quæstors, the majority of Sulpicius was greater than that of the other.

<sup>2</sup> *Non est respondendum ad omnia.* "There is no need of every objection," i. e. there is no need of going into a long discussion respecting every objection which an opponent may see fit to raise. Some objections answer themselves; and this is one of them.

<sup>3</sup> *Cum multi, &c.* "That when there are many candidates the point of merit, and only one of them can obtain the first order of merit and of announcement is not the same," & announcing the names of the successful competitors, some must of course be named first, and the rest must follow in order, but this is no proof of relative merit. There is more argument of Sulpicius than Cicero is willing to admit. A greater number of votes given for one candidate than for another, even if both succeed to office, must be regarded as some proof of the former's superior merit in the eyes of those who give those votes. It is true, supposes the candidates to be all equal in point of "pares dignitate," but this is begging the question, for it is the very thing to be proved. Besides, he himself, when speaking of this case, attaches, as may well be imagined, a great deal more importance to the fact of his having been declared quæstor one of the first ædile, and first prætor. Compare *Or. in Pis.* c. 1: "*quæstorem in primis, ædilem priorem, prætorem primum cunctis populus Romanus faciebat; homini ille honorem, non generi, dabant.*" The student will observe, that it is *ædilem priorem* in the case just quoted, because there were only two ædiles, but in our case it is *quæstor prior* merely with reference to Sulpicius and Murænus, as the number of quæstors at the time was quite large, and it

let, <sup>7</sup> Ostiensem, non tam gratiosam et illustrem, quam  
gotiosam et molestam. <sup>8</sup> Consedit utriusque nomen in  
uestura. Nullum enim vobis sors campum dedit, <sup>9</sup> in quo  
currere virtus cognoscique possit. (19.) <sup>10</sup> Reliqui tem-  
oris spatium in contentionem vocatur. Ab utroque dissimili-  
llima ratione tractatum est.

**IX. SERVIUS** hic nobiscum <sup>11</sup> hanc urbanam militiam re-  
sondendi, scribendi, cavendi, plenam sollicitudinis ac  
omachi, secutus est; jus civile didicit: multum vigilavit:

had stood at the head of all, he would have been called *quaestor maximus*.

<sup>4</sup> *Sed quaestura, &c.* Literally, "the quaestorship of each was almost equal importance (i. e. unimportant) in point of lot." The provinces, duties of the quaestors, were assigned to them by lot, and Murena and Sulpicius drew two of the most insignificant.

<sup>5</sup> *Lex Titia.* "Under the Titian law," i. e. by the operation of this law. The *lex Titia* (proposed by the tribune Titius, A. U. C. 448) ordained that the existing number of quaestors should be doubled, and that they should determine their provinces by lot. By the operation of this law, Murena obtained an unimportant province, in which he had no chance of distinguishing himself. By the operation of the same law (i. e. by being compelled to run his chance in drawing lots,) Servius obtained a province equally insignificant.

<sup>6</sup> *Tu illam, &c.* "You that one, at which, when the quaestors are sent to the different provinces, a shout of ridicule is even accused to be raised." The unlucky quaestor who drew this province, whose sphere of operations, was exposed to the laughter of those who looked around.

<sup>7</sup> *Ostiensem, &c.* The burdensome nature of this province appears to have arisen from the circumstance of Ostia's being a much frequented sea-port, and also from the salt-works in its vicinity. (Comme GRAEVIUS, *ad loc.*)

<sup>8</sup> *Consedit.* "Settled down from public view," i. e. passed not the bounds of the quaestorship.

<sup>9</sup> *In quo excurrere, &c.* "In which your merit might speed forth and become known." A metaphor borrowed from chariot races.

<sup>10</sup> *Reliqui temporis spatium, &c.* "The period of time remaining after this is next made a subject of comparison," i. e. the mode in which you have each passed your time since the expiration of your respective quaestorships.

<sup>11</sup> *Hanc urbanam militiam, &c.* "This city warfare of answering legal questions, of drawing up writings, of protecting the interests of clients, full of perplexity and vexation." We have here, arranged under three heads, all the duties of a Roman lawyer, and the whole is ingeniously called *urbana militia*, in contradistinction to the real warfare in which Murena is engaged.—*Respondendi.* Consult note 7, page 37.—*Scribendi.* This refers to the drawing up of contracts, articles of agreement, &c.—*Cavendi.* The reference here is to advice generally:

laboravit: præsto multis fuit: multorum stultitiam perpauit: est: arrogantiam pertulit: <sup>1</sup> difficultatem exsorbuit: videlicet ad aliorum arbitrium, non ad suum. Magna laus, et gratia hominibus, unum hominem elaborare <sup>2</sup> in ea scientia, qua multis profutura. (20.) Quid Murena interea? Fortissimus et sapientissimo viro, summo imperatori, <sup>3</sup> legatus L. Lucullo fuit: qua in legatione duxit exercitum: <sup>4</sup> signa contulit; manum conseruit: magnas copias hostium fudit: utique partim vi, partim obsidione cepit: <sup>5</sup> Asiam istam refertam et eandem delicatam, sic obiit, ut in ea neque avaritiae, neque luxuriæ vestigium reliquerit: maximo in bello <sup>6</sup> sic est versatus, ut hic multas res et magnas sine imperatore gereret nullam sine hoc imperator. Atque haec, quamquam praesens L. Lucullo loquar, tamen, ne ab ipso, propter periodum nostrum <sup>7</sup> concessam videamus habere licentiam fingendam publicis literis testata sunt omnia; quibus L. Lucullus tam tum laudis impertit, quantum neque ambitiosus imperator.

how a case is to be arranged, an agreement to be made, &c. Compare ERNESTI (*Clav. Cic.*): “*Caveo de jureconsultis dicitur, cum litigantibus aut aliquid contrahentibus, sive verbo, sive scripto, ostendunt, quomodo instruenda, resque contrahenda sit, ne causa cadant, aut decipiatur.*” It must be borne in mind, that Cicero refers in the text to the Roman lawyer or jurisconsult, in the strict sense of the term, as distinct from the *orator*, or pleader in the courts, Sulpicius being ranked under the former class.

<sup>1</sup> *Difficultatem exsorbuit.* “He patiently encountered every difficulty.” The literal meaning of this phrase is coarse, but expressive: “He gulped down every difficulty,” and made the best of it.

<sup>2</sup> *In ea scientia.* “In that branch of knowledge.” Alluding to the civil or Roman law.

<sup>3</sup> *Legatus L. Lucullo fuit.* In the Mithridatic war. His father had been a lieutenant of Sylla’s in the same war.—*Qua in legatione.* “During which lieutenancy.”

<sup>4</sup> *Signa contulit; manum conseruit.* “He fought hand to hand with the foe.”—*Manum conserere* refers here to the personal prowess of Murena.—*Signa conferre* is merely “to engage,” “to join battle,” but *manum conserere*, “to come to close quarters,” “to fight hand to hand,” &c. Compare the Greek form of expression, μυρίνει τὰς χεῖρας.

<sup>5</sup> *Asiam istam refertam, &c.* “That Asia of yours, crowded with riches, and the abode of voluptuousness.” The pronoun *ista* has here its usual force: that Asia which you make a source of reproach to him, and about his conduct in which you are continually declaiming.

<sup>6</sup> *Sic est versatus.* “He so conducted himself.” Literally, “he was so employed.”

<sup>7</sup> *Concessam licentiam fingendi.* “The privilege allowed us of utramque,

ie invidus, tribuere alteri in communicanda gloria debuit. /  
 ) <sup>8</sup> Summa in utroque est honestas, summa dignitas :  
 n ego, si mihi per Servium liceat, pari atque eadem in  
 e ponam. Sed non licet. Agitat rem militarem : inse-  
 r totam hanc legationem: assiduitatis et operarum harum  
 tidianarum putat <sup>9</sup> esso consulatum. "Apud exercitum  
 ihi fueris," inquit, "tot annos ? <sup>11</sup> forum non attigeris ?  
 ieris tamdiu ? et, cum longo intervallo veneris, cum iis,  
 in foro habitarunt, de dignitate contendas ?" Primum  
 nostra assiduitas, Servi, nescis, quantum interdum afferat  
 inibus fastidii, quantum satietatis. Mihi quidem vche-  
 ter expediit, <sup>12</sup> positam in oculis esse gratiam. Sed tamen  
<sup>13</sup> mei satietatem magno meo labore superavi, et tu idem  
 esse : verumtamen utrius nostrum <sup>14</sup> desiderium nihil  
 visset. (22.) Sed, ut, hoc omisso, <sup>15</sup> ad studiorum atque  
 um contentionem revertamur : <sup>16</sup> qui potest dubitari,

, fictions," i. e. of exaggerating the services of Murena.—*Publicis*  
 is. "By the despatches of that commander."

*Summa in utroque*, i. e. there is then, in each, the highest reputa-  
 the greatest personal merit; which, if Servius shall allow me so  
 o, I will consider entitled to equal and similar praise. But no  
 thing is allowed me. He makes a brisk attack on the military  
 he inveighs against, &c.

*Esse.* "Belongs as a matter of course."

*Mihi.* The pronoun is here the *datus ethicus*. It may be con-  
 red as somewhat analogous perhaps to our ordinary expression,  
 ur ye, my friend."

*Forum non attigeris?* "Did you all that while not set foot in the  
 m?"—*Cum iis, qui in foro*, &c. "Are you going to contend in  
 t of personal merit, with those who have made their very dwell-  
 in the forum ?

*Positam in oculis esse gratiam.* "That the favour, which my con-  
 t had won, was constantly before the eyes of my countrymen." I,  
 therefore, they endured the more patiently my appearing so  
 u before them."

*Mei satietatem.* "The satiety arising from my daily appearance."  
 , of course, is what commentators call *oratorie dictum*, and by no  
 m a copy of Cicero's secret thoughts.—*Magno meo labore.* "By  
 st exertions on my part."

*Desiderium.* "Occasional absence." Literally, "the want of us,"  
 times.

*Ad studiorum atque artium contentionem.* "To the comparison  
 een your respective habits and professions." *Studia* is here equi-  
 ant to *mores*. Compare CORN. NEP. *Vit. Alcib.* 11, 3 : "Postquam  
 k expulsus Thebas reverit, adeo studiis corum inscrivisse," &c., and  
 CHER, *Ind. in Nep.* s. v.

*Qui.* "How." Old ablative form for *quo*. More correctly speak-

hostium copiæ; tu, ut aquæ pluviae arceantur  
tatur<sup>3</sup> in propagandis finibus; tu<sup>4</sup> in regendis

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ing, *qui* is the regular ablative from *quis*, like *miti fr̄* from *talix*. Consult the remarks of PERIZONIUS, *ad Sæ.*

<sup>1</sup> *Multo plus dignitatis.* "A much stronger claim here a claim founded upon personal worth or merit. *nocte*, &c. An amusing comparison now follows betw and the soldier, purposely to the disadvantage of the f lawyer is here again meant the jurisconsult, in the str term.

<sup>2</sup> *Gallorum.* The Roman professional men rose at m be ready for their clients and dependants, who were attendance. (Compare HORAT. *Sat.* 1, 1, 9.) So the magistrates were held at an early period of the mon. *B. C.* c. 28.

<sup>3</sup> *Buccinarum.* The trumpet called *buccina* was us the watchea. Hence the propriety of the term, on the p to denote early rising at the commencement of the mo three o'clock. The night was divided into four watches each. The first watch commenced at six o'clock in the m ing to our enumeration of time.

<sup>4</sup> *Tu actionem instituis.* "You arrange the form of case." Cf. ERNESTI, *Clav. Cic.* s. v. "Actio est formula, in intendenda reo lice, quæ a jureconsultis fere petebatur gous to what we call, at the present day, the "pleadin that is, the carrying a case on, in accordance with te forms, until it is ready for trial.

dicendum est enim, quod sentio,) <sup>10</sup> rei militaris virtus  
ræstat ceteris omnibus.

X. Hæc nomen populo Romano, hæc huic urbi æternam  
loriam peperit: hæc orbem terrarum parere huic imperio  
oëgit: omnes urbanæ res, omnia hæc nostra præclara studia,  
et hæc forensis laus et industria latent in tutela ac præ-  
idio bellicæ virtutis. <sup>12</sup> Simul atque increpuit suspicio  
multus, <sup>13</sup> artes illico nostræ conticescunt.

(23.) <sup>14</sup> Et, quoniam mihi videris istam scientiam juris,

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by, when one, by erections or works of any kind, altered the course of such water, or made it flow more rapidly, or caused it to rise by compressing it within narrower limits, from all which things danger was apprehended by those dwelling in the neighbourhood, and the person who did this could be stopped in his movements. The action also lay when actual damage had been done: as, for example, when one constructed an embankment to keep out the waters of a neighbouring fen from his grounds, and the waters of this fen, being afterward swelled by rain, and unable to follow their old direction by reason of the embankment, spread in an opposite course and injured the fields of a neighbour. (NERATIUS, as cited by *Ulpian ad loc.* Compare CIC. *De a. 9.*)

<sup>1</sup> Exercitatur. The common text has *exercitatus est*, but *exercitatur*, which suits the context much better, is given by Quintilian (9, 3, 32), who cites the present passage from *Ille tenet to regendis*; and it is also found in several MSS. and early editions.

<sup>2</sup> In propagandis finibus. "In enlarging the boundaries of our empire." Literally, "in carrying forward."

<sup>3</sup> In regendis. "In regulating those of some field," i. e. in an action brought about the boundary line of some piece of ground. The contrast here, between the operations of Murena and Sulpicius, is extremely amusing, and must have been most mortifying to the notions of self-importance entertained by the latter.

<sup>10</sup> Rei militaris virtus, &c. "The excellence of the military art surpasses that of every other."

<sup>11</sup> Et hæc forensis laus, &c. "And this our reputation and assiduity, at the bar, lie sheltered beneath the protection and security which martial prowess affords."

<sup>12</sup> Simul atque increpuit, &c. "As soon as the least suspicion of any public commotion has arisen." Literally, "has sounded forth." *Tumultus* appears to be taken here in a somewhat more general meaning than its ordinary one. The signification which this term usually has is explained in a previous part of this volume. Compare note 9, page 75.

<sup>13</sup> Artæ nostræ. Eloquence and legal science.

<sup>14</sup> Et, quoniam, &c. "And, since you seem to me to fondle that science of the law, as if it were a little daughter of yours." Thus *EUMENI* (*Clav. Cic. s. v.*): "Osculari, nimis magni facere, amare."

tamquam filiolam osculari tuam, non patiar te in tanto errore versari, ut <sup>1</sup> istud nescio quid, quod tanto opere didicisti, præclarum aliquid esse arbitrere. Aliis ego te virtutibus, <sup>2</sup> continentia, gravitate, justitia, fide, ceteris omnibus, consulatu et omni honore semper dignissimum judicavi. <sup>3</sup> Quod quidem jus civile didicisti, non dicam, operam perdidisti: sed illud dicam, nullam esse <sup>4</sup> in illa disciplina <sup>5</sup> munitam ad consulatum viam. Omnes enim artes, quæ nobis populi Romani studia conciliant, <sup>6</sup> et admirabilem dignitatem, et pergratam utilitatem debent habere.

XI. (24.) **SUMMA** dignitas est in iis, qui militari laude antecellunt; omnia enim, <sup>7</sup> quæ sunt in imperio, et in statu civitatis, ab iis defendi et firmari putantur: summa etiam utilitas; siquidem eorum <sup>8</sup> consilio et periculo, cum re publica, tum etiam nostris rebus perfriui possumus. Gravis

<sup>1</sup> *Istud nescio quid.* "That, I know not what," i. e. that something or other, that really very unimportant matter. Compare note 3, page 188. The reference is to dry, technical law knowledge.

<sup>2</sup> *Continentia, gravitate, justitia, fide.* The common text has these all as genitives, *continentiae, gravitatis, justitiae, fidei*. We have made the alteration, with Schütz, after the suggestion of Lambinus. In the common reading, *ceteris omnibus* comes in very awkwardly, to say nothing of the inelegant form of expression in *virtutibus continentiae, &c.*

<sup>3</sup> *Quod quidem jus civile didicisti, &c.* "As to your having learned, indeed, the civil law, I will not say you have lost your labour in so doing."

<sup>4</sup> *In illa disciplina.* "In that branch of knowledge." *Disciplina* is here equivalent to *doctrina*. Compare the language of Cicero, in speaking of Archimedes (*In Verr.* 4, 58): *Archimedem illum, summo ingenio hominem et disciplina*, i. e. a man of the greatest talent and knowledge.

<sup>5</sup> *Munitam.* "Sure." By *munita via* is meant a path guarded from all inroad or interruption from without, and free from all obstacles and impediments within, i. e. a way that leads with certainty to some object.

<sup>6</sup> *Et admirabilem, &c.* "Both a dignity calculated to excite the admiration of others, and a utility that will call forth their warmest gratitude."

<sup>7</sup> *Quæ sunt in imperio, et in statu civitatis.* "That are connected with our empire abroad, and with the condition of our government at home," i. e. both our foreign conquests and our civil institutions.

<sup>8</sup> *Consilio et periculo.* "By their wise counsels and the dangers which they encounter," i. e. by their wisdom and valour. *Consilio* embraces both advice given at home, and the skilful management of operations abroad.

<sup>9</sup> *Quæ.* Ernesti says that the words *posse consilio, &c.*, do not har-

iam illa est, et plena dignitatis, dicendi facultas (<sup>9</sup> quæ spe valuit in consule diligendo), posse consilio atque oratione, et senatus, et populi, et eorum, qui res judicant, ientes permovere. Quæritur consul, qui dicendo nonnunquam comprimat <sup>10</sup> tribunicios furores, qui concitatum populum flectat, <sup>11</sup> qui largitioni resistat. Non mirum, si ob hanc cunctatem homines sæpe etiam non nobiles consulatum contenti sunt: præsertim cum hæc eadem res <sup>12</sup> plurimas gratias, firmissimas amicitias, maxima studia paret. Quorum in isto vestro artificio, Sulpici, nihil est. (25.) Primum, ignitas <sup>13</sup> in tam tenui scientia quæ potest esse? <sup>14</sup> Res enim sunt parvæ, prope in singulis literis atque interpunctionibus verborum occupatae. Deinde, etiam si quid apud tyores nostros fuit in isto studio admirationis, id, <sup>15</sup> enuntiatis vestris mysteriis, totum est contemptum et abjectum.

mise well, in point of construction, with what precedes, and he therefore thinks that *quæ* ought to be struck out. The whole difficulty, however, is easily obviated by considering the clause from *qua diligendo* as parenthetical, and we have accordingly inserted the marks of parenthesis.—*Posse permovere*, &c. “To be able, namely, to move with powerful effect,” &c.

<sup>10</sup> *Tribunicios furores*. “The madness of the tribunes.” The tribunes of the commons, as the leaders of the democratic party, were most constantly at variance with the patricians, and, in the heat of the collisions, often proceeded to the most extravagant lengths. It is for the consuls, as the organs of the government at large, and the representatives in feeling, most commonly, of the aristocratic party, to curb these wild excesses.

<sup>11</sup> *Qui largitioni resistat*. “To check the current of corruption.”—*omines non nobiles*. The same as *homines nori*.

<sup>12</sup> *Plurimas gratias*, &c. “The most extensive influence, the firmest friendships, the warmest feelings in our behalf.” *Gratias* here refers to those who are under obligations for favours received, and *studia* to well-wishers generally.

<sup>13</sup> *In isto vestro artificio*. “In that poor art of yours.” *Isto* here conveys a disparaging idea. *Vestro* refers to the whole body of jurisconsults to which Sulpicius belonged.

<sup>14</sup> *In tam tenui scientia*. “In so frivolous a science.” Literally, “so weak,” or “feeble.”

<sup>15</sup> *Res enim sunt parvæ*, &c., i. e. for the subjects connected with it are insignificant in their nature, being almost wholly confined to single letters and the punctuation between words, i. e. the punctuation of sentences.—*Occupatae*, literally, “taken up with.” Cicero refers in this passage to the technical minutiae of the legal forms of the day. The social pleading, and the technicalities of our own times, are almost precisely analogous.

<sup>16</sup> *Enuntiatis vestris mysteriis*. “Now that your mysteries are

divulged." This is explained immediately after: *posset agi Totum est contemptum et abjectum.* "Is become altogether and disgraced," i. e. has fallen into utter contempt and disgr

<sup>1</sup> *Posset agi lege, necne.* "Whether a proceeding by law carried on or not," &c. *Agere lege* is "to go to law," i. e. accordance with the law permitting an action or suit to be. Thus ERNESTI (*Clav. Cic. a. v.*): "*Lege agere, i. e. ex lege, ex lege accusare vel petere.*" The student will bear in mind meaning in this passage is, not that few persons formerly knew they had a good cause of action or not, but on what day to bring their suit, certain days being set apart, on which proceedings could take place, and these days being known to lawyers, who kept them purposely concealed, in order to clients entirely dependent upon them.

<sup>2</sup> *Fastos enim vulgo non habebant.* "For they had no calendar." Literally, "no calendar common to all," i. e. which might consult. The *Fasti*, or calendar, contained the day month, with a particular mark designating those on which lawful (*fas*) for the prætor to hold court. Hence these called *dies fasti*, and hence also the name *fasti* given to the itself, since from this circumstance it originally derived all. The appellation always continued to be given to it, although tually became a record rather of sacred than of legal da Pontifex Maximus and his colleague had the care of the cale an acquaintance with its contents was for a long time confi priests and patricians, the former being all of that order. lawyers, being also patricians, were of course well versed in subject.

<sup>3</sup> *Tumquam a Chaldaia.* The lawyers, who were consulted respecting the proper days for commencing lawsuits, are

int veriti, ne dierum ratione pervulgata et cognita, sine sua  
pera lege posset agi, <sup>8</sup> notas quasdam composuerunt, ut  
mnibus in rebus ipsi interessent.

XII. (8.) <sup>9</sup>Cum hoc fieri bellissime posset: "Fundus  
abinus meus est:" "immo ineus:" deinde judicium: nolu-  
runt. "Fundus," inquit, "qui est in agro, qui Sabinus  
ocatur." Satis verbose. Cedo, quid postea? "Eum ego

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is eyes of these crows." The student will note the force of the sub-  
active in *confixerit*. We have here a proverbial form of expression,  
plied, it is said, to those who deceived very cunning persons. The  
ow being remarkable for keenness of sight, to put out a crow's eyes  
is a figurative mode of designating a superior degree of keenness and  
st. Camerarius, and others, however, give a different explanation of  
is proverb. According to them, birds of the species here denoted, in  
hting with other animals, strike at their eyes; and ought therefore  
be doubly careful in guarding their own. This seems rather forced.  
<sup>10</sup> Et singulis diebus, &c. "And to have published, for the informa-  
n of the people, a calendar, in which each day was marked, and  
ich they were carefully to learn." Literally, "a calendar for each  
y, to be carefully learned." This calendar contained all the days of  
year, and distinguished between those on which an action could be  
ught (*dies fasti*), and those when no legal proceedings could take  
ce (dies nefasti).—In the construction of this sentence, *singulis diebus*  
to go with *fastos*.

<sup>11</sup> Itaque irati illi. "Thereupon, the poor lawyers, in great wrath."  
*Dierum ratione*, &c. "Now that the arrangement of the days was  
lished and known to all."

<sup>12</sup> Notas quasdam composuerunt, &c. "Invented certain forms in legal  
oceedings, in order that their intervention might be necessary in all  
ea." These forms, called *notæ* because purposely abbreviated, in  
ter that none but the lawyers might understand them, met even-  
lly with no better fate than the system of days. They were published  
Sextus Ælius Catus, and his book was named *Jus Ælianum*. Cicero  
otes and ridicules some of these forms, in the succeeding chapter.

<sup>13</sup> Cum hoc fieri, &c. In proceeding to ridicule the legal forms of the  
y, Cicero here imagines a controversy between two parties respecting  
title to a farm in the Sabine territory. First he suggests a simple  
m of proceeding, the plaintiff claiming, and the defendant denying  
claim, and the judge then giving his decision. But this way of  
ing business does not please the lawyers. They must have their  
ms and technicalities, and Cicero then proceeds to show, in a very  
using way, what these forms of proceeding are. Render as follows:  
Although the following mode might have answered perfectly well:  
he Sabine farm is mine: 'No, 'tis mine:' and then the decision of  
judge: the lawyers shook their heads at this. 'The farm,' says the  
yer, 'which is in the country that is called the Sabine.' Verbosely  
ough. Well, pray, what next?" &c.—The lawyer and Cicero are  
re holding an imaginary dialogue, and the former is giving the legal

ex jure Quiritium meum esse aio." Quid tum? <sup>1</sup> Inde ibi ego te ex jure <sup>2</sup> manu consertum voco." Quid huic tam loquaciter litigioso responderet <sup>3</sup> ille, unde petebatur, non habebat. <sup>4</sup> Transit idem jureconsultus, tibicinis Latini modo: <sup>5</sup> "Unde tu me," inquit, "ex jure manu consertum vocasti,

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mode of conducting a suit, interspersed with occasional remarks from the latter.

<sup>1</sup> *Inde ibi*, &c. "I summon you out of court, from that place there, to contend with me on the spot itself." *Inde ibi* is a legal pleonasm, retained from the old forms of the language, and refers to the place where the opposite party is supposed to be standing in court. Ernesti very unnecessarily rejects *ibi* with Gruter, and is followed in this by many subsequent editors.—The phrase *ex jure* is based on an old law-custom. In the earlier Roman law, if a question arose about a farm, a house, or the like, the *praetor* went with the parties to the place, and gave possession to which of them he thought just. But, from the increase of business, this soon became impracticable, and then the parties called one another from court (*ex jure*) to the spot in controversy, a farm for instance, and brought from thence a turf, or clod, and contested about it as about the whole farm. It was delivered to the person to whom the *praetor* adjudged possession. But this custom also was dropped, and the lawyers devised a new form of proceeding, which is the one that Cicero here ridicules. The words *inde ibi*, &c. as far as *voco*, are supposed to be uttered by the plaintiff, and they are the same with those that were used when the parties actually went to the contested spot. The language remains after the actual form has ceased.

<sup>2</sup> *Manu consertum*. In this old form the supine is employed. The expression is a figurative one, and is thought by some to have originated at a time when the Romans determined their disputes with the point of their swords. Others suppose, that the two parties broke a rod before the *praetor*, in a kind of mock fight, in order that one of them might say he had been ousted, or deprived of possession, and might claim to be restored. (Compare AUL. GELL. 20, 10, and HEINECCIUS, *Antiq. Rom.* p. 682, ed. Haubold.)

<sup>3</sup> *Ille, unde petebatur*. "He, of whom the claim was made," i. e. the defendant. The plaintiff was called *petitor*.

<sup>4</sup> *Transit idem jureconsultus*, &c. "The same lawyer now crosses over, after the manner of a Latin flute-player." The flute-players among the Romans were usually natives of Latium. Compare LIVY, 9, 30. Cicero alludes here to the custom that prevailed on the Roman stage. The flute-player appears to have turned from one actor to another, aiding each in turn with a cadence adapted to his voice, and the part he was performing at the time. In the same way the lawyer, after arranging the form of words which one party is to utter, passes over, and does the same kind office for the other.

<sup>5</sup> *Unde tu me*, &c. "From that place there," says he, "from which you summoned me out of court to contend, I, in my turn, summon you." *Unde* does not here denote an actual change of place in the two

*inde ibi ego te revoco.*" Prætor interea ne<sup>6</sup> pulchrum se ac beatum putaret,<sup>7</sup> atque aliquid ipse sua sponte loqueretur, si quoque<sup>8</sup> carmen compositum est, cum ceteris rebus absurdum, tum vero in illo: <sup>9</sup>"Suis utrisque<sup>10</sup> superstibus intam viam dico: inite viam." "Præsto aderat sapiens ille, qui inire viam doceret. "Redite viam." Eodem duce redi-

parties, but only a change, as it were, in their legal position towards each other, the summoned person becoming now the summoner. The idea intended to be conveyed is best expressed by a paraphrase, "as you summoned me, so now I, in my turn, summon you."

<sup>6</sup> *Pulchrum se ac beatum putaret.* "Should think himself a clever and an able personage." *Putare se pulchrum ac beatum* is an idiomatic expression, and analogous to our English phraseology, "to have a high notion of one's self," "to entertain a happy opinion of one's own abilities," &c.

<sup>7</sup> *Atque aliquid, &c.* The meaning intended to be conveyed is this, that the prætor should think himself so clever and able a personage, as to make a speech in his own words.

<sup>8</sup> *Carmen.* "A set form of words." Any set form of words, in prose or verse, was called *carmen*.—*Cum ceteris rebus, &c.* "Both absurd in other respects, and particularly so in what follows." In some MSS. and early editions the words *nullo usu* occur in place of *illo*, which Gruelius has adopted. But then there is nothing to answer to *cum ceteris rebus*.

<sup>9</sup> *Suis utrisque superstibus, &c.* "Their witnesses being present for each, I order the respective parties to proceed that way. "Go," i. e. in the presence of your witnesses here, I order you to go to the spot in controversy. In note 1, p. 414, we traced down the legal mode of proceeding to the bringing of a turf from the contested spot, and then stated that this custom was also dropped in course of time. The new mode is now referred to. The prætor tells the parties to go to the spot, and they make an appearance of going, headed by the lawyer to point out the way. Then, after a short interval, the prætor says, "Return," and they come back as it were, and are supposed to bear a turf. If it appeared that one of the parties had been dispossessed by the other through force, the prætor decreed according to one form; if not, according to another. The possessor being thus ascertained, then the action about the right of property commenced. The person ousted first asked the defendant if he was the lawful possessor (*Quando te in jure conspicio postulo an sis auctor*, i. e. possessor). Then he claimed his right, and in the meantime required that the possessor should give security not to do any damage on the farm, &c.

<sup>10</sup> *Superstitibus.* The common text has *præsentibus* added after this word, but this is a manifest pleonasm, as *superstites* itself means a present witness. Compare Festus: "Superstites testes præsentes significat," &c. Servius, ad *Aen.* 3, 339, refers to this same passage, and explains *superstitibus* by *præsentibus*.

<sup>11</sup> *Præsto aderat, &c.* "The sage juriconsult was close at hand." Consult note 9.—*Redite viam.* Consult note 9.

bant. <sup>1</sup> Hæc jam tum apud illos barbatos ridicula, credo, videbantur: <sup>2</sup> homines, cum recte atque in loco constitissent, juberi abire: ut, unde abissent, eodem statim redirent. Iisdem ineptiis fucata sunt <sup>3</sup> illa omnia, "Quando te in jure conspicio:" et hæc: "<sup>4</sup> Anne tu dicis causa vindicaveris?" quæ dum erant occulta, necessario ab eis, qui ea tenebant, petebantur; postea vero pervulgata, atque <sup>5</sup> in manibus jactata et excussa, <sup>6</sup> inanissima prudentiæ reperta sunt, fraudis autem et stultitiæ plenissima. (27.) <sup>7</sup> Nam cum

<sup>1</sup> *Hæc jam tum, &c.* "These forms appeared even at that day, I believe, ridiculous in their nature, among those bearded personages themselves," i. e. the very lawyers, who invented them, laughed I believe in secret at them.—*Barbatos*. A long beard was regarded by the vulgar as a type of wisdom. Hence the expressions, "*barbati philosophi*," "*barbati magistri*," &c. In the early days, however, to which Cicero alludes, the wearing of beards was an ordinary custom, and hence *barbatus* in the text carries with it the blended idea of antiquity and pretension to superior wisdom.

<sup>2</sup> *Homines, cum recte, &c.* "For persons, when they had placed themselves properly enough, and in a particular spot, to be ordered to go away," &c.

<sup>3</sup> *Illa omnia, &c.* "All those other forms."—*In jure*. "In court" Consult note 9, page 415.

<sup>4</sup> *Anne tu dicis causa vindicaveris?* "Have you made this claim for mere appearance' sake?" i. e. have you made it for mere appearance' sake, or have you a good right? The plaintiff is thus interrogated by the defendant, who is desirous of ascertaining what grounds of action he may have, that he may be able to meet the claim. Such at least is the explanation of Ursinus. But the true meaning of this detached law-form is allowed by commentators to be very difficult to ascertain, although the solution given by Ursinus appears the most plausible.—*Dicis causa* is an old form of expression, equivalent here to *in specie*. Thus ERNESTI, *Clav. Cic.* s. v. [The phrase also occurs in VERR. iv. 24, "*attamen, ut possit se emisse dicere Arcathago imperat, ut aliquid illis nummulorum, dicis causa, daret.*"]

<sup>5</sup> *In manibus jactata et excussa.* "Well handled and examined." *Excusio* gets the meaning of "to examine" from its primitive import "to shake out the contents of any thing," and ascertain in this way what it contains.

<sup>6</sup> *Inanissima prudentia.* "Totally devoid of sense," i. e. of any rational meaning.

<sup>7</sup> *Nam cum, &c.* "For although very many admirable principles have been laid down by our laws."—*Ingeniis*. "By the ingenuity."

<sup>8</sup> *Infirmitatem consilii.* "A natural weakness of judgment."—*In tutorum potestate.* "Under the control of guardians."

<sup>9</sup> *Quæ potestate mulierum, &c.* These appear to have been the guardians whom the women chose *ex testamento viri*. Alciatus thinks, that they had slaves of theirs made public ones, and then appointed them

multa præclare legibus essent constituta, ea jurecon-  
itorum ingenii pleraque corrupta ac depravata sunt.  
ulieres omnes, propter <sup>8</sup> infirmitatem consilii, majores in  
torum potestate esse voluerunt: hi invenerunt genera-  
torum, <sup>9</sup> quæ potestate mulierum continerentur. <sup>10</sup> Sacra-  
tire illi noluerunt: horum ingenio senes <sup>11</sup> ad coëmptiones  
ciendas, interimendorum sacrorum causa, reperti sunt.  
In omni denique jure civili æquitatem reliquerunt, verba  
tenuerunt: ut, quia <sup>12</sup> in alicujus libris, exempli causa, <sup>13</sup> id

guardians. These, although not exactly slaves any longer, in the sense of the term, as regarded a private owner, were yet, on the other hand, not actually free, because the public was their master. Such persons were still, from their previous relation to the former owners, more or less under their influence and control, even after the ownership had been transferred. (ALCIAT. *Perieg.* 9, 19.)

<sup>1</sup> *Sacra.* "The sacred rites connected with families." Among the names, each *gens* had certain sacred rites peculiar to itself, which the master, or head of each *familia* composing the *gens*, was bound to perform. These rites went with the inheritance. Compare CIC. *pro Dom.*: "Quid? sacra Clodiae gentis cur intereunt, quod in te est?" So also, *Leg.* 2, 9: "Sacra privata perpetuo manento," to which Cicero gives the following interpretation (c. 19): "De sacris hæc sit una sententia ut serventur semper, et deinceps familiis prodantur, et, ut, in lege posuit, petua sint sacra." What was called "*detestatio sacrorum*" took place, when it was announced to an heir or legatee, that he must adopt the sacred rites that followed the inheritance.

<sup>2</sup> *Ad coëmptiones faciendas.* "To make purchases of estates encumbered by these rites." Literally, "for the purpose of making purchases." In order to remove the incumbrance of family rites, a fictitious sale of the property was made to some old and childless person, and then the same property was purchased back from him. In this way the law was completely evaded, there being no heir or devisee who was to maintain the family rites in the present case. This custom is very neatly alluded to by Curius, one of Cicero's friends, in a letter to the orator: (*Ep. ad Att.* 7, 29.) "Sum χρήσει μὲν tuus, κτήσει δὲ Attici nostri: ergo tuus est tuus, mancipium illius; quod quidem si inter senes coëmptales venale proscripserit, egerit non multum."

<sup>3</sup> *In omni denique, &c.* "In fine, throughout the whole compass of civil law, they have abandoned the spirit, have retained the mere letter." Literally, "the mere words themselves."

<sup>4</sup> *In alicujus libris.* "In the writings of some lawyer."

<sup>5</sup> *Id nomen. Caia.* According to Cicero's humorous explanation, they found the name *Caia* applied, in the works of some lawyer or other, to a female who had contracted matrimony by the rite called *Implio*. Now this happened to be her true name. But they thought there was a great mystery concealed under the appellation, and hence, in all legal proceedings connected with the rite termed *Implio*, every female about to contract matrimony in that way was

nomen invenerant, putarunt, omnes mulieres, <sup>1</sup> quæ coëmptionem facerent, Caias vocari. <sup>2</sup> Jam illud mihi quidem mirum videri solet, tot homines, tam ingeniosos, per tot annos etiam nunc statuere non potuisse, <sup>3</sup> utrum diem tertium, an <sup>4</sup> perendinum : judicem, an arbitrum : rem, an litem dici oporteret.

XIII. (28.) ITAQUE (ut dixi) <sup>5</sup> dignitas in ista scientia consularis nunquam fuit; quæ tota <sup>6</sup> ex rebus fictis commenticiisque constaret: gratiæ vero multo etiam minores. Quod enim omnibus patet, et æquæ promptum est mihi et

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called by them *Caia*. It will readily be perceived, that the ridicule here is a good deal overstrained. *Caius*, as applied to the male, and *Caia* to the female, were mere terms of convenience in the old Roman law-forms.

<sup>1</sup> *Quæ coëmptionem facerent.* "Who contracted matrimony by the rite termed *coëmptio*." There were three modes of contracting marriage among the Romans, termed respectively, *confarreatio*, *unio*, and *coëmptio*. By the last of these was meant a kind of mutual purchase, when a man and woman were married by delivering to one another a small piece of money, and repeating certain words. What these words were is not clearly ascertained. Boëthius (*ad Cic. Top. 3*) gives rather the meaning than the actual form of expression. It is more than probable, from the language of Cicero in the text, that one of the forms was that which is generally, though perhaps erroneously, thought to have been common to both *confarreatio* and *coëmptio*. "Ubi tu *Caius*, ibi ego *Caia*," i. e. "Where you are master, I am mistress."

<sup>2</sup> *Jam illud.* "The following too." Compare as to the peculiar force of *jam*, in this clause, note 7, page 253.

<sup>3</sup> *Utrum diem tertium, &c.* "Whether the expression 'third day,' or 'day after to-morrow;' 'judge' or 'arbiter,' 'action,' or 'suit,' ought to be employed." This is another unfair hit at the lawyers. In the cautious and guarded language of the ancient pleadings, as in those of modern times, two terms were frequently used to designate the same thing. Thus they would say, "*Diem tertium sive perendinum*:"—"judicem arbitrumve:"—"rem sive litem." These forms were commonly given by the ancient jurisconsults in an abbreviated style. Thus, J. D. T. S. P. which is the same as *In diem tertium sive perendinum*. T. I. A. V. P. V. D. equivalent to *Tempore judicem arbitrumve peto des*. And again Q. R. S. L. D. O. for *Quam rem sive litem dicere oportet* (Consult BRISSONIUS. *de Formulis*, &c.).

<sup>4</sup> *Perendinum.* From *perendic*, "Quasi *peremta die*," says Charisius, that is, the day after a whole intervening day has passed. *Perendinus* is equivalent to *tertius dies*, since the Romans, in counting, always included the day from, and the day to which they counted.

<sup>5</sup> *Dignitas consularis.* "Any title to the consulship," i. e. it never has carried with it that degree of merit, which could claim the consulship as its peculiar right.

arsario meo, id esse <sup>7</sup> gratum nullo pacto potest. Itaque modo beneficii collocandi spem, <sup>8</sup> sed etiam illud, quod iandiu fuit, "Licet consulere," jam perdidistis. Sapiens timari nemo potest <sup>9</sup> in ea prudentia, quæ neque extra iam usquam, neque Romæ, rebus prolatis, quidquam t. Peritus ideo haberi nemo potest, quod in eo, quod ut omnes, nullo modo possunt inter se discrepare. Difficiliter autem res ideo non putatur, quod <sup>10</sup> et perpaucis et me obscuris literis continetur. Itaque, si mihi, <sup>11</sup> homini reme menter occupato, stomachum moveritis, triduo me jure-

*Ex rebus fictis commenticiisque.* "Of fictions and subtle devices." *atice vero multo etiam minores.* "And far fewer claims still to the favour of others," i. e. far less of what might lay others under obligation to you, and in this way secure their favour and interest.

*iratum.* "Calculated to gain influence," i. e. so peculiarly acceptable to either party, as to lead him to regard it in the light of a special favour done him, and to induce him to cherish friendly feelings towards you.

*Sed etiam illud, &c.* "But even that form of address, which was some time customary, 'May I consult you.' " This form of words, *consulere?* used to be uttered by the client, when he came to consult the lawyer; and the formal reply of the latter was "*Consule.*" So alludes in the text to this fashion being now out of date, meaning to imply, in a playful way, that the lawyers were not regarded by clients with as much veneration and respect as formerly, and that there was now more of familiarity in addressing them.

*In ea prudentia.* "In that branch of knowledge." In that species of wisdom.—*Rebus prolatis.* "During a vacation of the courts," i. e. when the courts of law are closed, and the aid of the lawyer is not at all needed. *Rebus prolatis* literally means "when matters are off," i. e. to the next opening of the courts. Compare as regards the general meaning, PLAUTUS (*Captiv.* 1, 1, 10): "Ubi res prolatae sunt, res homines eunt."

*Et perpaucis, &c.* "Within the compass of both a very few and a few obscure words." The allusion is to the written law, *scriptum.* Compare MANUTIUS: "*Loquitur de jure scripto: cum et breve sit, et minime obscurum, cognosci ab omnibus facile.*"

*Homini reme menter occupato.* "Although a man completely engrossed by other affairs."—*Stomachum morcritis.* There is some humor in this, Cicero will only meddle with the civil law in case he is called to the step, since otherwise he would not take the trouble of giving a single thought upon it. We must not, however, suppose these were his real sentiments. From his own account, the civil law at one time, occupied a large share of his attention. Compare Brut. 89: "Ego autem juris civilis studio multum operæ dabam Q. & P. F., qui quamquam nemini se ad docendum dabat, tamen, lentibus respondendo, studiosos audiendi docebat."

consultum esse profitebor. <sup>1</sup>Etenim quæ de scripto a<sup>q</sup>  
scripta sunt omnia: neque tamen quidquam <sup>2</sup>tam a  
scriptum est, quo ego non possim, "Qua de re agitur," &  
<sup>3</sup>quæ consuluntur autem, minimo periculo respondent  
id, quod oportet, responderis; idem videare respondiss  
Servius: sin aliter; <sup>4</sup>etiam controversum jus nosse e  
tare videare. (29.) Quapropter non solum illa gloria m  
vestris formulis atque actionibus anteponenda est,  
etiam dicendi consuetudo longe et multum <sup>5</sup>isti  
exercitationi ad honorem antecellit. Itaque mihi vi  
plerique <sup>6</sup>initio multo hoc maluisse: post, cum id  
non potuissent, <sup>7</sup>istuc potissimum sunt delapsi. Ut  
<sup>8</sup>in Græcis artificibus, eos <sup>9</sup>aulœdos esse, qui citharœ

<sup>1</sup> *Etenim quæ de scripto aguntur, &c.* "For all that re  
matters of writing has been reduced by this time to written  
i. e. all the writing business of the profession is contained in  
forms already reduced to writing.

<sup>2</sup> *Tam anguste.* "In terms so concise." Referring to the a  
tions so much indulged in by the Roman lawyers, and some sp  
of which have been given under note 3, page 418.—*Quo ego non*  
&c. "That I cannot tell about what it treats."—*Qua de re agi*  
law-phrase, denoting, when applied to a written form, the nat  
object of that form; and when referring to a suit or controve  
point on which that controversy turns. Compare CIC. *Brut.* 79.

<sup>3</sup> *Quæ consuluntur autem, &c.* "While, on the other ha  
matters about which advice is asked, are replied to at very littl  
The explanation which Cicero immediately subjoins is ex  
amusing. If you answer as you ought, you will pass for a  
Servius; if otherwise, men will give you credit for a profo  
quaintance with the controverted points of the law, which le  
thus to differ in opinion from others.

<sup>4</sup> *Etiam controversum jus, &c.* "You will even appear to  
versed in the knowledge and handling of the controverted p  
the law." Literally, "the controversial law." Compare MA  
"Controversum jus, quod interpretationis est dubiæ, et de quo d  
licet in utramque partem."

<sup>5</sup> *Isti vestræ exercitationi.* "That profession of yours,"  
refers to the whole body of jurisconsults.—*Ad honorem.* "“  
vancement in the state." For the enjoyment of public honour

<sup>6</sup> *Initio.* "In the beginning of their career."—*Hoc.* Eloque

<sup>7</sup> *Istuc potissimum sunt delapsi.* "Have slid down generally  
ing into that vocation of yours." Literally, "into that place wh  
are."

<sup>8</sup> *In Græcis artificibus.* "In the case of the Greek mus  
Artifex is a general term for one who exercises an art or empl  
of any kind. Hence *artifices scenici*, "players," *artifex rhetori*  
*rhetorician.*;" and so, as regards its usage in the present case,

on potuerint; sic nonnullos videmus, qui oratores evadere  
on potuerunt, eos ad juris studium <sup>10</sup> devenire. <sup>11</sup> Magnus  
icendi labor, magna res, magna dignitas, summa autem  
tutia. Etenim a vobis <sup>12</sup> salubritas quædam: ab iis, qui  
iunt, salus ipsa petitur. Deinde vestra responsa atque  
creta et evertuntur sæpe dicendo, et sine defensione ora-  
ris firma esse non possunt: <sup>13</sup> in qua si satis profecissem,  
nihil de ejus laude dicerem: nunc nihil de me dico, sed  
iis, qui in dicendo magni sunt aut fuerunt.

XIV. (30.) **DUX** sunt <sup>14</sup> artes, quæ possunt locare homines  
amplissimo gradu dignitatis: una imperatoris, altera  
toris boni: ab hoc enim pacis ornamenta retinentur: ab

, following in *Quintus Curtius*, 5, 1: “*Non ratus modo, sed etiam  
tices cum fidibus sui generis ibant.*”

<sup>1</sup> *Aulardos*. Some few editions have *auletas*. The form *citharædos*  
given by Quintilian (8, 3) and most early editions — *Citharædi*.  
“Performers on the harp.” The *citharætae* merely played upon the  
rp; the *citharædi* accompanied the playing with their voice. The  
reek etymology is in accordance with this: κιθαρῳδος from κιθάρα  
d ᾁδω.

<sup>2</sup> *Devenire*. This verb appears to imply here, that they come to the  
ady of the law, because they cannot do any better. Compare the  
ngage of Ernesti, in explaining the force of *devenio* (*Ad Or. in  
rr. 5, 48*): “*Devenire recte dicitur de iis, qui aliquo veniunt perfugii  
ua, supplicandi causa,*” &c.

<sup>3</sup> *Magnus dicendi labor, &c.* “Great is the toil that qualifies for  
ublic speaking, great the art itself, great its dignity, and most great,  
o, the influence connected with it.”

<sup>4</sup> *Salubritas quædam*. The meaning of Cicero is, that what the  
yer, or, as we would say, special pleader, does for his client, con-  
nes to safety, whereas the orator ensures safety itself. The lawyer  
spares what may have a salutary effect on the issue of the case, and  
y conduce to a successful defence; but the orator accomplishes that  
re, and establishes that defence. The idea then intended to be  
veyed by *salubritas quædam* is best expressed by a paraphrase:  
“What may conduce to safety,” while by *salus ipsa* is meant “safety  
lf.” The language is figurative, and is borrowed from the condition  
the human frame, at one time enjoying “a kind of health,” at  
ther, “health itself.”

<sup>5</sup> *In qua si satis profecissem*. “Had I made any great progress in  
art,” i. e. the art of public speaking; in oratory. This, of course,  
the mere language of assumed modesty. Cicero’s secret vanity  
gested far different ideas in reality.

<sup>6</sup> *Artes*. “Professions.”—*Quæ possunt locare, &c.* “Which are  
able of placing men in the highest degree of personal consideration,”  
of raising them to the highest place in public estimation. By  
ritas is here meant public esteem founded on private worth.

illo belli pericula repelluntur. <sup>1</sup>Ceteræ tamen virtutes ipsæ per se multum valent, justitia, fides, pudor, temperantia; quibus te, Servi, excellere omnes intelligunt: <sup>2</sup>sed nunc de studiis ad honorem dispositis, non de insita cujusque virtute dispiuto. Omnia ista nobis studia de manibus exutiuntur, simul atque <sup>3</sup>aliquis motus novus bellicum canere cœpit. Etenim, ut ait <sup>4</sup>ingeniosus poëta, et auctor valde bonus, præliis promulgatis, <sup>5</sup>“pellitur e medio,” non solum <sup>‘</sup>ista vestra verbosa simulatio prudentiæ, sed etiam ipsa illa domina rerum, “sapientia; vi geritur res; spernitur orator,”

<sup>1</sup> Ceteræ tamen virtutes, &c. *Virtutes* is here used in the sense not of virtues, but meritorious qualities, for eloquence and military talent are included in the number.—*Ipsæ per se*. “Even apart from eloquence.”—Compare MANUTIUS: “Separatim singulæ, etiam si eloquentia.”

<sup>2</sup> Sed nunc dispiuto. “But I am now arguing.”—*Insita cujusque virtute*. “The innate worth of each particular individual.” Compare MANUTIUS: “Nam neque ars imperatoris, neque boni facultas oratori virtutes insitæ sunt, sed extrinsecus assumuntur.”

<sup>3</sup> Aliquis. In some editions *aliqui*.—*Bellicum canere*. “To sound forth the signal for war.”—With *bellicum* supply *carmen*. The term denotes the blast of the trumpet summoning to arms. Compare LIVY (35, 18): “A Macedonia Philippum ubi primum bellicum cani audire, arma capturum.”

<sup>4</sup> Ingeniosus poëta, et auctor valde bonus. “An ingenious poet and excellent writer.” Ennius is meant, and Cicero then proceeds to quote from him.—*Præliis promulgatis*. “When battles are proclaimed.” This expression has somewhat of a poetical tinge, and is probably imitated or altered from some lost passage of Ennius. As it stands now, it could not of course find its way into an hexameter line.

<sup>5</sup> Pellitur e medio. Cicero quotes from the 8th book of the *Annals* of Ennius. The full passage is given by AULUS GELLIUS (20, 10), and we will cite it here in order to make the references, on the part of the orator, more intelligible:—

“Pellitur e medio sapientia; vi geritur res,  
Spernitur orator bonus; horridus miles amatur;  
Haud doctis dictis certantes, sed maledictis,  
Miscent inter se, inimicitias agitantes:  
Non ex jure manu consertum, sed mage ferro  
Rem repetunt, regnumque petunt, vadunt solida ri.”

The words are given more according to the earlier orthography, by Hesselius, in his edition of the fragments of ENNIUS, p. 79, &c. In the second line, the final *s* in *horridus* is elided in scanning, before the initial consonant of *miles*. The early Romans did not sound the final *s* in words, if the next word began with the consonant. The practice began to disappear, however, about the time of Cicero. The last traces of this elision are found in some parts of the poetry of Lucretius,

*n solum odiosus in dicendo, ac loquax, verum etiam  
onus: horridus miles amatur:*" vestrum vero studium  
*im jacet.* "Non ex jure manu consertum, sed <sup>8</sup> mage  
o," inquit, "rem repetunt." Quod si ita est, cedat,  
nor, Sulpici, forum castris, otium militiae, <sup>9</sup> stilus gladio,  
*mbra soli:* sit denique in civitate ea <sup>11</sup> prima res propter  
m ipsa est civitas omnium princeps. (31.) Verum <sup>12</sup> hæc  
o nimium nos nostris verbis magna facere demonstrat;  
oblitos esse, bellum illud omne Mithridaticum cum mul-  
ulis esse gestum. Quod ego longe secus existimo,

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illus, and Cicero himself. So in the fifth line, some read *magis* instead of *mage*, making in the scanning the elision *magi*. Others read *magis horridu' miles*, and *magi ferro*, as, for example, Hesselius. The various readings in these lines, such as *Tollitur* for *Pellitur*, and *num* for *manu*, need not be dwelt upon here.

*Ista restra, &c.* "That wordy and counterfeit wisdom of yours." literally, "that wordy counterfeiting of wisdom," &c. Theusion is to the unmeaning forms and subtleties of the law.

*Non solum odiosus, &c.* "Not only he who is disagreeable in aking, and a mere talker, but even the good one."—*Horridus miles utur.*" "The rough soldier is caressed."—*Totum jacet.* "Lies irely neglected." Compare as to the force of *jaceo* here, note 9, p 403.

*Mage.* An old form for *magis*. Perizonius maintains, that both *gis* and *mage* were originally adjectives of the positive degree, like *is* and *pote*. (*Ad Sanct. Min.* 2, 10.—Vol. i p. 280, ed. Bauer.)

*Stilus.* This was the ordinary instrument for writing. It was sharp at one end and broad at the other. They wrote with it on tablets covered with wax. When they wished to correct any thing which they had written, they turned the *stilus*, and smoothed the wax with the broad end. Hence, *sæpe stilum vertas*, "make frequent corrections." ORAT. *Sat.* 1, 10, 72.)

<sup>10</sup> *Umbra soli.* "The shade of retirement to the beams of the sun," i.e. the retired life of the lawyer to the active one of the soldier. So *umbratilis* is applied to a retired, studious, or comparatively inactive life (CIC. *Tusc.* 2, 11), and *oratio umbratilis* to a philosophical course (CIC. *Orat.* 19), as marking the contrast between the retired bits of the philosopher and the more active life of the public speaker. So in the present case the lives of the lawyer and soldier are contrasted.

<sup>11</sup> *Prima.* "First in importance."—*Omnium princeps.* "The first of all." Alluding to the glorious results of the Roman arms.

<sup>12</sup> *Hæc.* "These services of Murena."—*Demonstrat.* "Strives to show."—*Cum mulierculis.* "With mere women." The term *muliercula*, the meaning of which we have here softened down, refers to the eminante and dissolute habits of the Asiatics generally, and the revolting effects which resulted from them.

rerum monumentis, vel maximum bellum populum I  
cum 'Antiocho gessisse video: cuius belli victor<sup>5</sup>  
partita cum Publio fratre gloria, quam laudem il  
oppressa,<sup>6</sup> cognomine ipso præ se ferebat, eandem  
ex Asia nomine assumpsit. (32.) Quo quidem in be

<sup>1</sup> *Negue enim, &c.* "And only a few, for the merits of the  
not contained in this." Supply before *neque* the words, *et p;*  
or something equivalent.

<sup>2</sup> *Cum Grecis.* As the Romans, during the Mithridatic war,  
contact principally with the Asiatic Greeks, Cicero here in  
tion of their other wars with the Greek nation generally  
account of the different individuals mentioned by the speak  
Historical Index.

<sup>3</sup> *Ille hostis.* Referring to Mithridates. It is the name if  
if he had said, "and such a foe as Mithridates."

<sup>4</sup> *Antiocho.* Antiochus is here brought in as an Asiatic  
and the war that was waged with him is alluded to as an As

<sup>5</sup> *L. Scipio.* Consul with Lælius, A.V.C. 562, and surnamed  
for his success in this war.—*Partita cum Publio, &c.* The  
to Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of  
He volunteered to serve as lieutenant under his brother L.  
this war against Antiochus, and hence the glory of the cont  
by Cicero to have been shared between them. We hav  
*partita*, the emendation of Lambinus, in place of *parta*, as  
the common text. There can be no doubt as to the superior  
former, although the latter is advocated by Ernesti.

<sup>6</sup> *Cognomine ipso.* Alluding to his surname *Africanus*.

it egregia? M. Catonis, proavi tui: quo ille, cum esset, <sup>9</sup>o mihi statuo, talis, qualem te esse video, <sup>8</sup>nunquam profectus, si cum mulierculis bellandum esse arbitra- . <sup>9</sup> Neque vero cum P. Africano senatus egisset, ut <sup>as</sup> fratri proficiseretur; cum ipse, paullo ante, Hanni- <sup>xx</sup> Italia expulso, ex Africa ejecto, Carthagine oppressa, nis periculis rem publicam liberasset, nisi illud grave n et vehemens putaretur.

7. Atqui, si diligenter, <sup>10</sup> quid Mithridates potuerit, et efficerit, et qui vir fuerit, consideraris; omnibus regi- quibuscum populus Romanus bellum gessit, hunc regem um antepones; quem L. Sulla, maximo et fortissimo itu, <sup>11</sup> pugna excitatum, <sup>12</sup> non rudis imperator, ut aliud dicam, <sup>13</sup> bello invectum totam in Asiam, <sup>14</sup> cum pace

*unquam esset profectus.* The common text has *cum Scipione* after *am*, which is an historical blunder, originating very probably some idle glossa. In the war against Antiochus, M. Cato accom- l M. Acilius Glabrio, not Scipio. Compare LIVY, 36, 21.

*equae vero cum P. Africano, &c.* “Nor would the senate, in have engaged Publius Africanus to go as lieutenant to his bro-

The elegance of the phraseology, *egisset cum Africano ut pro-  
eretur*, (literally), “have arranged with Africanus that he should atones in some degree for its want of historical correctness. was not requested by the senate to accompany his brother as tant: but, when a difficulty was about to arise in that body re-  
ng the provinces of the new consuls, L. Scipio and Lælius, he ed, that if they would give his brother the province of Greece, uld go with him as his lieutenant. This, of course, settled the on. Compare LIVY, 37, 1: “*P. Scipio Africanus dixit, ‘Si L.  
ni, fratri suo, provinciam Græciam decriberent, se legatum iturum.’*  
*ox, magno adsensu audita, sustulit certamen.*”

*quid Mithridates potuerit, &c.* Cicero’s oration in favour of the lan law is the best commentary on this whole passage.—*Qui vir* “What kind of man he was.” *Qui* is here elegantly used for

*Pugna excitatum.* “Only aroused to more vigorous efforts by the f a battle.” Sylla had defeated Archelaus, a general of Mithri- with great loss, at Chæronea. The true reading here is ex- ly doubtful. We have adopted that given by Ernesti.

*Non rudis imperator* “No raw commander.” This is what grams call a *litotes* ( $\lambdaιτότης$ ), where, by a negation of the contrary, is implied than expressed. Sylla was in fact eminent for military a.

*Bello invectum, &c.* “After having traversed all Asia in hostile ” The common text has *cum bello*, but we have rejected the pre- on with Ernesti and others.

*Cum pace dimisit.* Sylla granted peace to Mithridates, not because

commemorari possit, neque majore consilio et virtute  
Nam, cum totius impetus belli ad Cyzicenorum i-  
stitisset, eamque urbem sibi Mithridates <sup>5</sup> Asisē j-  
putasset, qua effracta et revulsa, tota pateret  
perfecta ab Lucullo hæc sunt omnia, ut urbs fide  
sociorum defenderetur, <sup>6</sup> et omnes copias regis d  
obsessionis consumerentur. Quid? illam <sup>7</sup> pugna  
ad Tenedum, cum contento cursu, acerrimis ducib⁹  
classis Italiam spe atque animis inflata peteret, in  
tamine et parva dimicazione commissam arbitrari  
proelium: prætereo oppugnationes oppidorum. Expi-  
tandem aliquando, tantum tamen consilio atque

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he found it impossible to conquer that monarch, but his presence was required in Italy, where the opposite factions fresh troubles.

<sup>1</sup> *Rationes et copias belli.* "His revenues and armies were to be employed against the Romans in the Ponto. His object was to attack the Romans on the north, as Sertorius in Spain did the same on the west. Compare the Manilian law, chapter 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Duobus consulibus.* Lucullus and Cotta, A.U.C. 679.—"This view."—*Alter Mithridatem, &c.* Alluding to Lucullus.

<sup>3</sup> *Alterius res calamitosa.* The reference is to Cotta's commander, thinking that he had a fair opportunity of gaining victory before Lucullus could join him, gave battle to Mithridates, and was defeated both by sea and land, with the loss of 60 ships:

mit, ut se, rege Armeniorum adjuncto, <sup>8</sup> novis opibus consue renovarit.

XVI. Ac, si mihi nunc de rebus gestis esset nostri exercitus imperatorisque dicendum, plurima et maxima prælia immemorare possem. <sup>9</sup>Sed non id agimus. (34.) Hoc dico: bellum hoc, si hic hostis, si ille rex contemnendus fuisset, que tanta cura <sup>10</sup>senatus et populus Romanus suscipiendum putasset, neque tot annos gessisset, neque tanta tria L. Luculli: neque vero ejus belli conficiendi curam ito studio <sup>11</sup>populus Romanus ad Cn. Pompeium detinset: cuius ex omnibus pugnis, quæ sunt innumerabiles, vel acerrima mihi videtur illa, quæ cum rege commissa est, summa contentione pugnata. Qua ex pugna cum se ille pugnasset, et <sup>12</sup>Bosporum configisset, quo exercitus adiret posset: <sup>13</sup>etiam in extrema fortuna et fuga, nomen nomen retinuit regium. Itaque ipse Pompeius, regno posso, ex omnibus oris ac notis sedibus hoste pulso, <sup>14</sup>tamen itum in unius anima posuit, ut, cum omnia, quæ ille tenuit, adierat, sperarat, victoria possideret; tamen non ante, um illum vita expulit, bellum confectum judicarit. Hunc tu stem, Cato, contemnis, quocum per tot annos, tot præliis, imperatores bella gesserunt? cuius expulsi et ejecti vita

*Pugnam navalem, &c.* Compare note 13, page 229.—*Contento cursu,*  
“In rapid course, under the fiercest leaders.” Compare note 14,  
page 229.

*Novis opibus, &c.* Compare note 5, page 230.

*Sed non id agimus.* “But that is not our present object.” More really, “we are not now endeavouring to do that.”

<sup>8</sup> *Senatus et populus Romanus.* The senate passed a decree, relative to the declaring of war against Mithridates, and the people, with whom rested the power of actually declaring war, confirmed that decree a vote in the comitia.

<sup>9</sup> *Populus Romanus.* The people alone are named here, as they had the Manilian law, which gave the command to Pompey.

<sup>10</sup> *Vel acerrima mihi videtur illa, &c.* This is the famous night-engagement fought near the Euphrates, an account of which is given by March. *Vit. Pomp.* c. 32.

<sup>11</sup> *Bosporum.* The Cimmerian Bosporus is meant, now the Straits of Dardanelles.

<sup>12</sup> *Etiam in extrema fortuna, &c.* The eulogium passed by Cicero on character and abilities of Mithridates is well deserved. In point of merit and resources, he was certainly the most formidable monarch whom the Romans had ever to contend.

<sup>13</sup> *Tamen tantum, &c.* “Attached so much importance notwithstanding to the life of a single individual,” i. e. to the mere circumstance of Mithridates’ remaining alive.—*Ille.* “The other.” Mithridates.

tanti æstimata est, ut, morte ejus nuntiata, tum bellum confectum<sup>1</sup> arbitraremur? Hoc igitur in b Murenam, legatum fortissimi animi, summi consilii, laboris cognitum esse<sup>2</sup> defendimus: et<sup>3</sup> hanc ejus non minus ad consulatum adipiscendum, quam hanc i forensem industriam, dignitatis habuisse.

XVII. (35.) “<sup>4</sup> At enim in præturæ petitione p nuntiatus est Servius.”—<sup>5</sup> Pergitisne vos, tamquam e grapha, agere cum populo, ut, quem locum semel cuiquam dederit, eundem<sup>7</sup> reliquis honoribus debeat? enim fretum, quem<sup>9</sup> Euripum tot motus, tantas, tam habere putatis agitationes fluctuum, quantas perturb

<sup>1</sup> *Arbitraremur.* All the MSS. have *arbitraretur*, in the But still Ciceronian usage and Latinity demand *arbitraremur* we have, consequently, not hesitated to give. Ernesti, who however *arbitraretur*, is strongly in favour of *arbitraremur*, of the common reading, “*Istæ sordes sunt Latinae, indignæ præsertim in oratione quæ in foro dicta est, aut concione senatur.* instances, it is true, of *arbitro*, as an active verb, occur in (*Pseud.* 4, 2, 57; *Stich.* 1, 2, 87), but this is the usage of a poet or prose writer, and it may be, too, a specimen of vulgar not usage. At all events, the pages of a comic writer can furnish argument either way in a question relative to Ciceronian prose. *Priscian* p. 791—2.]

<sup>2</sup> *Defendimus.* “We contend.” Literally, “we allege,” or tain, in his behalf.” *Defendere* means here to bring forward in of defence, or, as Faccioliati explains it, “*allegare in defensionem*

<sup>3</sup> *Hanc ejus operam.* “That these services of his.”—*Non minitatis.* “No less strong a claim.” *Dignitas* here again denotes or title founded on merit or fitness.

<sup>4</sup> *At enim*, &c. Cicero here proceeds to answer another advanced on the part of Sulpicius. At the comitia for the ele prætors, Sulpicius was higher on the list of successful candidat Murena, that is, the majority of the former exceeded that of the And this is now urged as a proof of the superior estimation in Sulpicius was held by the people, and a sure indication that, ha been no bribery on the part of Murena, the other would have c him at the consular election. Cicero’s answer is a very adroit

<sup>5</sup> *Pergitisne vos*, &c. “What? do you proceed to deal with the ple, as if by virtue of some written obligation?” i. e. as if they tied down by the terms of some bond, and had no free agency left We have here a very artful evasion of the argument adduced opposite side? What? if the people have done a thing once in cular way, are they bound to do it always in that way? the peop who are so notorious for their fickle and changeable character!

<sup>6</sup> *Syngrapha.* By this is meant a bond or obligation, by w creditor got security from his debtor for the payment of a t money; or by which one person bound himself to another, for th

quantos sestus habet ratio comitiorum? Dies intermissus  
im, aut nox interposita, saepe perturbat omnia: et <sup>10</sup> totam  
opinonem parva nonnunquam commutat aura rumoris.  
Ipsa etiam sine ulla aperta causa fit aliud, atque existimam,  
ut nonnunquam ita factum esse etiam populus admittatur:  
quasi vero non ipse fecerit. (36.) Nihil est incertius  
ego, nihil obscurius voluntate hominum, <sup>11</sup> nihil fallacius  
tunc tota comitiorum. Quis L. Philippum summo in-  
vio, <sup>12</sup> opera, gratia, nobilitate, a M. Herennio superari  
arbitratus est? quis <sup>13</sup> Q. Catulum, humanitate, sapien-  
tia, integritate antecellentem, a Cn. Mallio? quis M.  
Surum, <sup>14</sup> hominem gravissimum, civem egregium, fortissi-

mance of some particular act. It was generally signed and sealed by both parties, and a copy given to each, whence the name, συγγραφή or συγγάφω. The phrase *agere ex syngrapha* then denotes, to exact something from another, as if it were the payment of a debt on bond, the performance of some express written covenant.

*Et—Debeat. Supply dare.*

*Quod enim fretum, &c.* “For what strait, what Euripus, has as many changes, as violent and as varied fluctuations, as are the powerful winds and impetuous tides which the comitia from their very nature possess?” Literally, “as the system,” or “plan of the comitia has.” We need hardly point to the beauty and justice of the allusion. The sole passage is cited by QUINTILIAN, 8, 6, 29.

*Euripum.* The Euripus, or strait between Eubœa and the mainland of Greece, was famed in the popular belief for its frequent tempests. Consult Geographical Index.

*Totam opinionem commutat.* “Produces an entire change of opinion,” i. e. respecting the merits of a candidate for public favour.—*I aliud, atque existimamus, &c.* “Something is done directly contrary to what we think is to be the result, so that even the people themselves wonder,” &c.

*Nihil fallacius ratione tota comitiorum.* “Nothing more deceptive in the whole course of things at the comitia,” i. e. than the issue of elections.

*Opera.* Philippus was not only a public man, but an eminent orator, and hence his aid was often given in the forum, at trials, his friends and others. With *opera*, therefore, we may supply *auxilium*, as Gruter directs, and render the term by “application at the bar.” Compare ERNESTI, *ad loc.*: “Est ea quæ alias industria proprie bar.” Cicero alludes to the defeat of Philippus by Herennius, in *Brutus*, c. 45.

*Q. Catulum.* This was the famous colleague of Marius, in the conflict with the Cimbri. Consult Historical Index.—*Cn. Mallio.* A man of noble birth. The common text has *Manlio*.

*Hominem gravissimum.* “A man of the greatest weight of char-

mum senatorem, a Q. Maximo? Non modo horum in fore putatum est, sed ne cum esset factum quidem, ita factum esset intelligi potuit. Nam ut tempestates certo aliquo cœli signo commoventur, sæpe improvise ex certa ratione, obscura aliqua ex causa concitantur in hac comitiorum tempestate populari, sæpe intelligi signo commota sit; <sup>2</sup> sæpe ita obscura causa est, ut excitata esse videatur.

XVIII. (37.) SED tamen, <sup>3</sup> si est reddenda ratio, res vehementer in prætura desiderata sunt, quæ a consulatu Murenæ profuerunt: una, <sup>4</sup> exspectatio in quæ et rumore nonnullo, et studiis sermonibusque cotorum creverat: <sup>5</sup> altera, quod ii, quos in provincia a tione omnis et liberalitatis et virtutis suæ testes habendum decesserant. / Horum utrumque ei fortuna a

racter." The individual referred to is the celebrated M. A Scaurus.—*Q. Maximo.* Q. Fabius Maximus, surnamed Eburnus. Consult Historical Index.

<sup>1</sup> *Sæpe certo aliquo, &c.* "Are oft-times aroused by the influence of some particular constellation." This was an article of fixed and lar belief on the part of the Romans.—Quintilian (8, 3, 80) remarks that Cicero expresses himself here with almost a poetical spirit *pæne poetico spiritu.*"

<sup>2</sup> *Sæpe ita, &c.* We have inserted *causa* after *obscura*, on the conjecture of Lambinus, but have not adopted his other emendation after *sæpe*, as this seems quite unnecessary.

<sup>3</sup> *Si est reddenda ratio.* "If a reason must be given," i.e. as far as for Murena's apparent want of popular favour, compared with the successful candidates, who had received larger majorities in the election for the prætorship.

<sup>4</sup> *Duae res, &c.* Cicero's meaning is, that two circumstances were deficient in Murena's canvass for the prætorship, both of which however occurred, and were of use to him when a candidate for the consulship.

<sup>5</sup> *Exspectatio munieris, &c.* "The expectation of public shows had been increased as well by certain rumours, as by the zealous language of his competitors." Murena had not borne the ædile, and had therefore exhibited no public shows, as was customary with those who filled that station. There was no expectation frequently of his exhibiting any in case he were elected prætor, as rumour spoke loudly of what his competitors would do in the public exhibitions, and they themselves gave confirmation to the rumours by their conduct and language. All this, of course, tends to lessen very materially the number of votes given for him, and it was no wonder, if the majorities of his competitors were less than his own.

tus petitionem reservavit. Nam et L. Luculli exercitus, ad triumphum convenerat, idem <sup>7</sup> comitiis L. Murenae sto fuit; et <sup>8</sup> munus amplissimum, quod petitio præturae derabat, prætura restituit. (38.) Num tibi haec parva ntur adjumenta et subsidia consulatus? <sup>9</sup> Voluntas tum? quæ cum per se valet multitudine, tum apud suos ia, tum vero in consule declarando multum etiam apud ersum populum Romanum auctoritatis habet suffra- o militaris. Imperatores enim comitiis consularibus, <sup>10</sup> verborum interpretes deliguntur. <sup>11</sup> Quare gravis est oratio, “Me saucium recreavit: me præda donavit: hoc ) castra cepimus, signa contulimus: nunquam iste plus ti laboris imposuit, quam sibi sumpsit ipse; <sup>12</sup> cum fortis, etiam felix.” <sup>13</sup> Hoc quanti putas esse ad famam homi- ac voluntatem? <sup>14</sup> Etenim, si tanta illis comitiis religio

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*Altera.* The second reason was, that the troops whom he had com- ed in Asia had not yet returned home, by which circumstance he a number of votes, as well from these persons themselves, as from m who would be influenced by their commendations of Murena.

*Comitiis.* This is the conjectural emendation of Hotomannus, which binus first adopted into the text, and of which Beck, Schütz, and m approve. The common text has *comes*.

*Munus amplissimum.* “The very splendid shows.” Murena, having ined the office of *prætor urbanus*, was called upon to give the *Ludi Ninares*, which he did with great splendour. It will be borne in d, that the magistrates who gave, or, in other words, presided at, the exhibitions and shows, generally lavished upon them a prodigious use, to pave the way for future preferments. Compare Cic. *de Off.* 8, where he speaks of a *magnificentissima cœdilitas*, and of Pompey’s *misericordissima munera* in his second consulship.

*Voluntas militum?* “The good will of the soldiery?”—*Quæ cum as, &c.* Compare note 6.—*Tum vero multum auctoritatis habet.* “And possesses great influence.”

*Verborum interpretes.* “Mere interpreters of words,” i. e. mere ex- nders of law forms and phrases.

*Quare gravis est illa oratio.* “Of great weight therefore is language the following.”—*Me saucium recrearit.* A soldier is supposed to be speaking of his commander to the by-standers who are about to at the consular comitia.

*Cum fortis, tum etiam felix.* “As fortunate as he is brave.” Lite- y, “both brave and also fortunate.”

*Hoc quanti putas, &c.* “Of how much importance do you imagine this is, as regards the reputation of individuals, and the favour of m?”

*Etenim, si tanta, &c.* “For if the influence of a religious feeling is strong at those comitia, that, even to the present day, the omen

est, ut adhuc semper <sup>1</sup> omen valuerit praerogativa; quod mirum est, in hoc felicitatis famam ~~concomitans~~ non esse?

XIX. SED, si haec <sup>2</sup> leviora ducis, quae sunt gravissima; et hanc urbanam suffragationem militari anteponis, <sup>3</sup> ludorum hujus elegantiam, et scenas magnificentiam <sup>4</sup> contempnare; quae huic <sup>5</sup> admodum profuerunt. Nam quod ego dicam, populum ac vulgus imperitorum ludis magnis opere delectari? Minus est mirandum. <sup>6</sup> Quamquam <sup>7</sup> causa id satis est: sunt enim populi ac multititudinis comititia. Quare si populo ludorum magnificentia voluptati est, non est mirandum, eam L. Murenae apud populum profu-

afforded by the century, which is first called, has always exerted effect on the election, why is it surprising, that, in the case of this individual, the reputation of his good fortune, and the language of his soldiers produced a similar result?" Valuisse, literally, "prevailed."

<sup>1</sup> *Omen praerogativum.* At the *comitia centuriata*, where the consuls were chosen, the centuriae were called to give their votes by lot. The names of the centuriae were thrown into a box, and the century which came out first was called *praerogativa*, because it was asked for its vote, that is, consulted, before the rest (*pro* and *voto*). Its vote was regarded as a kind of omen of the result of the election. [The other tribes were said to be *jure vocatae*.]

<sup>2</sup> *Leviora.* "As of too trifling a nature to be mentioned."—*Quae gravissima.* "Which are in fact of very great importance." Non freely, "though they are," &c.

<sup>3</sup> *Et hanc urbanam, &c.* "And prefer the votes of citizens before those of the soldiery," i.e. consider them as carrying greater weight, as more worth having, &c.

<sup>4</sup> *Ludorum hujus, &c.* "The elegance of the shows exhibited by this individual, and the magnificence of his scenery." Under the head of *ludi* are meant, not only games, but also scenic exhibitions (*ludi scaenici*). Sometimes the latter were regular plays. Thus, the plays of Terence were acted on these occasions, at other times, what were called *pompe* were exhibited. These were large stages or wooden machines, of several stories, which were raised or depressed at pleasure, and were magnificently adorned. They were intended to represent detached scenes of an interesting nature, such as a conflagration, the descent of a deity, &c. Pliny says that Murena and his brother Caius were the first who exhibited one of these, and that it was richly adorned with silver. (H. N. 33, 3.) Such very probably is the *argentea scena* mentioned a little farther on.

<sup>5</sup> *Profuerunt.* They proved of great service to him in conciliating the favour of the people.

<sup>6</sup> *Quamquam huic causa, &c.* "Although the fact itself is sufficient for the purposes of the present case," i.e. to serve as a basis for my present argument.

39.) Sed si nosmet ipsi, qui et ab delectatione omni<sup>7</sup> negotiis impeditur, et in ipsa occupatione delectationes alias multas habere possumus, ludis tamen<sup>8</sup> oblectamur et ducimur; quid tu admirere de multitudine indocta? (40.)<sup>9</sup> L. Otho, vir fortis, meus necessarius, equestri ordini restituit non solum dignitatem, sed etiam<sup>10</sup> voluptatem. Itaque lex<sup>11</sup>, quae ad ludos pertinet, est omnium gratissima, quod honestissimo ordini<sup>12</sup> cum splendore fructus quoque jucunditatis est restitutus. Quare delectant homines, mihi crede, audi, etiam illos, qui dissimulant, non solum eos, qui fatentur: quod ego<sup>13</sup> in mea petitione sensi. <sup>13</sup>Nam nos quoque

<sup>7</sup> *Negotiis.* "By the calls of business."—*In ipsa occupatione.* "In employment itself."

<sup>8</sup> *Oblectamur et ducimur.* "Are gratified and attracted."—*Quid tu admirere, &c.* "Why need you wonder at this, in the case of the unarm'd multitude?"

<sup>9</sup> *L. Otho.* Lucius Roscius Otho, who was tribune of the commons A.D. 68.—*Equestri ordini, &c.* The allusion is to the Roscian law, proposed by Otho, by which the fourteen seats next to those of the senators, in the theatre, were appropriated to the equestrian order. Consult Legal Index. From Cicero's employing the term *restituit* here, it has been inferred, that the equites had previously possessed separate seats in some conspicuous part of the theatre, from which they had been dislodged; unless we suppose, what is not very probable, that the term *restituit* is here employed, after the manner of the Roman lawyers, in the sense of *dedit* or *præstítit*. The Roscian law is the one that occasioned the famous disturbance at Rome. Consult Historical Index, *v. Otho.*

<sup>10</sup> *Voluptatem.* "The means of gratification," i. e. in beholding, with more ease and comfort, the representation of the stage.

<sup>11</sup> *Cum splendore fructus quoque jucunditatis.* "Along with the splendour of their rank, the enjoyment also of their diversions."

<sup>12</sup> *In mea petitione.* "In my application for the consulship."

<sup>13</sup> *Nam nos quoque, &c.* "For we too had, on the part of our opponent, a scene so splendid to contend against, that it actually seemed to be itself a competitor." We have here been compelled to express by a paraphrase, what the Latin gives in the compass of a few brief words. The phraseology of *scenam competitricem* is peculiar and forcible. The nature of the allusion is as follows: Antonius, who was Cicero's colleague in the consulship, had been also his colleague in the aedileship, and had, while filling this latter office, exhibited in the public shows, at which he presided, a splendid piece of scenery, loaded with silver. This gained him great popularity, and ensured him a strong vote when he applied for the consulship. Cicero was his competitor on that occasion, and adopts the very forcible mode of expression in the text, to show how much advantage Antonius had derived, in his opinion, from the silver scene which he exhibited. Antonius, it is well known, was elected to the consulship along with Cicero.

habuimus scenam competitricem. Quod si ego, qui <sup>1</sup> tū ludos ædilis feceram, tamen Antonii ludis <sup>2</sup> commove tibi, qui casu nulos feceras, <sup>3</sup> nihil hujus istam ipsam, c. irrides, argenteam scenam, adversatam putas? (41.) hæc sane sint paria omnia: <sup>4</sup> sit par forensis opera militari suffragatio urbana: sit idem magnificen mos et nulos umquam fecisse ludos; quid? in prætura nihilne existimas <sup>5</sup> inter tuam et istius so interfuisse?

XX. <sup>6</sup> Hujus sors ea fuit, quam omnes tui necessarii optabamus, juris dicundi: in qua <sup>7</sup> gloriam conciliat ma

<sup>1</sup> *Trinos ludos.* "Three different kinds of solemn shows." The in honour of Ceres and Bacchus; the second of Flora; the third Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. (*In Verr.* 5, 14.)

<sup>2</sup> *Commovebar.* "Was alarmed."—*Casu.* "From the operatic lot." The *prætor urbanus*, whose duty it was to preside at the Apollinares, was appointed by lot; that is, the two *prætors*, after election, determined by casting lots, which of them should be *prætor urbanus*, which *prætor peregrinus*, and which should exercise the jurisdictions.

<sup>3</sup> *Nihil adversatam.* "Proved of no injury," i. e. in your applic for the consulship. Cicero asks, whether Sulpicius does not think the silver scene, which Murena exhibited when *prætor*, gained the numerous votes, and facilitated his election to the consular. Compare note 13, page 433.

<sup>4</sup> *Sit par forensis opera militari, &c.* "Let the labours of the b equal to those of the camp, let the vote of the citizen be equal to of the soldier."

<sup>5</sup> *Inter tuam et istius sortem.* "Between your allotted duties his." Compare note 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Hujus sors ea fuit, &c.* "The sphere of duty, which fell to lot, was, what all of us your friends wished might be yours, the dispensing justice." Murena, as has already been remarked, obta by lot the station of *prætor urbanus*, an office which opened up for a path to extensive popularity.

<sup>7</sup> *Gloriam conciliat, &c.* "The importance of the charge gains consideration for the individual, and the dispensing of liberal jus the favour of others." By *æquitas* is here meant a decision accordin the spirit, rather than the strict letter, of the law. Compare MANU: "Recte largitionis nomen ad æquitatem adjunxit, nam sc̄epe quod negat, æquitas largitur."

<sup>8</sup> *Æquabilitate decernendi.* "By the impartiality of his decision"—*Lenitate audiendi.* "By the affability with which he listens to all

<sup>9</sup> *Ad extremum, &c.* "Is terminated at last by the gratification rived from public spectacles," i. e. after having received the applause others for the equity, uprightness, and affability which characteris his deportment, the magistrate in question crowns all by a splendid exhibtion of public shows.

ndo negotii, gratiam æquitatis largitio : qua in sorte sapiens  
prætor, qualis hic fuit, offensionem vitat<sup>8</sup> æquabilitate decer-  
vendi, benevolentiam adjungit lenitate audiendi. Egregia et  
d consulatum apta provincia, in qua laus æquitatis, integri-  
tatis, facilitatis,<sup>9</sup> ad extremum ludorum voluptate concludi-  
ur. (42.)<sup>10</sup> Quid tua sors ?<sup>11</sup> tristis, atrox ; quæstio pecu-  
nias, ex altera parte, lacrimarum et<sup>12</sup> squaloris,<sup>13</sup> ex altera,  
lena catenarum atque indicum. <sup>14</sup> Cogendi judices inviti,  
stinendi contra voluntatem :<sup>15</sup> scriba damnatus, ordo totus  
lienus :<sup>16</sup> Sullana gratificatio reprehensa ; multi viri fortes,  
et<sup>17</sup> prope pars civitatis offensa est :<sup>18</sup> lites severe æstimatae ;

<sup>10</sup> *Quid tua sors ?* Sulpicius drew for his lot the presiding at trials  
peculatu, or embezzlement of the public money. Besides the prætor  
banus, and prætor peregrinus, there were other prætors, who each  
resided at particular trials throughout the year ; namely, one at trials  
concerning extortion, (*de repetundis*;) another concerning bribery, (*de  
abitu*;) a third concerning crimes against the state, (*de majestate*;) a  
fourth about defrauding the public treasury, (*de peculatu*;) &c.

<sup>11</sup> *Tristis atrox*, &c. "A gloomy, a harsh one : the trial of questions  
'embezzlement.' Literally, "inquiry into embezzlement." *Quæstio*  
the technical term for each of the special jurisdictions mentioned in  
the previous note, and as these were assigned each to a particular  
prætor, for an entire year, they were hence termed *quæstiones perpetuae*.

<sup>12</sup> *Squaloris*. Referring to the squalid and neglected garb of the ac-  
cused, assumed by him for the purpose of exciting commiseration.

<sup>13</sup> *Ex altera*. Referring to the side of the accusers.—*Plena catenarum  
que indicum*. "Full of imprisonment and common informers."

<sup>14</sup> *Cogendi judices inviti*. "The reluctant judges to be forced to sit." The  
judices, called also *assessores*, formed the council of the prætor.  
Compare note 11, page 141.

<sup>15</sup> *Scriba damnatus*, &c. "A scribe condemned ; the whole order in  
consequence alienated." A scribe had been condemned by Servius for  
abeyzlement of the public money, and this lost him the votes of the  
whole order in his application for the consulship. As regards the  
tribea, compare note 9, page 125.

<sup>16</sup> *Sullana gratificatio reprehensa*. "Sylla's bounty disapproved of,"  
i.e. condemned or reversed. Several of Sylla's adherents had received  
from him gifts of money from the public treasury. This proceeding  
was now adjudged to be illegal ; and regarded as *peculatus*.

<sup>17</sup> *Prope pars*. "Almost an entire part." Schütz makes this the  
same as *magna pars* ; and Lambinus, *dimidia pars*.

<sup>18</sup> *Lites severe æstimatae*. "Damages heavily assessed," i. e. a heavy  
amount of damages imposed. The allusion is to damages, or a fine  
imposed by the prætor, in favour of the state, against individuals who  
had been convicted of embezzlement. As the amount of damages  
imposed by the prætor, Servius made many enemies by imposing heavy  
fines.

<sup>1</sup> cui placet, obliviscitur, cui dolet, meminit. Postremo tu in provinciam ire noluisti. Non possum id in te reprehendere, quod in me ipso et prætor et consul probavi. Sed tamen <sup>2</sup> L. Murenæ provincia multas bonas gratias cum optima existimatione attulit. Habuit proficisciens delectum in Umbria: <sup>3</sup> dedit ei facultatem res publica liberalitatis: qua usus, multas sibi tribus, <sup>4</sup> quæ municipiis Umbriæ conficiuntur, adjunxit. Ipsa autem in Gallia, <sup>5</sup> ut nostri homines desperatas jam pecunias exigerent, æquitate diligentiaque perfecit. Tu interea Romæ <sup>6</sup> scilicet amicis presto fuisti. Fateor: sed tamen illud cogita, nonnullorum amicorum studia minui solere in eos, a quibus provincias contemni intelligent.

**XXI. (43.)** Et, quoniam ostendi, judices, parem dignitatem ad consulatus petitionem, <sup>7</sup> disparem fortunam provincialium negotiorum in Murena atque in Sulpicio fuisse: dicam jam

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<sup>1</sup> *Cui placet, obliviscitur.* “He to whom it affords pleasure, soon forgets it.” The reference is to the accuser—*Cui dolet, meminit.* “He to whom it occasions pain, long remembers the circumstance,” i. e. he that is condemned.

<sup>2</sup> *L. Murenæ provincia.* Transalpine Gaul, of which he had charge after his prætorship.—*Multas bonas gratias,* &c. “Brought with it many opportunities of conferring important favours, together with the highest reputation to himself.”

<sup>3</sup> *Dedit ei facultatem liberalitatis.* “Put it in his power to exercise indulgence,” i. e. in excusing some from military service. The state of public affairs (*res publica*) allowed him this opportunity.

<sup>4</sup> *Quæ municipiis,* &c. “Which are composed of the municipal towns of Umbria.”—*Ipsa autem in Gallia.* This is the very neat emendation of Ernesti, in place of the common reading *ipse autem in Gallia.* The province of Gaul is here opposed to Umbria, through which he was proceeding to the former.

<sup>5</sup> *Ut nostri homines,* &c. “He enabled our countrymen by his equity and application to recover sums of money which were by this time despised of,” i. e. debts considered by this time as desperate. This result was brought about by mild and yet effectual remedies on the part of Murena, so that he often made both parties, and not merely the creditor, his friends.

<sup>6</sup> *Scilicet.* “It is true.”—*Fateor.* “This I am willing to allow.”—*Nonnullorum amicorum,* &c. The zeal of such friends cools because their patrons, by refusing a province, have put out of their hands the means of being serviceable to their followers and dependants.

<sup>7</sup> *Disparem fortunam.* “Unequal good fortune as regarded the affairs of a province.” Murena held an important province. Sulpicius declined altogether going to his.

<sup>8</sup> *A misso jam tempore.* “The occasion having now gone by.” Com-

ertius, in quo meus necessarius fuerit inferior Servius, et dicam, vobis audientibus, <sup>8</sup> amisso jam tempore, quæ ipsi li, re *integra*, sæpe dixi. Petero consulatum nescire te, rvi, persæpe tibi dixi: et <sup>9</sup> in iis rebus ipsis, quas te magno forti animo et agere et dicere videbam, tibi solitus sum cetera, magis te fortem senatorem mihi videri, quam sapientem candidatum. Primum <sup>10</sup> accusandi terrores et minæ, ubus tu quotidie uti solebas; sunt fortis viri, sed et populi inionem <sup>11</sup> a spe adipiscendi avertunt, et amicorum studia bilitant. Nescio quo pacto semper hoc fit: neque <sup>12</sup> in uno & altero animadversum est, sed jam in pluribus: simul que candidatus accusationem meditari visus est, ut honorem desperasse videatur. (44.) <sup>13</sup> Quid ergo? acceptam juriam persecui non placet? Immo vehementer placet: d <sup>14</sup> aliud tempus est petendi, aliud persecuendi. Petitorem &c, præsertim consulatus, magna spe, magno animo, <sup>15</sup> magnis

*re MANUTIUS*: “*Cum præterierit occasio.*”—*Re integra*. “While the latter was as yet undetermined,” i. e. before the election took place.

<sup>9</sup> *In iis rebus ipsis*, &c. Referred to immediately after.—*Primum accusandi terrores*, &c. The part Sulpicius here acted was no doubt a patriotic one, and showed “a spirited senator,” but it was not that of a politic candidate.”

<sup>10</sup> *Accusandi terrores et minæ*, &c. Referring to the language of Sulpicius, before the comitia had taken place, and while private canvassing was going on. He expressed, it seems, his firm determination to impeach any one of his competitors who should have recourse to bribery. Cicero says that this course showed the man of spirit, but it led the people to expect that he would fail in his election, because he acted as if he had lost all hope of success, and it made his friends, also, less zealous in his behalf.

<sup>11</sup> *A spe adipiscendi*. “From any hope of obtaining office,” sc. on the part of the candidate, i. e. as cherished by the candidate. *Spe adipiscendi* does not refer to the people, but to the particular candidate himself, who seems, by his desperate conduct and language and by his threats of impeachment, to have lost all hope in his own case.

<sup>12</sup> *In uno aut altero*. “In one or two,” i. e. in the case of one or two candidates merely.—*Honorem desperasse*. “To have despaired of the honor to which he aspires.”

<sup>13</sup> *Quid ergo?* &c. Cicero now proceeds to meet an argument that might be urged by Sulpicius in justification of his conduct; namely, that he was prompted to the course in question by a wish to retaliate upon his opponents, for the injury they had done him by their unfair proceeding.

<sup>14</sup> *Aliud tempus est petendi*, &c. “There is one time for soliciting the consulship, another for prosecuting,” i. e. for impeaching candidates who have been guilty of corruption.

<sup>15</sup> *Magnis copiis*. “With great numbers attending him,” i. e. nume-

cogitare? inquirere in competitores? testes querere faciam, quoniam sibi hic ipse desperat." Eiusmodi torum amici intimi "debilitantur, studia de portestatam rem abjiciunt, aut suam operam et gratias et accusationi reservant.

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rously attended by friends and clients. The candidates v tomed to go down occasionally into the Forum or Campus to show themselves to the people and gain votes. They were at these times by large numbers of friends and dependents escort a candidate, in this way, was called *deducere*, and *deductores*.

<sup>1</sup> *Inquisitio candidati.* "A prying into the conduct of a candidate," i. e. to obtain matter for impeachment.—*Componere* "procuring."

<sup>2</sup> *Declamatio potius, quam persalutatio.* "Declamatory rather than assiduously paying court to the people," i. e. accusations against rival candidates, and accusations of bribery ought to be going round and soliciting votes. The old *r salutatio*, until changed by Gruter to the present one, which is stronger, and is equivalent to *assidua salutatio*. For a week before the day of election, the candidate endeavoured to gain the favour of the people by every popular art, by going round houses, shaking hands with those whom they met, saluting by name, &c. This last was esteemed a very great compliment; hence the candidate commonly had along with him a monitor or *salutator*, who whispered in his ears every body's name. *In salutatio* and *persalutatio* have no general terms for all kinds

**II. ACCREDIT** eodem, ut etiam ipse candidatus <sup>8</sup> totum m, atque omnem curam, operam, diligentiamque suam itione non possit ponere. Adjungitur enim accusis cogitatio, <sup>9</sup> non parva res, sed nimirum omnium a. **Magnum** est enim, te <sup>10</sup> comparare ea, quibus hominem e civitate, præsertim non inopem, neque im, exturbare: qui et per se, et per suos, et vero a per alienos defendatur. Omnes enim ad pericula sanda concurrimus; et qui non aperte inimici sumus, alienissimis, <sup>12</sup> in capitis periculis, amicissimorum officia lia præstamus. (46.) Quare ego expertus et petendi, andendi, et accusandi molestiam, <sup>13</sup> sic intellexi: in o, studium esse acerrimum; in defendendo, officium;

*im faciam.* “I'll make another my candidate.” *ilitantur.* “Are dispirited.” Literally, “are enfeebled in their — *Testatam.* “As manifest and known to all.” The true here has been much disputed. Ernesti and Orelli retain *tes-tut* suggest *desperatam.* Lambinus prefers *totam.* It is a case, where no emendation whatever appears necessary.

*ram et gratiam.* “Their aid and influence.” *um animum.* “His whole spirit.”—*Non possit ponere.* “Can-en so situated, employ.” The reference is still to a candidate spairs of success, and is now thinking of an impeachment his competitors.

*parva res, &c.* “No small matter in itself, but in reality the important of all.”

*parare ea.* “To get together those things,” i. e. to supply with the means of driving out,” &c.

*in per alienos.* “Even by mere strangers.” From feelings of commiseration. This is explained immediately after.

*capitis periculis.* “When their lives (or privileges) are in danger.” *Periculum capitis* means not only “a capital trial,” in our sense term, but also one involving the rights and privileges of a where, for example, the punishment in case of conviction exile, and not loss of life. We have been compelled, therefore give it a general translation here, embodying both meanings.

ERNESTI (*Clav. Cic. s. v. caput*): “Causæ capitis porro, res capi- quibus caput hominis agitur, sunt, cum aliquis in judicium est publicum, quo condemnatus locum in senatu, aut alia, iniis commoda, civitatem, libertatemve amittit, solum vertere aut vitam adeo perdit. Itaque quoties formula hujusmodi atinos occurrit, semper de quibus hominibus, de quibusque ermo sit, videndum, et quibus ex legibus causa agatur, siisque ene propositæ fuerint. Nam ita demum, capitis quæ sit vis, poterit.”

*intellexi.* “Have perceived this.”—*In petendo, studium, &c.* in suing for office there is the most unremitting ardour; in

in accusando, laborem. Itaque <sup>1</sup> sic statuo, fieri nullo modo posse, <sup>2</sup> ut idem accusationem et petitionem consulatus diligenter adornet atque instruat. <sup>3</sup> Unum sustinere pauci possunt, utrumque nemo. Tu, <sup>4</sup> cum te de curriculo petitionis deflexisses, animumque ad accusandum transtulisses, existimasti te utriusque negotio satisfacere posse? Vehementer errasti. Quis enim dies fuit, posteaquam in <sup>5</sup>istam accusandi denuntiationem ingressus es, quem tu non totum in ista ratione consumpseris?

### XXIII. <sup>6</sup>LEGEM ambitus flagitasti, quæ tibi non deerat.

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defending another, the most anxious zeal; in accusing, the most active exertion," i. e. that suing for office requires the most unremitting ardour, &c.

<sup>1</sup> *Sic statuo.* "I maintain this." The literal idea of *statuo*, when taken in this sense, is to set or place a thing in a particular position, with the determination of keeping it there as far as we may be able.

<sup>2</sup> *Ut idem, &c.* "That the same individual can, with sufficient diligence, prepare the materials for an impeachment, and arrange an application for the consulship," i. e. at one and the same time—*Adornare accusationem* literally means, to furnish or supply an accusation with what may be requisite for its success.

<sup>3</sup> *Unum.* "The weight of merely one of these."

<sup>4</sup> *Cum te de curriculo, &c.* "When you turned off from the career of a candidate." *Curriculum* properly denotes a chariot course, or race, and is here figuratively applied to the contest for the consulship.

<sup>5</sup> *In istam accusandi denuntiationem.* "Upon that announcement of your intention to accuse."—*In ista ratione.* "In that employment," i. e. in getting ready the materials for an impeachment.

<sup>6</sup> *Legem ambitus, &c.* "You earnestly solicited a law against bribery; although there was one already for you," i. e. although there was a law of this nature already in existence, namely, the Calpurnian.

<sup>7</sup> *Erat enim, &c.* "For there was the Calpurnian, couched in terms of very great severity." Passed A.U.C. 686. Compare chapter 32, and consult Legal Index.

<sup>8</sup> *Gestus est mos.* "Regard was paid." More literally, "obedience was yielded," i. e. a new law was passed, as you entreated. This new law against bribery was the Tullian, proposed by Cicero himself, and which inflicted, in addition to the punishments ordained by the previous laws on this subject, the penalty of ten years' exile. Consult Legal Index.

<sup>9</sup> *Sed tota illa lex, &c.* "Now that whole law would perhaps have armed your accusation with new terrors, if you had had an accused person to deal with who was actually guilty: as it was, however, it only served to oppose your application for the consulship," i. e. if you had had a real offender to impeach, and not Murena, the Tullian law might have done some good, in making your accusation the more formidable, and his punishment the more severe. But, having only an innocent man like Murena to threaten with the penalties

rat enim severissime scripta Calpurnia. <sup>8</sup> Gestus est s et voluntati et dignitati tuæ. <sup>9</sup> Sed tota illa lex accusa-  
iem tuam, si haberet nocentem reum, fortasse armasset:  
itioni vero refragata est. (47.) Pœna <sup>10</sup>gravior in plebem  
voce efflagitata est;—<sup>11</sup> commoti animi tenuiorum;—  
*Exilium in nostrum ordinem*: concessit senatus postulati-  
tuæ, <sup>13</sup> sed non libenter duriorem fortunæ communi-  
ditionem, te auctore, constituit. <sup>14</sup> Morbi excusationi  
ia addita est; <sup>15</sup> voluntas offensa multorum, quibus aut  
tra valetudinis commodum laborandum est, aut incom-

hat law, you merely injured your cause with the people, who rated your conduct toward my client as the offspring of a vindictive spirit.

*Gravior*. He means more severe than that already prescribed by Calpurnian and other laws.—*In plebem*. Referring to those of the common people, who should suffer themselves to be corrupted by any candidate.

*Commoti animi tenuiorum*. “The minds of the lower orders were moved.” The consequence was that he lost their votes.

*Exilium in nostrum ordinem*. “The penalty of exile was enacted by you against our own order,” i. e. against those senators who would be guilty of bribery.—*Concessit*. The punishment of ten years’ exile was ordained.

*Sed non libenter*, &c. “But it was with reluctance that, in accordance with your suggestion, they decreed greater severity against the men at large.” Literally, “they unwillingly established a harsher condition for our common fortune.”—*Fortunæ communis* refers to the common condition of the order, and not, as some erroneously explain, to the lower classes of the people. We must supply *omnium senatorum* after *fortunæ communis*, as Sylvius does.

*Morbi excusationi*, &c. “A punishment was annexed to every excuse of illness.” The allusion here is extremely doubtful, and we have nothing to guide us but mere conjecture. Manutius thinks, that Serapion got a law passed with consent of the senate, ordering all persons present at the consular comitia, and directing, that the excuse of illness should not be received to account for a person’s absence, but he should be punished for non-attendance. Ernesti, however, gives a more reasonable interpretation. He thinks that the enactment in question was aimed at the judges, witnesses, and others, whose presence might be deemed of importance in a trial for bribery. These would be punished if they stayed away, and excuse of illness was not given. The object of the law was to guard against any improper union, which might defeat the ends of justice.

*Voluntas offensa multorum*, &c. “The friendly feelings, which many entertained towards you, were hurt at this, since they must either let themselves to attend court to the detriment of their health, or in addition to the evil of illness, even the advantages of life let be abandoned by them,” i. e. the other advantages of life besides

medo morbi etiam ceteri vita frustis raffigantur. Quis ergo? <sup>1</sup> haec quis tulit? <sup>2</sup> Ia, qui auctoritati senatus, voluntati tuae paruit: denique in tulit, qui minime probarat. <sup>3</sup> Ille quae mea summa voluntate senatus frequens repudians mediocriter adversata tibi esse existimas? <sup>4</sup> Confusione

health. From the language here employed by Cicero, Ernest thinks that the penalty to be inflicted on those who gave the excuse of illness was an exclusion from office and from the other rights and privileges of citizens.

<sup>1</sup> *Hoc quis tulit?* "Who proposed the law enacting all this?" Literally, "who proposed these things?" The answer of course is Cicero himself. From this passage it would appear, that all the emendments which have just been enumerated by Cicero, were contained in the provisions of the Tullian law.

<sup>2</sup> *Ia, qui, &c.* Cicero, as consul, proposed the law in question to the people, in accordance with the direction of the senate and the wishes of Subuctius, although he himself by no means approved of the measure. Hence we have adopted Schiltz's emendation, *qui minime probarat*, in place of the common reading *cui minime probarat*. Ernest retains the common lecture, but condemns it in his note as incorrect. "*Vadentes quidem versus non erat. Cicero et quidem usciam vocabat, et voceret poterat.*"

<sup>3</sup> *Ille, quae mea summa voluntate, &c.* "Think you that the following, which a crowded senate rejected to my very great satisfaction, were only moderate impediments to your application for the censorship?" Literally, "opposed you in a moderate degree."

<sup>4</sup> *Confusionem suffragiorum.* "A promiscuous intermingling of votes." The usual arrangement of the comitia centuriata, was for the centuries of the first class to give their votes in order, and then the centuries of the other classes after them. This was favourable to bribery; for if a majority of votes had been purchased in any century, it could easily be ascertained by the vote of that century, on the day of election, whether it had fulfilled its share of the bargain or not. In order to prevent this, Servius proposed to the senate, that all the votes of all the centuries should be considered as thrown in common, that is, that the old order of calling up the centuries in succession should not be observed, but that the individual citizens should be called upon for their votes, in no regular order whatever, but as it were confusedly. Hence the expression *confusionem suffragiorum*. Two advantages would result from this new arrangement. First, it could not be ascertained how a particular century voted by different individuals composing it being scattered throughout the great body of voters; and in the next place, the vote of each citizen counted equally, which was not the case under the old system. Compare note 4, page 210. The senate rejected the proposition. See Ernest at end of the volume.

<sup>5</sup> *Prorogationem legis Manilia.* "An extension of the Manilian law," which amounted in fact, to an extension of the provisions of the Manilian law. By *prorogatio legis* is meant the extending of the provisions of a law, so as to make them *venia* provisions apply in cases

suffragiorum flagitasti, <sup>5</sup> prorogationem legis Maniliæ, <sup>6</sup> aequationem gratiæ, dignitatis, suffragiorum. Graviter <sup>7</sup> homines nesti, atque in suis vicinitatibus et municipiis gratiosi lerunt, a tali viro esse pugnatum, ut omnes et <sup>8</sup> dignitatis gratiæ gradus tollerentur. <sup>9</sup> Idem editicios judices esse

ier case, not originally contemplated by those who passed the law the first instance. Servius had not asked for an extension of this r, but Cicero, in order to excite some degree of odium against the ter, says that his proposition about blending the votes was equi-  
alent to an extension of this statute. The Manilian law, here alluded  
was proposed by the same Manilius who brought forward the other  
v of the same name, for investing Pompey with the charge of the  
thridatic war. The Manilian law, which we are at present con-  
sidering, however, allowed freedmen to vote in all the tribes, whereas,  
eviously to this, they voted in some one of the four city tribes only.  
is law was very unpopular with the upper classes at Rome, since it  
ade the freedmen equal with the free citizens, and the favour of the  
rmer would have to be sought as carefully at elections by the  
ugly patricians, as that of the latter. (Ascon. in *Or. pro Cornel.*)  
ow the proposition made by Servius, about confounding together the  
tes would have had the effect of making the votes of the lowest of  
s people equal to those of the highest, and in this sense Cicero says  
would have been in fact an extension of the Manilian law, which  
ade the votes of freedmen equal to those of freemen. This is  
truly said, however, to bring Sulpicius into odium with those who  
garded the Manilian law itself in so unfavourable a light.

<sup>5</sup> *Aequationem gratiæ, &c.* “An equalizing of influence, of rank, of  
ffragia.” Such would have been the result, according to Cicero, of  
e proposition of Servius; amounting, in effect, to a perfect levelling  
stem.

<sup>6</sup> *Homines honesti.* “Men of honourable standing.”—*Gratiæ.* “Of  
fluence.”

<sup>7</sup> *Dignitatis et gratiæ.* “Of rank and influence.” By *dignitas* is  
re meant the degree of consideration in which an individual would  
be held, who had exerted his influence in favour of any particular can-  
date, in case that individual were elected to office; and *gratia* denotes  
influence so exerted. Compare MANUTIUS, *ad loc.*

<sup>8</sup> *Idem editicios judices, &c.* “You likewise wished, that the judges  
ould be named by the parties.” The *judices*, or “judges,” as the  
rm is accustomed to be translated, were in fact a kind of jury, though  
more numerous. They formed a species of council, over which the  
rator presided, and were called his *assessores*. In ordinary cases, they  
ere chosen by lot. But sometimes the law allowed the accuser and  
he defendant to select them, in which case they were said *judices edere*,  
nd the judges themselves were called *editicii*. Thus, by the Servilian  
aw against extortion, the accuser was ordered to name 100 from the  
hole number of persons who were liable to be called upon as *judices*  
or that year, and from that 100 the defendant was to choose 50. By  
he Licinian law, *de sodalitiis*, the accuser was allowed to name the

voluisti,<sup>1</sup> ut odia occulta civium, quæ tacitis nunc discordiis continentur, in fortunas optimi cujusque erumperent. (48.) Hæc omnia tibi accusandi viam muniebant,<sup>2</sup> adipiscendi obsæpiebant.

Atque<sup>3</sup> ex omnibus illa plaga est injecta petitioni tua, non tacente me, maxima: de qua ab homine ingeniosissimo et copiosissimo, Hortensio, multa gravissime dicta sunt. Quo etiam mihi<sup>4</sup> durior locus dicendi datus: ut, cum ante me et ille dixisset, et vir summa dignitate, et diligentia, et facultate dicendi, M. Crassus,<sup>5</sup> ego in extremo non partem aliquam agerem causæ, sed de tota re dicerem, quod mihi

*judices* from the people at large. Whatever checks there might be on this strange practice, we should view it at the present day as one of the surest means of subverting all justice. Servius wished, according to Cicero, this mode of selecting *judices* to be extended to trials of bribery, and the latter immediately after states the evil that would have resulted from such an arrangement.

<sup>1</sup> *Ut odia occulta, &c.* “In order that the private animosities of citizens, which are now confined within the bounds of silent dislike, might break forth,” &c. Cicero means, that, if an accuser were to be allowed to select the *judices*, it would be a very easy matter for persons to accuse and effect the condemnation of illustrious individuals, who chanced to have incurred their hatred.

<sup>2</sup> *Adipiscendi obsæpiebant.* “They obstructed that of attaining to the consulship.” After *adipiscendi* supply *consulatum*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ex omnibus illa plaga maxima.* “That greatest of all wounds,” i. e. that mortal blow.—*Hortensio.* Hortensius and Crassus were, as has already been remarked, engaged on the same side with Cicero in this case.

<sup>4</sup> *Durior locus dicendi.* “A more difficult task in speaking.”

<sup>5</sup> *Ego in extremo, &c.* “I, in closing, should not have to handle merely some particular part of the case, but to state whatever might seem fit to me, respecting the affair at large,” i. e. I, as the closing speaker, when Hortensius and Crassus have gone over the whole case with so much ability, should be compelled to follow in the same track, and not be allowed to discuss merely some particular head of this cause, although the latter arrangement would be easier for me, and certainly more agreeable to you.

<sup>6</sup> *Itaque in iisdem, &c.* “Wherefore, I am now occupied with almost the same topics that they were, and, as far as lies in my power, I strive to facilitate the decision which you in your wisdom will make.” Cicero means, that, being compelled to go over the same ground which had been travelled by his predecessors, he endeavours to do this in such a way, that it may serve as a brief recapitulation of the most important points in the cause, and thus render their task the less burdensome in coming to a decision. Lambinus found *sapietati* in one of his MSS., which has been found also in another, and hence conjectured *satietati*, so that occurro *satietati*, &c., will mean, “I strive to diminish

deretur. • Itaque in iisdem rebus fere versor, et, quoad  
m̄sum, judices, occurro vestræ sapientiæ.

**XXIV.** SED tamen, Servi, <sup>7</sup> quam te securim putas in-  
cisse petitioni tuæ, cum tu populum Romanum in eum  
stum adduxisti, ut pertimesceret, ne consul Catilina fieret,  
in tu accusationem comparares, <sup>8</sup> deposita atque abjecta  
petitione? (49.) Etiam te <sup>9</sup> inquirere videbant, tristem ip-  
m, mœstos amicos; observationes, <sup>10</sup> testificationes, seduc-  
mestestium, <sup>11</sup> secessionem subscriptorum animadvertebant:  
ibus rebus certe ipsi candidatorum vultus obscuriores vi-  
tri solent; Catilinam interea alacrem atque lætum, stipatum  
oro juventutis, vallatum <sup>12</sup> indicibus atque sicariis, inflatum  
in spe militum, tum <sup>13</sup> collegæ mei, quemadmodum dicebat

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much as I can the satiety you must necessarily feel," i. e. having to  
over the same topics, I do so as briefly as possible. There is a good  
deal to be said in favour of this reading, although it is condemned very  
decidedly by Ernesti, and is followed by a very few. Ernesti, however,  
is wrong in the explanation which he gives of the whole passage,  
may be seen from the remarks of Schütz. The verb *occurro*, it must  
be remembered, is here used in the sense of *juro*.

<sup>1</sup> *Quam te securim*, &c. "What an axe do you think you laid?" i. e.  
"I think what an axe you laid."

<sup>1</sup> *Depositæ atque abjectæ petitione*. "Your application for the consul-  
p being given up, and cast aside as of no value," i. e. as quite hope-  
less. This retiring from the contest, on the part of Sulpicius, would  
allow Catiline's party to rally, and inspire them with the hope of suc-  
cess, and would alarm many lest that hope might be realized. These  
would therefore throw the weight of their influence into the scale  
Murena and Silanus.

*Inquirere*. "Collecting information."—*Observationes*. "Your in-  
vestigations," i. e. your inquiries as to who had given and who received  
bribes.

<sup>1</sup> *Testificationes*. "The depositions that were made."—*Seductiones*  
item. "The taking aside of witnesses," i. e. the being closeted with  
them, in order to arrange their testimony for the approaching trial.

<sup>1</sup> *Secessionem subscriptorum*. "The consultations of the accusers."  
literally, "the going apart of the accusers." The principal accuser  
is called *accusator*, and those who joined in the accusation *subscrip-  
tores*, from their subscribing their names to the impeachment.

<sup>12</sup> *Indicibus atque sicariis*. "By informers and assassins." Grævius  
finds it difficult to understand who are meant by "informers" in this  
passage. The answer is an easy one. They were false accusers, and at  
the same time worthless persons, whom Catiline kept around him for  
the purpose of harassing and intimidating the good, (conf. *Sert.* 44):  
*Qui stipatus semper sicariis, septus armatis, munitus indicibus fuit.*"

<sup>13</sup> *Collegæ mei*. Antonius. Compare SALLUST (*B. C.* 21): "Petere con-

ipse, promissis; circumfluentem colonorum<sup>1</sup> Arretin Fesulanorum exercitu; quam turbam, dissimillimo ex distinguebant homines<sup>2</sup> perculti Sullani temporis cal Vultus erat ipsius plenus furoris: oculi, sceleris: arrogantiæ: sic ut ei jam exploratus et<sup>3</sup> domi consularatus videretur. Murenam contemnebat: Si<sup>4</sup> accusatorem suum numerabat, non competitorem: denuntiabat: rei publicæ minabatur.

**XXV.** (50.) *Quibus* rebus qui timor bonis injectus sit, quantaque desperatio<sup>5</sup> rei publicæ, si ill esset, nolite a me commoneri velle: vosmet ipsi recordamini. Meministis enim, cum illius nefarii glæ voces<sup>6</sup> percrebuissent, quas habuisse in concione dicebatur, cum miserorum fidelem defensorem negiri veniri posse, nisi<sup>7</sup> eum, qui ipse miser esset: <sup>8</sup> int

*sulatum C. Antonium, quem sibi collegam fore speraret, hominem liarem,*" &c., and also (c. 26): "Ad hoc collegam suum Antonium

<sup>1</sup> *Arretinorum et Fesulanorum.* Compare *Or. in Cat.* 2, *turbam*, &c. "Which crowd, most motley in its character, c individuals, who had been sufferers by the calamities of Sylla served to diversify," i. e. one might see scattered through motley group, and serving to make the contrast more conspicuous persons who had lost their all during the proscriptions and who were now, as desperate men, following a desperate le

<sup>2</sup> *Perculti.* The common text has *percussi*. But *perculti* is reading. When speaking of the blow of calamity, where the feelings are of course involved, the Roman writers use *percussio* referring to mere bodily injury they employ *percutio*. Hence distinction which Bentley lays down; *ad Horat. Epod.* 11, 2, that is the weaker term, and denotes merely "to strike," whereas means "to stun," "to prostrate," as it were.

<sup>3</sup> *Domini conditus.* "Laid up for him at home." A forcible expression. The consulship appeared to Catiline to be as fully in his power as any article of property under his own roof, and all that for him to do was to put forth his hand, and take it when the required.

<sup>4</sup> *Accusatorem suum.* Because Sulpicius had declared his to bring to trial every one who should employ improper measures vassassing for the consulship.

<sup>5</sup> *Rei publicæ.* "Of the public welfare." *Factus esset. consul.*

<sup>6</sup> *Percrebuissent.* "Had spread abroad."—*In concione domi* the house of Læca. *Or. in Cat.* 1, 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Eum, qui ipse miser esset.* Alluding to himself. The stroke marks the use of the subjunctive here by Cicero, who is quite consistent in his language of Catiline. So *negasset* in the clause.

et fortunatorum promissis saucios et miseros credere non portere: quare qui <sup>9</sup> consumpta replere, erepta recuperare alent, spectarent, quid ipse deberet, quid possideret, quid uaderet: minime timidum, et valde calamitosum esse oportere unum qui esset futurus dux et signifer calamitosorum. (51.) Num igitur, his rebus auditis, meministis fieri senatusconsultum, <sup>10</sup> referente me, ne postero die comitia haberentur, it de his rebus in senatu agere possemus. Itaque postridie, requenti senatu, <sup>11</sup> Catilinam excitavi, atque eum de his rebus ussi, si quid vellet, quae ad me allatae essent, dicere. Atque ille, ut semper fuit <sup>12</sup> apertissimus, non se purgavit, sed indicavit atque induit. Tum enim dixit, <sup>13</sup> duo corpora esse rei publicae, unum debile, infirmo capite: alterum firmum, sine capite: huic, cum ita de se meritum esset, caput, se vivo, non defuturum. <sup>14</sup> Congemuit senatus frequens, neque tamen

<sup>9</sup> *Integrorum et fortunatorum.* "Of those who were uninjured and fortunate." Meaning the upper classes and the wealthy. *Integrorum* here opposed to *sauarios*, and *fortunatorum* to *miseros*.

<sup>10</sup> *Consumpta replere.* "To repair their exhausted fortunes." — *Replere.* "What had been wrested from them," i. e. by the oppression and power of the aristocracy. Compare Catiline's speech in Sallust (*B. C.* c. 20); "*Itaque omnis gratia, potentia, honos, diritice apud illos erat,*" &c.

<sup>11</sup> *Referente me.* "On my motion." More literally, "I referring the matter to them for their consideration." Cicero, as consul, laid this subject before the senate. Compare, as regards the affair to which he alludes, note 1, page 12.

<sup>12</sup> *Catilinam excitari.* "I called upon Catiline." The literal force of *excitari*, "I caused to rise," has reference to the custom that prevailed in the Roman senate of a member's always rising when he had any remark to make, and his remaining up until he had finished the observations he had to offer.

<sup>13</sup> *Apertissimus.* Very open in his declarations."—*Indicavit atque induit.* "Owned the charge and plunged into the very midst of the snare." *Indicare* differs from *confiteri* in denoting a voluntary and ready confession. Conf. DONATUS (*Ad Terent. Adelph. Prol.* 4): "*Indicat is qui de se volens aliquid, et de aliis etiam, prodit: sed confitetur, nisi de se tantum, et qui invitatus.*" With regard to *induit*, in this passage, it may be remarked, that it is a metaphor taken from an animal plunging into the nets set for it. Catiline plunges into the very midst of the danger, boldly and fearlessly, although he sees it full before him. Compare OR. in *Ferr.* (4, 42): "*Videte in quot se laqueos induerit, quem ex nullo se unquam expedit.*"

<sup>14</sup> *Duo corpora, &c.* Compare note 1, page 12.—*Unum debile, &c.* The first of these denotes the senatorial party with Cicero at its head; the other the advocates for a change of affairs, to these Catiline promises that they shall not be without a head.

<sup>15</sup> *Congemuit senatus frequens.* "A crowded senate broke forth into

satis severe pro rei indignitate decrevit. Nam partim ideo, fortis in decernendo non erant, quia nihil timebant: partim quia timebant. <sup>1</sup> Tum erupit e senatu, triumphans gaudio quem omnino vivum illinc exire non oportuerat: præsertim cum idem ille in eodem ordine <sup>2</sup> paucis diebus ante, Catoni fortissimo viro, judicium minitanti ac denuntianti, respon disset, si quod esset in suas fortunas incendium excitatum id se non aqua, <sup>3</sup> sed ruina restincturum.

**XXVI.** (52.) His tum rebus commotus, et quod homine jam tum conjuratos cum gladiis in campum deduci a Catilin sciebam, descendи in campum cum firmissimo præsidio fortissimorum virorum, <sup>4</sup> et cum illa lata insignique lorica, non quæ me tegeret, (etenim sciebam Catilinam non' latus su ventrem, sed caput et collum solere petere,) verum ut omne boni animadverterent; et, cum in metu et periculo consules viderent, id quod est factum, ad opem præsidiumque meum concurrerent. Itaque cum te, Servi, <sup>5</sup> remissiorem in pe

one groan of indignation." The student will note the force of the compound verb.—*Pro rei indignitate.* "Considering the dignity of the insult."

<sup>1</sup> *Tum erupit e senatu, &c.* What the senate decreed against Catiline on this occasion, does not appear, but most probably, from the word here employed, and from his going to the Campus Martius as a candidate, no measures of any importance were taken against him. Dix Cassius, indeed, says that he did not venture to persist in his application for the consulship, being deterred by the law which had been passed against bribery; but Sallust (c. 26) merely remarks that his application proved unsuccessful. Plutarch states expressly, that he stood for the consular office on this occasion. (*Vit. Cic.* c. 14.)

<sup>2</sup> *Paucis diebus ante.* Sallust states that Catiline uttered the threat here alluded to on the occasion of Cicero's first oration against him. Cicero's authority, however, is of greater weight, and he gives the same account in his *Orator*, 37, 129. Florus and Valerius Maximus agree with Sallust.

<sup>3</sup> *Sed ruina.* "But by ruins." Alluding to the custom of stopping the progress of a fire, when ordinary means fail, by demolishing the buildings in the vicinity.

<sup>4</sup> *Et cum illa lata, &c.* Compare note 1, page 18.—*Non quæ me teget.* "Not that it might protect me." When Cicero says that Catiline aimed only at the head and neck of his victims, he must be understood as alluding figuratively to his cruel conduct during the proscription of Sylla, when the heads of their political antagonists were brought in by the assassins of party. Consult Historical Index, s. v. CATILINA.

<sup>5</sup> *Remissiorem.* "Relaxing your ardour."

<sup>6</sup> *Magna est autem, &c.* This appears at first view harsh Latinity, since two epithets are seldom, if ever, employed, unless one of them

ndo putarent, Catilinam et spe et cupiditate inflammatum ierent, omnes, qui illam ab re publica pestem depellere piebant, ad Murenam se statim contulerunt. (53.) <sup>6</sup>Magna t autem comitiis consularibus repentina voluntatum inclitio, præsertim cum incubuit <sup>7</sup>ad virum bonum et multis is adjumentis petitionis ornatum. Qui cum honestissimo tre atque majoribus, <sup>8</sup>modestissima adolescentia, clarissima ratione, <sup>9</sup>prætura probata in jure, grata in munere, ornata provincia, petisset diligenter, et ita petisset, ut neque inanti cederet, neque cuiquam minaretur: huic mirandum t, magno adjumento Catilinæ subitam spem consulatus lipiscendi fuisse?

(54.) Nunc mihi tertius ille locus est orationis de ambitus iminibus, <sup>10</sup>perpurgatus ab iis, qui ante me dixerunt; a me, ioniam ita Murena voluit, retractandus: quo in loco <sup>11</sup>Postumio, familiari meo, ornatissimo viro, <sup>12</sup>de divisorum indiciis de deprehensis pecuniis, adolescenti ingenioso et bono,

me in as a participle. *Magna*, however, is not in fact an epithet of *inclinatio*, but a predicate of *repentina inclinatio*. “Of great importance is a sudden turn of popular feeling,” &c. Compare ERNESTI, loc.

<sup>7</sup> *Ad virum bonum*. Such as Murena is.—*Multis aliis adjumentis*, These are enumerated after.

<sup>8</sup> *Modestissima*. “Characterized by the utmost self-control.”—*Lega-  
te*. His lieutenancy under Lucullus.

<sup>9</sup> *Prætura probata in jure*, &c. The prætorship of Murena is here considered in its three different aspects, the dispensing of justice, the giving of public shows, and the province that followed. Render, “approved of as regarded the discharge of its judicial duties, accepted as for the public shows connected with it, supplied with every thing requisite as regarded the province that succeeded.” By *ornare provinciam* is meant, to supply a province with every thing that may tend to give it efficiency in its several operations, and consideration in the eyes of those who come under its jurisdiction. Thus FACCIOLATI: *Ornare provinciam est, ex senatus consulto decernere certum militum numerum, et iis stipendum, item riaticum in legatos et comitatum, terminare ipsius provinciae fines, jurisdictionis formam modumque præscribere, et hujusmodi alia, quæ honori et ornatui erant tum provinciae ipsi, in magistratui eam regenti.*”

<sup>10</sup> *Perpurgatus*. “Fully cleared up.”—*Ab iis, qui ante*, &c. Referring Hortensius and Crassus.

<sup>11</sup> *Postumio*. Postumius was associated in the accusation with Sulla and Cato. Consult Introductory Remarks.

<sup>12</sup> *De divisorum indiciis*, &c. “Concerning the disclosures made respecting the distributors of bribes, and the sums of money that had been seized in their hands.” The *divisores* were persons employed by

<sup>1</sup> Ser. Sulpicio, de <sup>2</sup> equitum centuriis, M. Catoni, homini i omni virtute excellenti, de ipsius accusatione, de senatu consulto, de re publica respondebo.

**XXVII.** (55.) SED pauca, quæ meum animum repend moverunt, prius de L. Murena fortuna conquerar. Nam cum sæpe antea, judices, et ex aliorum miseriis, et ex me curis laboribusque quotidianis, fortunatos eos homines jud carem, qui, remoti <sup>3</sup> a studiis ambitionis, otium ac tranquillitatem vitæ secuti sunt: tum vero in his L. Murena tant tamque improvisis periculis ita sum animo affectus, ut ne queam satis neque communem omnium nostrum conditionem <sup>4</sup> neque hujus eventum fortunamque miserari: qui, primus dum ex honoribus continua familiæ majorumque suorum <sup>5</sup> unum adscendere gradum dignitatis conatus est, venit periculum, ne et <sup>6</sup> ea, quæ relictæ, et hæc, quæ ab ipso par

the candidates to distribute bribes. This, though illegal, was oft done; and was practised, on one occasion, against Cæsar, with the a probation of Cato himself.

<sup>1</sup> *Ser. Sulpicio.* Son of Sulpicius the accuser, and one of the <sup>2</sup> *scriptores.* Compare *MANUTIUS*: “*Quis non intelligit, Ser. Sulpicio filium significari? qui et cum Postumio et Catone, patri, Murenam a scriptoribus, subscripsérat.*”

<sup>2</sup> *De equitum centuriis.* These are centuries that composed the whole body of the *equites*. They were eighteen in number, and voted in the first class. If unanimous in their agreement with that class the election was nearly decided. (Compare note 4, page 210.) Hence the importance attached to their vote by the respective candidates. Natta, Murena's step-son, had invited them to a banquet, and this was alleged to have been done with the view of securing their vote.

<sup>3</sup> *A studiis ambitionis.* “From the pursuits of ambition.”—*Sed sunt.* “Have courted.”

<sup>4</sup> *Neque hujus eventum fortunamque.* “Nor the fate and conditions of my friend,” i. e. the hard lot which is his.

<sup>5</sup> *Unam adscendere gradum, &c.* The father, the grandfather, and others of the progenitors of Murena, had held the office of *prætor*; but the consulship had not hitherto been attained to by any of the family.

<sup>6</sup> *Ea, quæ relictæ, &c.* The honourable name left him by his father.—*Hæc, quæ ab ipso, &c.* The honours conferred for previous services rendered to his country by Murena himself, exclusive of the consulship.

<sup>7</sup> *Propter studium novæ laudis.* “On account of his eager pursuit of a new honour.” Literally, “of a new source of praise.” The reference is to the new consulship. Compare note 5.—*Veteris fortunæ.* The honours he had enjoyed previous to the consulship, and which have already been alluded to, in the words, “*hæc quæ ab ipso parta sunt.*”

<sup>8</sup> *Odio inimicitarum.* “Through the hatred engendered by private animosity.”—*Qui studio accusandi, &c.* Cicero means, that Murena's

t, amittat; deinde,<sup>7</sup> propter studium novæ laudis, etiam eteris fortunæ discrimen adducitur. (56.) Quæ cum sint via, judices, tum illud acerbissimum est, quod habet eos isatores, non qui<sup>8</sup> odio inimicitiarum ad accusandum, sed studio accusandi ad inimicitias descenderunt. Nam, ut ttam Servium Sulpicium, quem intelligo<sup>9</sup> non injuria L. renæ, sed honoris contentione permotum, accusat<sup>10</sup> paternicus, Cn. Postumius, vetus, ut ait ipse, vicinus accessarius; <sup>11</sup> qui necessitudinis causas complures protulit, ultatis nullam commemorare potuit: accusat<sup>12</sup> Ser. Sulpicius, sodalis filii, <sup>13</sup> cuius ingenio paterni omnes necessarii nitiores esse debebant: accusat M. Cato, qui quamquam Murena nulla re umquam<sup>14</sup> alienus fuit, tamen ea condicione nobis erat in hac civitate natus, ut ejus opes et ingem præsidio multis etiam alienissimis vix cuiquam inimico,

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friends have, through their ill-timed and misdirected zeal for impeaching, been induced to become his accusers.

*Non injuria L. Murenæ, &c.* "Not by any personal injury received from Licinius Murena, but by a contest with him for pre-empt."

<sup>1</sup> *Paternus amicus.* "An hereditary friend," i. e. whose father and Murena's had been friends. The sons inherited the friendship of their fathers. Some commentators make Postumius himself a friend of Murena's father, and translate *paternus amicus* "his father's friend." This, however, cannot be correct, since Postumius was younger than Murena the son.

<sup>2</sup> *Qui necessitudinis, &c.* "Who has assigned in fact very many grounds for intimate friendship between them, has been unable to assign a single one for enmity," i. e. in all that he has said on this part of the subject, Postumius has only shown the more clearly that Murena and Murena were intimate friends, and consequently that he ought to be here as his accuser.

<sup>3</sup> *Ser. Sulpicius.* Son of Sulpicius the accuser.—*Sodalis filii.* "The companion of his son," i. e. of Murena's son. The son of Sulpicius and son of Murena the accused had been companions.

<sup>4</sup> *Cuius ingenio, &c.* "By the exercise of whose talents all his father's friends ought only to be rendered the more safe." The reference is to the son of Sulpicius, who ought not, according to Cicero, to be here accusing and endangering the safety of an old friend of his father's, but ought rather to exert himself in behalf of that friend. This reproof is extremely delicate. The son of Sulpicius, when he sees his father at variance with an old friend, ought to do his best in order to reconcile them to each other.

<sup>5</sup> *Alienus.* "Estranged in feeling."—*Multis etiam alienissimis.* "To many who were even the merest strangers to him," i. e. of whom he knew nothing at all.—*Exitio.* "Detrimental." The heathen doctrine

exitio esse deberent. (57.) Respondebo igitur Postumum primum, <sup>1</sup> qui nescio quo pacto, mihi videtur prætorius candidatus in consularem, quasi desultorius in quadrigarum circulum, incurrere. <sup>2</sup> Cujus competitores si nihil deliquerunt, dignitati eorum concessit, cum petere destitit; sin autem eorum aliquis largitus est, expetendus amicus est, qui alienam potius injuriam, quam suam persequatur. \* \* \* \* \*

XXVIII. (58.) <sup>3</sup> Venio nunc ad M. Catonem, <sup>4</sup> quod est firmamentum ac robur totius accusationis; <sup>5</sup> qui tamen ita gravis est accusator et vehemens, ut multo magis ejus auctoritatem, quam criminacionem pertimescam. <sup>6</sup> In qua

of doing our utmost to retaliate upon and injure our private foes needs, of course, no comment here.

<sup>1</sup> Qui nescio quo pacto, &c. "Who, I know not how it is, seems to me, being himself a candidate for the prætorship, to run full against a competitor for the consular office, just as if a vaulter on horseback should leap into a four-horse chariot." Postumius, himself a candidate for the prætorship, desists from his own canvass, turns off, and accuses one of the competitors for the consulship. This is strange enough. Why did he not rather accuse some one of his own rival candidates, and not interfere in a case where his presence was unnecessary? This is the same, remarks Cicero, as if a vaulter in the sports of the circus, who is accustomed to leap from the back of one horse to that of another, should on a sudden vault from a steed into the seat of a chariot. What has such a vaulter to do with a chariot? And what has Postumius to do with the present impeachment? With *desultorium* supply *eques*. The *desultorius*, or, as he was more commonly called, *desultor*, leaped from one horse to another as they were both proceeding at full speed.

<sup>2</sup> Cujus competitores, &c. "If his competitors have been guilty of no act of delinquency, he yielded to their superior merit, when he desisted from being a candidate; but if, on the contrary, some one of them has been guilty of bribery, then it seems some friend is to be sought to prosecute another's injuries rather than his own." All this is said to show that Postumius has nothing whatever to do with the present impeachment, and ought to be away. If he yielded to his own opponents for the prætorship, because their claims to personal merit were superior to his, for the very same reason he ought not to be here accusing Murena, since the merit of the latter is equal to that of Sulpicius. If, on the other hand, he abandoned his own canvass because some one of his competitors had been guilty of bribery, and he left it to some one of his friends to prosecute this offence, when he ought to have done it in person, in this case also, he should not have taken part in the present impeachment, because the man who cannot advocate his own rights is a very unfit person to appear as an advocate for those of another.

<sup>3</sup> Venio nunc. The replies to Postumius and the younger Sulpicius

accusatore, judices, primum illud deprecabor, ne quid L. murena dignitas illius, ne quid exspectatio tribunatus, ne d totius vita splendor et gravitas noceat; denique ne ea huic obsint bona M. Catonis, quae ille adeptus est, ut itis prodesse posset. Bis consul fuerat <sup>7</sup> P. Africanus, et terrores hujus imperii, Carthaginem Numantiamque, everat, cum accusavit L. Cottam. Erat in eo summa iuuentia, summa fides, summa integritas, auctoritas tanta, <sup>8</sup> in ipso imperio populi Roniani, quod illius opera ebatur. Sæpe hoc majores natu dicere audivi, hanc accusatoris eximiam dignitatem plurimum <sup>9</sup> L. Cottæ proisse. Noluerunt sapientissimi homines, qui tum rem illam

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not appear in the MSS., and their absence is indicated, in our text, by asterisks after *persequator*. It has been thought by some, that they were suppressed by Cicero himself, in the copies of the speech prepared by him and published. The younger Pliny refers to this action with several others, in one of his letters (1, 20), and remarks: "Ita *apparet illum permulta diruisse; cum ederet, omisisse.*" Cicero puts down his speeches after delivery, and does not appear to have prepared them in writing beforehand. Compare what he himself says on this subject (*Tusc.* 4, 25): "Jam, rebus transactis et præteritis, oratione scribimus."

<sup>1</sup> *Quod est firmamentum, &c.* "And this forms the main support and strength of the whole accusation," i. e. Cato's weight of character. Sulpicius and his friends regard this as the stronghold of their cause.

<sup>2</sup> *Qui tamen, &c.* "Who, notwithstanding, is so powerful and vehement an accuser, that I fear his weight of character far more than his accusation." The peculiar farce of *ita* is lost, however, in a literal translation. A paraphrase will convey Cicero's meaning more clearly: "Who, notwithstanding the heavy and vehement attacks which he has made against Murena on the present occasion, appears to me far more formidable for his general weight of character, than for any thing he has alleged against my client."

<sup>3</sup> *In quo accusatore.* "In the case of this accuser," i. e. as far as the accuser is concerned.—*Illijs.* Referring to Cato.—*Exspectatio tribunatus.* Cato was then tribune elect.

<sup>4</sup> *P. Africanus.* The younger of this name.

<sup>5</sup> *In ipso imperio, &c.* The pronoun *ipso* is not expressed in some MSS. and early editions. It appears, however, in the best modern editions, and imparts force to the clause.

<sup>6</sup> *L. Cottæ profuisse.* This prosecution is also referred to in the *oratione* for Fonteius, c. 16, and in that against Cæcilius, c. 21. Some other details are given by *Valearius Maximus*, 8, 1, 11; but the same reason is assigned for his acquittal, although, to quote the words of the aforementioned writer, "gravissimis criminibus erat confusa."

non nimiam gratiam.<sup>6</sup> Valeant haec omnia ad salcentium, ad opem impotentium, ad auxilium calam in periculo vero, et in pernicie civium, repudie Nam si quis hoc forte dicet, Catonem descensurandum non fuisse,<sup>7</sup> nisi prius de causa judicasse

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<sup>1</sup> *Cadere in judicio.* Compare note 10, page 895.—*Abye down.*" *Abiectus* is here equivalent to *dejectus* or *prostret* (CIC. in *Verr.* 7, 54): "Ad tribunal ante pedes frons, ad tei verberibus abiectum;" and (SENEC. *de Benef.* 5, 8): "Iiectus perdidit palmam."

<sup>2</sup> *Ser. Galbam.* Servius Sulpicius Galba was accused a tribune of the commons, of having slain a large number tani, in violation of his own plighted word. He was an emperor Galba. Valerius Maximus says, that, having inhabitants of three cities of Lusitania, under the pretext with them in relation to their common interest, he did and seized nine thousand of the flower of their youth, who slew and partly sold as slaves. Suetonius says, that thirty thousand, and that this was the cause of the war. Libo applied for a bill, the object of which was to bring before the people, although he was not expressly named then at a very advanced age, supported the passing of the short time before his death pronounced a long oration which he inserted in his work entitled *Origines*. (CIC. *Br.*

<sup>3</sup> *Eripuit.* In his *Brutus*, c. 23, Cicero ascribes the Galba to the commiseration felt by the people at the

udices, et miseram conditionem instituit periculis  
a, si existimabit, <sup>8</sup> judicium accusatoris in reum pro  
ræjudicio valere oportere.

C. Ego <sup>9</sup> tuum consilium, Cato, propter singulare  
rei de tua virtute judicium, vituperare non audeo;  
~~in re~~ forsitan <sup>10</sup> conformare et leviter emendare pos-  
Non multa peccas," inquit ille fortissimo viro senior  
:: "sed, si peccas, te regere possum." At ego te  
e dixerim peccare nihil, neque ulla in re te esse  
udi, <sup>12</sup> ut corrigendus potius, quam leviter inflectendus  
eare. Finxit enim te ipsa natura ad honestatem,  
em, temperantiam, magnitudinem animi, justitiam,  
es denique virtutes magnum hominem et excelsum.

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the safety of the innocent," &c., i. e. when exerted for the  
prius de causa judicasset. "If he had not previously judged  
in his own mind."

*zum accusatoris*, &c. "That the judgment passed by an ac-  
on the accused ought to operate as a judicial precedent against  
y *præjudicium* is meant a judgment or sentence which affords  
ent to be afterwards followed. Thus ASCONIUS: "*Præju-*  
*icitur res, quæ cum statuta fuerit, afferit judicaturis exemplum,*  
*antur.*"

*consilium*. "Your determination in the present case," i. e.  
accuser against Murena.—*Propter singulare animi*, &c. "On  
of the high opinion I entertain," &c.

*formare et leviter emendare*. "To mould and slightly amend  
ero means to say, that although his high respect for Cato pre-  
n from blaming his conduct, still he has a little reproach  
against him.

*multa peccas*, &c. "'You do not often go wrong,' says the  
ceptor in the play to a very valiant hero: 'but when you do,  
e to set you right.' These words are thought to have been  
by Cicero from some well known play of Ennius or Attius,  
hoenix, the governor of Achilles, is conversing with and im-  
instruction to his pupil.—*Ille senior magister*. We have endeav-  
o express the peculiar force of the pronoun *ille* in this clause.  
l meaning is "that well known," i. e. he that is known to all  
play that we have seen so often represented.

*corrigendus*, &c. "As to appear to require to be made straight,  
han to be only slightly bent," i. e. as to stand in need of cor-  
ather than gentle admonition. *Corrigere* is to straighten what  
crooked; *inflectere* to bend back to a straight form what is only  
urved, and what therefore requires only a slight degree of in-  
to restore it to its previous state.

<sup>1</sup> Accessit istuc doctrina non moderata, <sup>2</sup> nec mitis, sed mihi videtur, paullo asperior, et durior, quam aut veritas natura patiatur. (61.) Et quoniam non est nobis hæc ostendenda aut <sup>3</sup> cum <sup>4</sup> imperita multitudine, aut in aliquo ventu agrestium, audacius paullo de <sup>5</sup> studiis humanis quæ et mihi et vobis nota et jucunda sunt, disputabo. M. Catone, judices, <sup>6</sup> hæc bona, quæ videmus, divina et egregia, ipsius scitote esse propria. Quæ nonnunquam r

<sup>1</sup> *Accessit istuc.* The common text has *accessit his tot*, where *ta* not possibly be correct. One of the MSS. has *istuc*, which Eu commends in one of his notes. The peculiar force of *istuc*, as applying to the person who is addressed, makes the correction a very plausible

<sup>2</sup> *Nec mitis, &c.* "Nor yet at the same time mild in its character but as appears to me a little too harsh, and more intractable either truth or nature allows."

<sup>3</sup> *Cum, &c.* "In the presence of an illiterate multitude." Sc has doubts respecting the correctness of this use of *cum*, and suggests *coram* in place of it. In his Latin Lexicon, however, he gives this one of the meanings of *cum*, and quotes the following passage CÆSAR (*B. G.* 7, 47): "*Legionisque decimæ, quacum erat concionatus*" All the MSS. of Cæsar confirm this reading, but the editors thought fit to substitute for *quacum erat concionatus* the lection *tum erat comitatus*. The author of the Greek translation of Cæsar's *Sanctions*, however, the common reading, for he has  $\pi\rho\delta\varsigma \delta\alpha\mu\eta\gamma\omega\eta\kappa\varepsilon\iota$ .

<sup>4</sup> *Imperita multitudine.* It is curious to observe how Cicero sometimes adapts his language to circumstances, and to the exigencies of the case in hand. The very same individuals, whom he here praises for their intelligence, he actually calls an illiterate class of persons on another occasion, when he was no longer pleading before them. Thus in the fourth book of the treatise *De Finibus*, c. 27, where he is supposed to be conversing in private with Cato, about the merits of Stoic philosophy, Cicero remarks: "*Non ego tecum jam ita loqua iisdem his de rebus, quum L. Murenam, te accusante, defendarem. A imperitos tum illa dicta sunt; aliquid etiam coronæ datum: nunc a dum est subtilius.*" On another occasion again, he even makes a pretence out of this docility of the imagination, and lays it down as a rule, that the first duty of an orator is to please the people. (*Brut.* 50.)

<sup>5</sup> *Studiis humanitatis.* Compare note 7, page 140.

<sup>6</sup> *Hæc bona divina et egregia.* "That these divine and admirable qualities." *Bona*, literally "goods," i. e. excellences.—*Quæ non quam requirimus.* The verb *requiro* is here taken in the sense of *reprehendo*. Compare ERNESTI, *Clav. Cic.* s. v. and SCHÜTZ, *Ind. Lat.*

<sup>7</sup> *Fuit enim quidam, &c.* The art with which Cicero managed his attack, not the character and authority, but the doctrines of Cato, have often been a theme of remark. He is highly praised for it by QUILIAN (11, 1, 68). In the treatise *De Finibus* (4, 27), already alluded to in a previous note, Cicero acknowledges that he had been too severe in his remarks on the Stoic sect.

mus, ea sunt omnia non a natura, sed a magistro.<sup>7</sup> Fuit autem quidam summo ingenio vir,<sup>8</sup> Zeno, cuius inventorium muli<sup>9</sup> Stoici nominantur. Hujus<sup>10</sup> sententiae sunt et præcepta ejusmodi: <sup>11</sup> sapientem <sup>12</sup> gratiæ nunquam moveri, unquam cujusquam delicto ignoscere: neminem misericordem esse, nisi stultum et levem: viri non esse, neque horari, neque placari: <sup>13</sup> solos sapientes esse, si distortissimi

<sup>8</sup> Zeno. Consult Historical Index.—*Cujus inventorum æmuli.* “The flowers of whose discoveries.” *Æmulus* is here, not a rival, but zealous follower. Compare Liv. 1, 28: “Quem juvenum æmulantium ualis certus habuisse constat,” where H. Homer, in his *Gloss. Lir.* explains *æmulantium* by *sequentium*. So TACITUS, *Hist.* 3, 81: “Musonius Rufus, equestris ordinis, studium philosophiae et placita Stoicorum mulatus.”

<sup>9</sup> Stoici. The name is derived from the *porch* (*στροά*) where Zeno was accustomed to lecture to his pupils. Hence “Stoics” are literally, according to the import of the term, “the men of the porch,” *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς στροᾶς*.

<sup>10</sup> Sententiae et præcepta. “The tenets and maxims.”

<sup>11</sup> Sapientem, &c. Cicero, in order to throw ridicule on the Stoic doctrines, advances here some of the extravagant assertions which the Stoics were accustomed to make respecting their wise man. For example, that he feels neither pain nor pleasure: that he exercises no pity; that he is free from all faults; that he is divine; that he can neither deceive nor be deceived; that he does all things well; that he alone is noble, great, ingenuous; that he alone is free; that he is prophet, a priest, and a king; and the like. In order to conceive, however, the true notion of the Stoics concerning their wise man, it must be clearly understood, that they did not suppose such a man actually to exist, but that they framed in their imagination an image of perfection, towards which every man should constantly aspire. All the extravagant things which are to be met with in their writings on this subject, may be referred to their general principle of the entire insufficiency of virtue to happiness, and the consequent indifference of external circumstances.

<sup>12</sup> Gratia nunquam moveri. Because all external things are matter of indifference to him.—*Nunquam cujusquam delicto ignoscere.* Because every fault, great or small, is a deviation from the strict and unerring rule of right reason, which must ever be most implicitly obeyed.—*Neminem misericordem esse.* To show pity is to let feeling triumph over reason, and external things have sway.

<sup>13</sup> Solos sapientes, &c. “That the wise, even though they be most distorted in appearance, are alone beautiful; rich, though in the most abject poverty; though in the lowest degree of slavery, kings.” All this follows from the Stoical premises of the indifference of external things. True beauty, riches, and royalty are the beauty, riches, and royalty of reason and virtue. Horace humorously ridicules these paradoxical vaunting, *Sat.* 1, 3, *sub. fin.*—*Ep.* 1, 1, 106.

sint, formosos ; si mendicissimi, divites ; <sup>1</sup> si servitutem serviant, reges : nos autem, qui sapientes non sumus, fugitivos, exsules, hostes, insanos denique esse dicunt : <sup>2</sup> omnia peccata esse paria : omne delictum scelus esse nefarium : nec minus delinquere eum, qui gallum gallinaceum, cum opus non fuerit, quam eum, qui patrem suffocaverit : sapientem <sup>3</sup> nihil opinari, nullius rei pœnitere, nulla in re falli, sententiam mutare nunquam.

XXX. (62.) HÆC homo ingeniosissimus, M. Cato, <sup>4</sup> auctoribus eruditissimis inductus, arripuit : neque disputandi

<sup>1</sup> *Si servitutem serviant.* The accusative is often added to an intransitive verb, like an adverb, especially if the noun be of the same root. The object of this construction is to impart force to the passage. Thus we have, besides the instance in the text, such forms as *rivere rīam*, *somniare somnium*, *pugnare pugnam*. In English the construction is also found, "to live a life," "to dream a dream," &c. So in Greek, *βιώναι βίον*, &c. (ZUMPT, *L. G.* p. 257, *Kenrick's transl.*)

<sup>2</sup> *Omnia peccata esse paria.* According to the Stoic doctrine, every virtue being a conformity to nature, and every vice a deviation from it, all virtues and vices are equal.

<sup>3</sup> *Nihil opinari.* "Assents to nothing without full conviction." Compare ERNESTI, *Clav. Cic.* s. v. "*Opinari*, h. e. *rei incertæ assentiri.*"—*Sententiam mutare nunquam.* This follows of course, from his never making up his mind about any thing until the matter has become perfectly clear to him.

<sup>4</sup> *Auctoribus eruditissimis.* The various writers on the Stoic doctrines, such as Zeno, Chrysippus, Cleanthes, &c.—*Arripuit.* "Has eagerly caught at."—*Sed ita vivendi.* "But of living in accordance with them." *Ita*, literally, "in such a way" as they prescribe.

<sup>5</sup> *Petunt aliquid publicani?* "Do the farmers of the revenue petition for some abatement?" The allusion is to cases where the farmers of the public revenues have suffered in their contracts by reason of war, or any other calamity, and have requested some abatement in the terms of the agreement. These applications were made to the senate. It seems that such requests were very often negatived by that body, and that Cato's influence was very instrumental in producing such a result. The evil policy of this opposition to the wishes of the equestrian order, who were the farmers of the revenue, soon displayed itself. The equites applied to Cæsar when in power, for relief from a disadvantageous contract respecting the Asiatic revenues, and that artful leader, by granting them the favour which they could not obtain from the regular authority, turned in effect the resources of the republic against itself, the disunion of the senate and equites only serving to strengthen the more his usurped power, and pave the way for the downfall of freedom. Compare CIC. *de Off.* 3, 22 : "*Ego etiam cum Cutrone meo sope dissensi. Nimis mihi præfractum ridebatur ærarium rectigaliaque defendere, omnia publicanis negare, multa sacris.*" Consult also HEUSINGER, *ad loc.*

<sup>6</sup> *Cave quidquam, &c.* "Take care lest favour have any weight with you." A wise man feels no favour or bias towards any individual.

„ ut magna pars, sed ita vivendi. <sup>5</sup> Petunt aliquid cani? <sup>6</sup> “Cave quidquam habeat momenti gratia.” lices aliqui veniunt, miseri et calamitosi? “Sceleratus farius fueris, si quidquam, misericordia adductus, fe-” Fatetur aliquis se peccasse, et ejus delicti veniam? “Nefarium est facinus, ignoscere.” At leve delictum “Omnia peccata sunt paria.” <sup>7</sup> Dixisti quidpiam? um et statutum est.” <sup>8</sup> Non re ductus es, sed opinione. iens nihil opinatur.” <sup>9</sup> Errasti aliqua in re. Maledici . <sup>10</sup> Hac ex disciplina nobis illa sunt: <sup>11</sup> “Dixi in senatu

*dixisti quidpiam?* &c. “Have you said any thing? It is fixed & determined.” i. e. have you once said a thing, &c. A wise man will things well, and whatever he once says cannot be improved. *on re ductus,* &c. “But you were influenced in what you said, by a careful consideration of the case, but only by a casual notion.” This is supposed to be addressed to the Stoic (represented by Cato), in order to induce him to change his mind. The *sapiens nihil opinatur,* “A wise man never acts from mere opinion;” i. e. never assents to any thing uncertain in its nature, but is guided by the unerring rules of reason. Opinions are liable to error, because they are based on what is merely speculative; the foundations of right reason are true and unalterable.

*errasti aliqua in re,* &c. “You were wrong in something or other; you conceive yourself calumniated by the remark,” i. e. does any one suppose that he has gone wrong in any particular matter? the Stoic is indignant at a charge which strikes at the very root of his system of doctrines, and he conceives himself calumniated and called a fool. For a wise man can never go wrong.

*sec ex disciplina,* &c. “From this system of philosophy we obtain the following results:—‘I declared in the senate,’ says Cato, ‘that I intended to impeach some consular candidate.’ Oh, but you said this, Cato, you were angry. ‘A wise man,’ replies he, ‘is never angry.’” The object is to lessen the weight of Cato’s charge against Murena, by showing that the former was induced to come forward as an accuser, not so much on account of any known criminality in Murena, as of his adherence to the peculiar doctrines of his sect. Cato accuses him not because he had done anything contrary to law, but because he had declared, in the senate, that he was resolved to impeach some consular candidate. Any other person, not infected with the system of Stoicism, would, according to Cicero’s meaning, have no scruple of owning, that he was angry when he said this, and were now chose to drop his design. But such an acknowledgment could not be expected from Cato, who would thereby seem to dissociate from the gravity and firmness of a wise man. Murena, therefore, must be impeached, because the Stoics thought anger inconsistent with the character of a wise man, and Cato claimed that the怒 was belonging to himself.

*Nisi.* On account of this form, in the present clause, Manutius

me nomen consularis candidati delaturum." Iratus "Nunquam," inquit, "sapiens irascitur." <sup>1</sup> At t causa. "Improbi," inquit, "hominis est, mendacio mutare sententiam, turpe est; exorari, scelus: n flagitium." (63.) <sup>2</sup> Nostri autem illi, (fatebor enim, C quoque in adolescentia, diffisum ingenio meo, quasim menta doctrinæ,) nostri, inquam, illi a Platone et Ari moderati homines et temperati, aiunt, apud sapiente lere aliquando gratiam: viri boni esse misereri: d generæ esse delictorum, et disparest penas: esse apt minem constantem ignoscendi locum: ipsum sapientes aliquid opinari, quod nesciat: irasci nonnunquam: eundem et placari: quod dixerit, interdum, si ita rect mutare: de sententia decedere aliquando: <sup>3</sup> omnes mediocritate quadam esse moderatas.

**XXXI. (64.)** <sup>4</sup> Hos ad magistros si qua te fortun

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conjectures *iratus dixi*, in the succeeding one. But the em impairs the force and spirit of the passage.

<sup>1</sup> *At temporis causa.* "Well then, you said it perhaps on of the particular conjuncture," i. e. this threat was uttered perhaps, under particular circumstances; you were very p engaged at the time in speaking for some friend. The answer is in full accordance with the Stoic tenets: a wise man never c never changes his opinion, &c.

<sup>2</sup> *Nostri autem illi.* "Those masters of ours, however." here proceeds to show how directly opposite to the doctrines Stoics were the milder systems of philosophy from which culled his principles and rules of conduct. And he cites, in pa Plato, the founder of the Academic, and Aristotle the great the Peripatetic sect.

<sup>3</sup> *Valere aliquando.* "Does sometimes exercise an infus *Viri boni esse misereri.* "That it is the part of a good man compassion." The substantive verb is emphatic in this and t ceeding clauses.

<sup>4</sup> *Hominem constantem.* "One that is firm." The idea int be conveyed by the clause is, that firmness of purpose is not sistent with clemency.

<sup>5</sup> *Sæpe aliquid opinari, &c.* "Oft-times hazards a mere respecting that about which he knows nothing for certain," i quently contents himself with opinions, where he finds it impos arrive at absolute certainty.

<sup>6</sup> *Omnes virtutes, &c.* "That all virtues are regulated by a degree of moderation," i. e. that moderation is an essential for the character of every virtue; meaning by moderation that t beyond which we approximate to what is excessive and immo This is nothing more than the well known maxim of Horæ *modus in rebus,*" &c. "There is a mean in all things."

in ista natura, detulisset, non tu quidem vir melior essem, & fortior, nec temperantior, nec justior, (neque enim essemus,) sed <sup>8</sup> paullo ad lenitatem propensior. Non accusares illis adductus inimiciis, nulla laccessitus injuria, <sup>9</sup> pudenterissimum hominem, summa dignitate atque honestate prædim: putares cum <sup>10</sup> in ejusdem anni custodia te atque L. urenam fortuna posuisset, aliquo te cum hoc rei publicæ vinculo esse conjunctum: quod atrociter in senatu dixisti, & non dixisses, aut <sup>11</sup> seposuisses, aut mitiorem in partem interpretarere. (65.) Ac te ipsum (quantum ego opinione guror) nunc et animi quodam impetu concitatum, et virtutis atque ingenii elatum, et recentibus <sup>12</sup> præceptorum adiis flagrantem, jam usus flectet, dies leniet, ætas mitigat. Etenim isti ipsi mihi videntur vestri præceptores et tutis magistri fines officiorum <sup>13</sup> paullo longius, quam natura llet, protulisse: <sup>14</sup> ut, cum ad ultimum animo contendisse-

<sup>1</sup> *Hoc ad magistros, &c.* “If, with those natural advantages that you possess, any lucky fortune had brought you to instructors such as me.”

<sup>2</sup> *Paullo ad lenitatem propensior.* He would have had, according to me, less of the austere and rigid character with which the Stoic tenets had unfortunately invested him.

<sup>3</sup> *Pudentissimum hominem.* The epithet *pudentissimum*, besides the idea of modesty, carries with it here the general one also of moral worth.

<sup>4</sup> *In ejusdem anni custodia.* “In the guardianship of the same year.” It would be tribune, and Murena consul, during the ensuing year.—*re ius rei publicæ vinculo.* “By some political tie.”

<sup>5</sup> *Se posuisses.* “Would have put aside,” i. e. would have suppressed. Instead of *aut seposuisses*, *aut*, Lambinus gives, on the conjecture of Bonnannus, *aut si potuisses*.

<sup>6</sup> *Præceptorum.* The Stoics.—*Jam usus flectet, &c.* “Experience one day bend, time soften down, age bring to milder views.”

<sup>7</sup> *Paullo longius, quam natura vellet.* It was this that made so many of the Stoic sect philosophers in words, rather than in actions. And so their adversaries found so much room for satirical ridicule and execration against Stoical pride and hypocrisy. Nor is it surprising if this should have happened. For a system of philosophy, which aims to raise men above their nature, must commonly produce such wretched fanatics or artful hypocrites. (ENFIELD, *Hist. Phil.* L. I. p. 322.)

<sup>8</sup> *Ut, cum ad ultimum, &c.* “So that, although we should strive in ought to reach the farthest limit, we ought nevertheless to stop where it behoves us so to do,” i. e. our desires should prompt us less to aim at the highest perfection, yet we should ever stop at the point marked out by reason. The common text has *oporteret*, for which we have substituted *oportet*, with Gruter and Grævius.

OBATIO PRO L. MURENA.

nomen consularis candidati delaturum." Iratus  
unquam," inquit, "sapiens irascitur." <sup>1</sup> At <sup>b</sup>  
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moderati homines et temperati, aiunt, apud sapi-  
lere aliquando gratiam: viri boni esse misereri  
genera esse delictorum, et dispares poenas: esse  
minem constantem ignoscendi locum: ipsum sap-  
aliquid opinari, quod nesciat: irasci nonnunq;  
eundem et placari: quod dixerit, interdum, si:  
mutare: de sententia decidere aliquando: <sup>d</sup>  
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<sup>f</sup> At temporis causa. "Well then, you said it  
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Stoics were the milder systems of philosophy  
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<sup>i</sup> Valere aliquando. "Does sometimes  
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compassion." The substantive verb is emp'-  
ceeding clauses.

<sup>j</sup> Hominem constantem. "One that is fir-  
be conveyed by the clause is, that firmness  
sistent with clemency.

<sup>k</sup> Sæpe aliquid opinari, &c. "Oft-tir-  
respecting that about which he knows,  
contents himself with opinion."

<sup>l</sup> certainty.

the pre-  
isso ne  
virtute  
divisi  
um tibi  
us ad te  
nostrum  
positum  
atem cu  
on "isti  
erte cop-

revertat,  
eternitatem

hilosophy,  
by Beck,  
ms. Phil. 5.

"X.  
r." Thus  
*'e in rebu*  
eadings of  
alogous to

re *Ep. ad*  
others give

within due

*Est illud*  
is being set  
as. "The

epartment,"  
arguing it in

*thus.* "More

of Cato from this  
ter ought to have  
the safety of indi-  
"emselves." The first  
individual who hears him,  
cause, from *congregare*, is  
,, "come to action with,"

auctoritatem, quæ in judiciis aut nihil valere, aut ad salutem debet valere : congregdere mecum criminibus ipsis. <sup>1</sup> Quid accusas, Cato ? quid affers in judicium ? quid arguis ? Ambitum accusas ? Non defendo. <sup>2</sup> Me reprehendis, quod idem defendam, quod lege punierim. <sup>3</sup> Punivi ambitum, non innocentiam. <sup>4</sup> Ambitum vero ipsum vel tecum accusabo, si voles. Dixisti, senatusconsultum, me referente, esse factum, <sup>5</sup> " si mercede <sup>6</sup> corrupti obviam candidatis issent, si conducti sectarentur, si gladiatoribus vulgo <sup>7</sup> locus tributim, et item prandia si vulgo essent data, contra legem Calpurniam factum videri. " Ergo ita senatus judicat, contra legem facta hæc videri, <sup>8</sup> si facta sint : decernit, quod nihil opus est, dum candidatis morem gerit. <sup>9</sup> Nam factum sit, necne, vehementer quæritur. Si factum sit, quin contra legem sit, dubitare nemo potest. (68.) Est igitur ridiculum, quod est dubium, id relinquere incertum : quod nemini dubium potest esse, id

<sup>1</sup> *Quid accusas?* "What do you accuse him of?" — *Quid arguis?* "What do you seek to prove?" — *Non defendo.* "I have no defence to urge for such a crime," i. e. if your charge be true, I have nothing to say. But is it true? can you prove it so?

<sup>2</sup> *Me reprehendis*, &c. "You blame me for seeking to defend the very same offence which I have punished by a law," i. e. you blame me for defending bribery, when I myself proposed a law for the punishment of bribery.

<sup>3</sup> *Puniri ambitum*, &c. Cicero here draws the proper distinction. My law was for the punishment of the guilty, not of the innocent. Murena is an innocent man: therefore the law can never affect him.

<sup>4</sup> *Ambitum vero ipsum*, &c. Cicero means, that to such a degree does he disapprove of bribery, as to be willing to turn an accuser of it along with Cato himself.

<sup>5</sup> *Si mercede corrupti*, &c. "That if persons corrupted by a bribe should go to meet any candidate for office; if persons hired for that purpose should attend upon them; if at gladiatorial shows places have been assigned to the people gratuitously, and arranged by tribes; and also if entertainments had been given to the populace; all this seemed done in violation of the Calpurnian law."

<sup>6</sup> *Corrupti*. Some of the Oxford MSS., and a few editions, have *conducti*. Both *corrupti* and *conducti* are probably mere glosses.

<sup>7</sup> *Locus tributim*. Certain places might be assigned to certain individuals at the games, free of any charge. But this could not be done to the people by tribes, without incurring the suspicion of an attempt to bribe. GRAEVUS, *ad loc.*

<sup>8</sup> *Si facta sint*. "Only in case they have been committed." — *Decernit, quod nihil opus*, &c. "They decree what is not needed, when they comply with the wishes of the candidates themselves." The candidates in this very election asked for this senatus-consultum. Of

e. <sup>10</sup>Atqui id decernitur omnibus postulantibus can- : ut ex senatusconsulto, neque cuius intersit, neque quem sit, intelligi possit. Quare doce, a L. Murena e commissa : tum egomet tibi, contra legem commissa concedam.

XIII. <sup>11</sup>"MULTI obviam prodierunt de provincia dece-  
consulatum petenti." Solet fieri. <sup>12</sup>Eccui autem non  
ir revertent? <sup>13</sup>"Quæ fuit ista multitudo?" Pri-  
si tibi <sup>14</sup>istam rationem non possim reddere: quid  
admirationis, tali viro advenienti, candidato consulari,  
prodisse multos? quod nisi esset factum, magis  
um videretur. (69.) Quid? si etiam illud addam,  
a consuetudine non abhorret, rogatos esse multos?  
ut criminorum sit, aut mirandum, qua in civitate  
i infimorum hominum filios, prope de nocte, ex ultima  
rbe, deductum venire soleamus, in ea <sup>17</sup>non esse gra-

the senate could not be said to have decreed against them, only decreed in order to please them.

*i factum sit, &c.* "For the great question is, whether the act committed or not. If it has been committed, then no one can say that it is in violation of the law." Cicero insists, of course, Murena has committed no act of bribery in the present case.

*qui id decernitur.* "And yet, the decree in question is passed." given *atqui*, the conjecture of Pantagathus, as cited by Ursini; ordinary reading is *atque*.

*qui obviam, &c.* Cicero supposes, that Cato here takes him at his word, and proceeds to show that Murena has employed bribery. His charge is, that many persons went out to meet him, when invited from his province to stand for the consulship. The reply of his is a very customary thing.

*ni autem, &c.* "For to whom do not persons go out, on his return from a province!"

*fuit, &c.* A second objection supposed to be made. "Yes, you formed that large concourse?"

*m rationem reddere.* "To give you an explanation of that."—*i esset factum.* "Indeed, had this not been done," i. e. had others gone out to receive him.

*d a consuetudine non abhorret.* "What is not at variance with custom of the day," i. e. what is fully sanctioned by usage.—*esse multos.* "That many persons were invited to meet

*uti.* "On being invited so to do."—*Infimorum hominum filios:* candidates for office.—*Prope de nocte.* "While it is almost dark" i. e. even at the earliest dawn.

*esse gravatos.* "Think it no trouble." Literally, "are not weighed down," or "weighed down."—*Hora tertia.* Answering to our nine

vatos homines prodire hora tertia in campum M  
præsertim talis viri nomine rogatos? Quid? si  
societas venerunt, quarum ex numero multi hic  
judices? quid? si multi homines nostri ordinis honest  
quid? si illa officiosissima, quæ neminem patitur non  
in urbem introire, <sup>2</sup> tota natio candidatorum? si  
ipse accusator <sup>3</sup> noster Postumius obviam cum bene  
caterva sua venit: quid habet ista multitudo admir  
Omitto <sup>4</sup> clientes, vicinos, tribules, exercitum totum  
qui ad triumphum per eos dies venerat: hoc dico, <sup>5</sup> fi  
tiam in isto officio gratuitam, non modo dignitati  
umquam, sed ne voluntati quidem defuisse. (70.)

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o'clock. The first hour commenced at six in the morning, according to our way of computing.

<sup>1</sup> *Omnes societas.* "All the companies of the knights." That is, the several companies or co-partnerships of knights, who contrive to share in the general revenues of the provincial farmers.

<sup>2</sup> *Tota natio candidatorum.* Candidates for the prætorship, quæstorship, &c. They would all come out, in order to make it as possible as possible to distinguish a new-comer. Hence it was said to allow no one to enter the city "without paying his mark of respect," or in the words of the text, "*non honeste.*" In the same sense is the epithet *officiosissima* applied to them. (See note 5.)

<sup>3</sup> *Noster Postumius.* An amusing hit. Postumius, one of the accusers of Murena, happened to have swelled with his retinue, so that the very crowd whose numbers are now regarded as a sure indication of bribery!

<sup>4</sup> *Cientes.* The clients of Murena are meant.—*Tribules.* members of his tribe."

<sup>5</sup> *Frequentiam in isto officio gratuitam.* "That a disinterested course of friends, on such an occasion, has not only never been due to the merit, but not even to the wishes, of any individual."—The term *officium* is often employed to denote any compliment paid to an individual, by going forth to meet him, escorting him, &c. ERNESTI, Clav. Cic. s. v. : "Officium, honos qui ex more aliquando, occurrente, deducendo, sectando, &c., habetur."

<sup>6</sup> *At sectabantur multi.* A new objection is here supposed to have started. "Aye, but a large concourse escorted him." "Very true," replies Cicero, "show that they did this for hire, and I will allow it to be an offence. But if this be put out of the question, what do you find fault?" i. e. if you cannot show any bribery, why blame him for his numerous escort?

<sup>7</sup> *Quid opus est, inquit, sectatoribus?* Another objection. "What need is there of a train of followers?" What good purpose do an escort answer?

<sup>8</sup> *Quo semper usi sumus?* Cicero refers not to himself particularly,

itur multi."—Doce, mercede: concedam esse crimen.  
dem remoto, quid reprehendis?

IV. <sup>7</sup> "QUID opus est," inquit "sectatoribus?"—A  
l quæris, quid opus sit eo, <sup>8</sup> quo semper usi sumus?  
les tenues unum habent in nostrum ordinem aut  
ndi aut referendi beneficii locum, hanc in nostris  
ibus operam atque assecrationem. <sup>10</sup> Neque enim  
est, neque postulandum est a nobis, aut ab equitibus  
, ut suos necessarios candidatos sectentur totos dies:  
us si domus nostra celebratur, si interdum ad forum  
ur, si uno <sup>12</sup> basilicæ spatio honestamur, diligenter

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candidates heretofore. This custom of having a train of fol-  
d been long in general use among the Romans, and it was idle  
id fault with it. We may here quote the language of Cicero's  
Quintus, in relation to the propriety of this usage: "Qui  
debent, ab iis plane hoc munus exige. . . . Valde ego te volo, et  
ritinere arbitror, semper cum multitudine esse."

*nes tenues, &c.* "Men of humble condition have, in the aid  
and in this species of attendance upon us during our appli-  
r. office, their only opportunity of conferring a favour upon  
, or of returning one already received."

*e enim fieri potest, &c.* The senators and equites cannot, from  
of public business and other matters, accompany their friends  
candidates for office (*suos necessarios candidatos*) during whole  
ther. This the lower orders can better do, and therefore there  
ropriety in their doing it.

*ibus si domus nostra celebratur, &c.* "If our dwelling is only  
ted by them, if we are occasionally escorted by them down to  
a, if we are favoured with one turn during a walk in some  
e appear to be sufficiently respected and honoured by them,"  
candidates cannot expect to have the senators and equites  
upon and escorting us all day long, as the lower orders do.  
ficient mark of respect and esteem on their part, and will  
ecisely the same purpose, if they pay us frequent visits at our  
e. The inference from all this is, that they, too, would escort  
affairs and engagements permitted them; and, consequently,  
same escorting carries nothing improper with it.

*licæ.* The *basilicæ* were spacious halls around the forum,  
courts of justice sat, and public business was occasionally  
l. They were adorned with columns and porticoes. From  
ls usually assembled here, to take a turn or two with a friend,  
these porticoes or piazzas, would be almost tantamount to  
him about the streets of the capital. The *basilicæ* took their  
m their splendid construction (*quasi βασιλικαι στοαι*), and,  
istianity was introduced, many of them were converted into  
while other churches were built after their model. Hence  
n the early ecclesiastical writers, the term *βασιλικη* applied to

observari videmur et coli : <sup>1</sup> tenuiorum et non occupatorum amicorum est ista assiduitas, quorum copia bonis et bene deesse non solet. (71.) Noli igitur eripere <sup>2</sup> hunc inferi generi hominum fructum officii, Cato : sine eos, qui omnia nobis sperant, habere ipsos quoque aliquid, quod contribuere possint. <sup>3</sup> Si nihil erit, praeter ipsorum suffragi tenue est : si, ut suffragentur, nihil valent gratia. Ipsi dunque, ut solent loqui, <sup>4</sup> non dicere pro nobis, non spondere non vocare domum suam possunt : atque <sup>5</sup> haec a nobis peti omnia, neque ulla re alia, quae a nobis consequuntur, opera sua, compensari putant posse. Itaque et <sup>6</sup> legi Fabiae quae est de numero sectatorum, et senatusconsulto, quod <sup>7</sup> L. Cæsare consule factum, restiterunt. <sup>8</sup> Nulla est e

a sacred edifice, and so *basilica* in Latin. Thus, “*Mox, usq; regni vir basilicam in loco Dominicæ passionis, et resurrectionis, et ascensionis stituet.*” (*Sulpic. Sev.* 2, 2, 33), and again: “*In basilica Martyrum extra oppidum sita.*” (*Id. ibid. c. 38.*) The term remains at the present day in the Italian language: “*La basilica di San Pietro,*” “The church of St. Peter.” It means, in the Italian, a cathedral church, but is sometimes applied to a royal mansion, or princely palace, and is then equivalent to *casa reale*.

<sup>1</sup> *Tenuiorum et non occupatorum, &c.* “That constant attendance belongs to well-wishers in humble life, and who are not occupied by calls of business.”

<sup>2</sup> *Hunc fructum officii.* “This fruit of their good offices.”

<sup>3</sup> *Si nihil erit, praeter, &c.* “If they shall have nothing to bestow upon us except their mere vote, this is a thing of but little value; on the other hand, nothing except to support us by their interest, we really have none to exert.” This passage is evidently corrupt. I have given Ernesti’s reading as the best that offers. Schütz inserts after *suffragentur*, on conjecture, and opposes their own votes to those of others whom they might gain over, if they possessed any influence. With the second *si*, as we have given the passage, *erit* must be supplied, not *nihil erit*. When Cicero says, that the mere vote of the lower orders was of little value, he alludes to the peculiar system of voting which prevailed at the comitia centuriata, where the balloting seldom reached the lower classes, and where of course their suffrages were of comparatively little value. See Exversus at the close of the volume.

<sup>4</sup> *Non dicere pro nobis, &c.* “Cannot plead for us, cannot go sure for us, cannot invite us to their houses.”—*Spondere.* Thus ERNSTI: “*Spondere pro aliquo, est fidem suam interponere pro aliquo in re pecunaria. Nam si quis pecuniam mutuam petebat, cui tuto credi non videbatur, petebat creditor ab eo, ut aliquem daret, qui solutum iri præteret, h. e. sponderet.*”

<sup>5</sup> *Haec.* “These services,” i. e. pleading for others, &c.

<sup>6</sup> *Legi Fabiae.* Very little is known about this law. Its object was to limit the number of followers that were to attend a candidate to

pœna, quæ possit observantiam tenuiorum ab hoc vetere instituto officiorum excludere.—(72.) <sup>9</sup> “At spectacula sunt tributim data, et ad prandium vulgo vocati.”—Etsi hoc factum a Murena omnino, judices, non est, ab ejus amicis autem more et modo factum est; tamen admonitus re ipsa, recordor, quantum hæc quæstiones in senatu habitæ <sup>11</sup> punctorum nobis, Servi, detraxerint. Quod enim tempus fuit aut nostra aut patrum nostrorum memoria, <sup>12</sup> quo hæc, sive ambitio est, sive liberalitas, non fuerit, ut locus et in circulo et in foro daretur amicis et tribulibus? <sup>13</sup> Hæc homines tenuiores primum, nondum qui a suis tribulibus vetere instituto quebantur. \* \* \*

### XXXV. (73.) \* \* \* <sup>14</sup> PRÆFECTUM fabrūm semel locum

*Campus Martius.* The people, however, strenuously opposed it, and could be deterred by no penalties from this mode of expressing their regard for a candidate. The distinction between the *salutatores*, *deductores*, and *sectatores*, is given by QUINTUS CICERO, *de Pct. Cons.* c. 9.

<sup>7</sup> *L. Caæare consule factum.* The year previous, when L. Julius Caesar and C. Marcius Figulus were consuls. This was the year in which Cicero stood for the consulship. The practice of bribing was carried on openly and shamefully by Antonius and Catiline, that the senate thought it necessary to give some check to it by a new and more rigorous law. But when they were proceeding with it, one of the tribunes, L. Mumius Orestinus, interposed.

<sup>8</sup> *Nulla est enim pœna, &c.* “For there is no penalty that can restrain the zeal of the lower classes from this long-established mode of testifying attachment.”

<sup>9</sup> *At spectacula, &c.* “But seats at the public shows were given to the people by tribes, and they were all invited to entertainments.” We have here another objection of Murena’s accusers, referred to by Cicero.

<sup>10</sup> *More et modo.* “According to established usage, and in a moderate manner.”—*Hæc quæstiones.* “These investigations.” Thus ERNESTI, *Class. Cic. s. v.*: “*Dicitur et quæstio de qualibet inquisitione publica;* *Mur. 34: quæstiones in senatu habitæ.*”

<sup>11</sup> *Punctorum.* “Of votes.” The Romans counted votes by *points* marked on a tablet. Compare *Pro. Planc.* 22: “*Nonnullus tribus punctis pene totidem tulerunt.*”

<sup>12</sup> *Quo hæc, &c.* “When this, whether it be the result of ambition or of liberality, was not customary among us, namely, that a place,” &c.—*Non fuerit*, literally, “did not exist.”

<sup>13</sup> *Hæc homines tenuiores, &c.* A chasm occurs in the MSS. after *quebantur*. The previous part of the clause is also very probably corrupt. In the Wolfenbuttel MS., there is a vacant space left for a line between the words *tenuiores* and *qui*.

<sup>14</sup> *Præfectum fabrūm, &c.* “That the prefect of the military artillers.” This is in a great measure analogous to the modern station or

tribulibus suis <sup>1</sup> dedisse: quid statuent in viros primarios,  
<sup>2</sup> qui in circo totas tabernas, tribulum causa, compararunt?  
<sup>3</sup> Hæc omnia sectatorum, spectaculorum, prandiorum item  
 crimina, a multitudine in tuam nimiam diligentiam, Servi,  
 conjecta sunt: in quibus tamen Murena ab senatus auctor-  
 tate defenditur. Quid enim? Senatus num obviam prodire  
 crimen putat? "Non; sed mercede." <sup>4</sup> Convince. Num  
 sectari multos? "Non; sed conductos." <sup>5</sup> Doce. Num  
 locum ad spectandum dare? aut ad prandium invitare?  
 "Minime; <sup>6</sup> sed vulgo, passim."—Quid est vulgo? "Uni-  
 versos." Non igitur, si <sup>7</sup> L. Natta, summo loco adolescens,  
 qui, et quo animo jam sit, et qualis vir futurus sit, videmus;  
<sup>8</sup> in equitum centuriis voluit esse et ad hoc officium necessi-  
 tudinis, et ad reliquum tempus, gratiosus, id erit <sup>9</sup> ejus;

"head of the engineer department," excepting that by *fabri*, in a military sense, the Romans meant actual artificers, rather than persons who, like our modern engineers, planned and superintended military works. According to VEGETIUS (2, 11), the legion contained various kinds of artificers: "*Habet præterea legio fabros lignarios, instructores, carpentarios, ferrarios, pictores, reliquosque artifices ad hibernorum ædificia fabricanda; ad machinas, turres ligneas,*" &c.

<sup>1</sup> *Dedisse.* We may suppose this to be governed by *notum est* understood. The corrupt state of the previous part of the text, as well as the lacuna in the MSS., make the true government of *dedisse*, of course, altogether uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> *Qui totas tabernas compararunt.* "Who have prepared whole booths." These were intended as places from which the games could be seen with more advantage and convenience.

<sup>3</sup> *Hæc sectatorum, &c.* "All these accusations, Servius, about retinues, public spectacles, and entertainments, were ascribed by the multitude to your scrupulous exactness," i. e. all these minute charges have only led people to believe that you are over-exact in finding fault.

<sup>4</sup> *Convince.* "Aye, prove that," i. e. prove that, if you can, against Murena.

<sup>5</sup> *Doce.* "Show me that Murena has done this."

<sup>6</sup> *Sed vulgo, passim.* "But indiscriminately, in every quarter.—What is indiscriminately? All without any exception."

<sup>7</sup> *L. Natta.* Already alluded to in a previous note. He was a member of the old Pinarian line, and Murena's step-son.

<sup>8</sup> *In equitum centuriis, &c.* "Wished to become possessed of influence among the centuries of equites, both with respect to this duty imposed by relationship, and with reference to the time to come." Cicero means, that L. Natta, by the entertainments which he gave to the equites, merely discharged the ordinary duty of a relative towards Murena, and sought, at the same time, to establish his own interest and popularity as regarded some future application for office.

itrico fraudi, aut crimi: nec, si <sup>10</sup>virgo Vestalis, hujus propinqua et necessaria, locum suum <sup>11</sup>gladiatoribus conseruit huic, <sup>12</sup>non et illa pie fecit, et hic a culpa est remotus? Omnia haec sunt officia necessariorum, commoda tenuiorum, omnia candidatorum.

(74.) At enim agit mecum <sup>14</sup>austere et stoice Cato. Negat verum esse, allici benevolentiam cibo: negat, <sup>15</sup>judicium hominum in magistratibus mandandis corrumphi voluptatibus oportere. Ergo ad cœnam, petitionis causa, si quis tecum, condemnetur. <sup>16</sup>“Quippe,” inquit, “tu mihi summum imperium, tu summam auctoritatem, tu gubernacula rei publicæ petas fovendis hominum sensibus, et deleniendis nimis, et adhibendis voluptatibus? <sup>17</sup>Utrum lenocinium,” quid, “a grege delicatae juventutis, an orbis terrarum

<sup>8</sup> *Eius vitrico fraudi, aut crimi.* “A source of injury or of accusation unto his step-father.” *Fraus* is here used in its old sense, as equivalent to *pœna* or *detrimentum*.

<sup>10</sup> *Virgo Vestalis.* Besides other privileges, the Vestal virgins had a singular one of being present at the gladiatorial combats. For this purpose, they had seats allotted them in front, in a conspicuous place; and the charge referred to in the text was, that one of them, a relation of Murena’s, gave up her seat to that individual, in order that he might bestow it on some third person, whose vote he wished to win by this act of courtesy. Compare ERNESTI, *ad loc.*

<sup>11</sup> *Gladiatoribus.* Equivalent to *cum ludi gladiatorii fierent.* It could not have been correct Latinity to have said *locum gladiatorium*.

<sup>12</sup> *Non et illa, &c.* “Did both that female not act in the way that fiction demanded, and is this friend of mine not far removed from kind of censure?

<sup>13</sup> *Omnia haec, &c.* “All these things are merely the duties of friends, means of gratification on the part of the lower orders, the privileges of candidates.”

<sup>14</sup> *Austere et stoice.* “Austerely and like a Stoic,” i. e. with all the sterility of a Stoic.—*Verum.* “Right and proper.” *Verum* is here equivalent to *æquum*.—*Allici benevolentiam cibo.* “That favour should be conciliated by food.” *Benevolentiam*, literally, “friendly feelings,” well-wishing.”

<sup>15</sup> *Judicium hominum, &c.* “The decision of individuals in assigning places of magistracy,” i. e. the votes at elections.

<sup>16</sup> *Quippe, inquit, &c.* “For do you, pray, asks he, seek for,” &c. I have paraphrased *michi* in order to adapt it to our own idiom. Compare note 10, page 407.—*Fovendis sensibus.* “By pampering the sea.”

<sup>17</sup> *Utrum lenocinium, &c.* “Were you seeking for some impure gratification from a herd of effeminate youth,” i. e. invited by you to entertainment. Compare, as regards *lenocinium*, the remark of

imperium a populo Romano petebas?" —<sup>1</sup> Horribilis or sed eam usus, vita, mores, civitas ipsa respuit. Neque ta Lacedæmonii, <sup>2</sup> auctores istius vitæ atque orationis, qui tidianis epulis in robore accumbunt, neque vero <sup>3</sup> Cr quorum nemo gustavit umquam cubans, <sup>4</sup> melius, q Romani homines, <sup>5</sup> qui tempora voluptatis laborisque di tiunt, res publicas suas retinuerunt: <sup>6</sup> quorum alteri adventu nostri exercitus deleti sunt; alteri nostri im præsidio disciplinam suam legesque conservant.

**ERNESTI, Clav. Cic. a. v.** "Lenocinia corporum, sunt res quibus a suaviter officitur."

<sup>1</sup> *Horribilis oratio.* "Horrid speech!" Uttered ironically. *eam usus, &c.* "But our usages, our mode of life, our manners political institutions themselves reject it," i. e. furnish a direct tation.

<sup>2</sup> *Auctores istius vitæ atque orationis.* "The authors of that mode living and speaking which you have adopted." The student will see the force of *istius* here, as applying to Cato, the person addressed. *Qui quotidianis epulis, &c.* "Who, at their daily meals, sit on boards." The reference is to the public meals or *συσίτια* of ancient Spartans, where all ate in common, and the utmost plainness and frugality prevailed. Their seats were boards, not cushions; the Roman couches were, nor did they recline after the Roman fashion, but sat upright.

<sup>3</sup> *Cretes.* The common meals of the Cretans were also of a plain and frugal nature.—*Cubans.* "Reclining," i. e. as the Romans do. Compare note 8, page 52.

<sup>4</sup> *Melius, quam Romani homines, &c.* Cicero's object is to show, that their frugal mode of living did not save the Spartans and Crete from being subdued, and by the very nation too who were less ambitious in their diet. This is urged as a kind of argument in favour of a moderate enjoyment of the pleasures of the table, and as an answer to Cato's harsh remark just quoted, *utrum lenocinium, &c.*

<sup>5</sup> *Qui tempora voluptatis, &c.* "Who distinguish between the moments of relaxation and serious enjoyment," i. e. who have time apart for both pleasure and business.

<sup>6</sup> *Quorum alteri.* The Cretans.—*Uno adventu nostri exercitus* we believe the voice of history, Q. Metellus, surnamed Creticus, three years to conquer Crete. (*Eutrop. 6, 11.*) Cicero then exaggerates a little the facility of this conquest. As for the Lacedæmonians, they had already passed with the rest of Greece under Roman dominion.

<sup>7</sup> *Res ipsa.* "The present state of our affairs themselves," i. e. the present flourishing condition of our affairs.

<sup>8</sup> *Eodem ex studio.* "Of the same school of philosophy," i. e. Stoic. Literally, "of the same study."

<sup>9</sup> *Epulum.* This term denotes a banquet connected with a celebration, such as the dedication of a temple, a triumph,

**XXXVI. (75.) QUARE** noli, Cato, majorum instituta, quæ  
res ipsa, quæ diuturnitas imperii comprobat, nimium severa  
ratione reprehendere. Fuit <sup>8</sup> eodem ex studio vir eruditus  
pud patres nostros, et honestus homo et nobilis, Q. Tubero.  
<sup>9</sup>, cum <sup>9</sup> epulum Q. Maximus, <sup>10</sup> Africani patrui sui nomine,  
opulo Romano daret, rogatus est a Maximo, <sup>11</sup> ut triclinium  
sterneret, cum esset Tubero ejusdem Africani sororis filius.

public games, &c. In the present case it was a funeral entertainment. *Epula*, on the other hand, denotes an entertainment or banquet in the usual form.

<sup>10</sup> *Africani patrui*, &c. “In memory of his uncle Africanus.” More literally, “on account of his uncle Africanus.” *Nomine patrui* is here equivalent to *propter patrum*, i. e. *in memoriam patrui*. Lucius Æmilius Paullus (more commonly known by the name of Paullus Æmilius) had two sons by his wife Papiria. One of these was adopted by Quintus Fabius Maximus, and took the name of his adopted father. He had a son himself, who is the Quintus Maximus mentioned in the text. The other son of Paullus Æmilius was adopted by Publius Cornelius Scipio, son of Africanus Major, and was himself named Ælius Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus. This is the younger Africanus, the destroyer of Carthage, and is the one also mentioned in the text. Paullus Æmilius had, by another wife, two daughters, one of whom was married to Quintus Ælius Tubero, father of the Tubero of whom Cicero here speaks.

<sup>11</sup> *Ut triclinium sternet*. “To make the requisite preparations.” We have been compelled to resort to a paraphrase here, in order to convey more clearly the meaning of Cicero. *Triclinium*, in its primitive acceptation, denotes a couch for reclining on at supper, large enough to hold three persons (*τρεῖς κλίνη*). Thus we have in VARRO, L. R. 3, 13 : “*Ibi erat locus excelsus, ubi triclinio posito cœnabamus.*” It is then taken to denote the place of entertainment itself, from the circumstance of three couches (*τρεῖς κλίναι*), each holding three guests, being used at private feasts. For Varro says, that the number of the guests ought not to exceed that of the Muses, nor be less than that of the Graces. (AUL. GELL. 13, 11.) The phrase *triclinium sternere* has in like manner two meanings. The first is to spread a couch, that is, to cover it with what was termed the *stragula vestis*, a species of covering put upon it, previous to a banquet, plain and neat for ordinary entertainments, but sumptuous and highly ornamental when the feast was to be a splendid one. Compare CIC. in Verr. 5, 25, “*Cum Apronius e palæstra rediisset, et in triclinio, quod in foro straverat, cubuisse*.” The second meaning of *triclinium sternere* is to arrange the couches in a banqueting room, that is, to prepare the place for an entertainment. Thus we have in VARRO, L. L. c. 4 : “*Qui triclinium strarunt, si quem lectum de tribus unum imparem posuerant,*” &c. Now, from all that has been here premised, we may ascertain very easily, in connexion with the context, the meaning of Cicero on the present occasion. The feast was to be a public one, and Tubero was quested to prepare accommodations for the guests, that is, not only

Atque ille homo eruditissimus, ac Stoicus,<sup>1</sup> stravit pell  
hædinis lectulos Punicanos, et exposuit vasa Samia;  
vero esset Diogenes Cynicus mortuus, et non divini ho  
Africani mors honestaretur; quem cum supremo ejt  
Maximus laudaret, gratias egit diis immortalibus, quo  
vir in hac re publica potissimum natus esset; necesse  
fuisse, ibi esse terrarum imperium, ubi ille esset. Hu  
morte celebranda graviter tulit populus Romanus<sup>2</sup> han  
versam sapientiam Tuberonis. (76.) Itaque<sup>3</sup> homo int  
rimus, civis optimus, cum esset L. Paulli nepos, P. Afr  
ut dixi, sororis filius, <sup>4</sup> his hædinis pelliculis prætura dej

to see that the place itself was got ready in a proper manner, bu  
the tables were supplied with a sufficient number of couches, an  
these couches, as well as the other articles connected with the ba  
were of such a kind as might best comport with the occasion.

<sup>1</sup> *Stravit pelliculis, &c.* “Spread low Carthaginian couches  
little goat-skins, and set out vessels of Samian earthenware.”  
Carthaginian couches were low, small, and made of wood. The  
also were cheap and mean. The little goat-skins were purposel  
stituted for the more usual and expensive couch-coverings. It  
alludes to this same circumstance, in one of his letters, where he  
speaks of the couches as being of wood, on this occasion, an  
vessels of earthenware, and where his language also confirms the  
we have taken, in the previous note, of the meaning of *ut tridi*  
*sterneret*. Thus (*Ep. 95, p. 607, ed. Lipsii*) he has the follo  
“*Tuberonis ligneos lectulos, cum in publicum sternerentur, hædi*  
*pro stragulis pelles, et ante ipsius Joris cellam præposita conri*  
*fictilia: quid aliud est, paupertatem in Capitolio consecrare?* Co  
ISIDORUS (*Orig. 20, 11, 3*): “*Punicani lecti parvi et humiles, pri*  
*a Carthaginie adrecti, et inde nominati.*” And in relation to the S  
vases, consult PLAUTUS, *Captiv. 2, 2, 40*; and TAUBMANN, *ad loc.*

<sup>2</sup> *Hanc perversam sapientiam Tuberonis.* “This ill-judged w  
of Tubero.” *Perversus*, in its literal acceptation here, approxi  
very closely to our plain English epithets, “wrong-headed,” “  
grained.”

<sup>3</sup> *Homo integerrimus.* “This most upright man.” Referring  
Tubero.—*Cum esset.* “Although he was.” As regards the relation  
between Tubero and the individuals mentioned in the text, c  
note 10, page 473.

<sup>4</sup> *His hædinis pelliculis, &c.* “Lost the prætorship through  
same little goat-skins. More literally, “was dislodged from his  
cation for the prætorship by these same little goat-skins.” The  
were so offended at what they considered his parsimony, in the c  
the funeral honours rendered to Scipio, that they would not vot  
into the prætorship. His Stoical frugality, therefore, like  
strictness and simplicity on the present occasion, was completel  
of place.

<sup>5</sup> *Non amat profusas epulas, &c.* “They are not fond of prof

Odit populus Romanus privatam luxuriam, publicam  
gnificantiam diligit: <sup>5</sup> non amat profusas epulas, sordes et  
umanitatem multo minus: <sup>6</sup> distinguit rationem officiorum  
temporum, vicissitudinem laboris ac voluptatis. Nam,  
ad ait, nulla re allici hominum mentes oportere ad magis-  
tum mandandum, nisi dignitate; <sup>7</sup> hoc tu ipse, in quo  
nma est dignitas, non servas. Cur enim quemquam, ut  
deat tibi, ut te adjuvet, rogas? Rogas tu me, ut mihi  
esis, ut committam ego me tibi. Quid tandem? istuc me  
ari oportet abs te, an te potius a me, ut pro mea salute  
orem periculumque suscipias? (77.) Quid? quod habes <sup>8</sup>no-

epasts; but much less of sordidness and meanness." The term *umanitas* is well explained by ERNESTI, *Clur. Cic. s. v.*: "Inhu-  
ritas est ejus, qui facit abhorrentia a vitæ humanae cultu et elegantia." *Distinguit rationem*, &c. "They know how to distinguish between  
relative bearing of duties and of occasions," i. e. they know very  
well when a duty is urgent and imperative in its character, and admits  
no alternative but prompt performance, and when it is of a less  
binding character, and may be passed by without any impropriety.  
again, they know well what occasions are to be strictly attended to,  
what to be regarded with less care.

*Hoc tu ipse*, &c. "You yourself, in whom there is the highest  
rit, do not adhere to this."—*Cur enim quemquam*, &c. The idea  
ended to be conveyed by the whole passage is as follows:—If merit  
me ought to influence the minds of men, in conferring public  
ours, why do you, who have so much merit of your own, go about  
to solicit votes, and not leave the result to be determined by merit  
me? Perhaps you will say in reply, that you do not ask any favour  
me, when soliciting my vote, but, on the contrary, merely intend  
nothing for my own good; to have me place myself, namely, under  
your guardianship and care, in order that you may the better provide  
my welfare. Do you not think, however, Cato, that this request  
ould come with more force from me to you? Is it not rather my  
niness to ask you to expose yourself to dangers and fatigues for my  
s?

<sup>1</sup> *Nomenclatorem*. "A nomenclator." A slave who accompanied  
idates for office, and whispered in their ears the names of the  
ferent individuals whom they met, in order that the candidate  
ght salute them by name, and conciliate their favour by this species  
compliment, which had always great weight with the Romans.  
Compare note 2, page 438. Plutarch says, that a law having been  
ised, ordaining that no man who solicited any office should take a  
nomenclator with him, Cato was the only one that obeyed it; and that  
order not to need such an assistant, he made himself master of the  
nes of all the citizens. (*Vit. Cat. Min.*) Cicero's language, how-  
r, is directly the other way, and very probably he is the more  
rect of the two.

menclatorem? in eo quidem<sup>1</sup> fallis et decipis. <sup>2</sup>Nam, si nomine appellari abs te cives tuos honestum est, turpe est eos notiores esse servo tuo quam tibi. <sup>3</sup>Sin etiam si noris, tamen per monitorem appellandi sunt, <sup>4</sup>cur ante petis, quam insusurravit? aut quid, cum admoneris, tamen, quasi tute noris, ita salutas? quid, posteaquam es designatus, multo salutas negligentius? <sup>5</sup>Hæc omnia ad rationem civitatis si dirigas, recta sunt: sin perpendere ad disciplinæ præcepta velis, reperiantur pravissima. Quare nec plebi Romane eripiendi<sup>6</sup> fructus isti sunt ludorum, gladiatorum, convivorum, quæ omnia majores nostri comparaverunt: <sup>7</sup>nec candidatis ista benignitas adimenda est, quæ liberalitatem magis significat, quam largitionem.

XXXVII. (78.) <sup>8</sup>At enim te ad accusandum res publica adduxit. <sup>9</sup>Credo, Cato, te isto animo atque ea opinione venisse. Sed tu imprudentia laberis. Ego quod facio, judi-

<sup>1</sup> *Fallis et decipis.* “ You mislead and deceive.” The distinction between *fallere* and *decipere* appears to be as follows: *fallere* implies, that we are misled by something negative or indirect in another’s words or actions: *decipere* always denotes, that the person deceived is imposed upon by something positive and express in the person deceiving. (CROMBIE, *Gymnasium*, vol. ii. p. 424.)

<sup>2</sup> *Nam, si nomine, &c.* Cicero’s argument may be briefly stated as follows: if you employ a nomenclator, Cato, you impose upon and mislead your fellow citizens, whether you yourself actually know their names, or not. If you do not know their names, but obtain them from the nomenclator, you of course deceive others, by saluting them after you have learned their names, as if you had been long acquainted with them. If, on the other hand, you actually know their names, and only take a nomenclator with you because it is customary so to do, here again you are guilty of deception, for you do not merely let him whisper the name of the party into your ear as a matter of form, but you actually ask him first about the name, as if you were quite ignorant of it, although you know very well all the time what the person’s appellation is.

<sup>3</sup> *Sin, etiam si noris.* The common text has, *Sin etiam noris.* We have adopted the conjectural emendation of Lambinus.—*Tamen per monitorem appellandi sunt.* Namely, as a matter of mere form and custom, the candidate asking and the slave whispering the name, although the former knows very well already what it is.

<sup>4</sup> *Cur ante petis, quam insusurravit?* “ Why do you actually ask the person’s name before he has whispered it into your ears?”

<sup>5</sup> *Hæc omnia, &c.* “ If you measure all these things by the usages of the state, they are correct enough: but if you wish to weigh them carefully by the precepts of your own philosophy, they will be found to be very wicked in their nature.” More freely, “ if you refer all these things to the usages of the state,” &c

i amicitiae dignitatisque L. Murenæ gratia facio, tum  
is, otii, concordiæ, libertatis, salutis, vitæ denique  
nostrum causa facere <sup>10</sup> clamo atque testor. Audite,  
consulem, judices, nihil dicam arrogantius, tantum  
otos dies atque noctes de re publica cogitantem.  
que eo L. Catilina rem publicam despexit atque  
sunt, ut ea copia, quam secum eduxit, se hanc civi-  
pressurum arbitraretur. <sup>11</sup> Latius patet illius sceleris  
, quam quisquam putat; ad plures pertinet. Intus,  
aquam, est <sup>12</sup> equus Trojanus: a quo nunquam, me  
dormientes opprimemini. (79.) Quæris a me, quid  
linam metuam. Nihil; et curavi, ne quis metueret:  
pias illius, quas hic video, dico esse metuendas: nec  
endus est nunc exercitus L. Catilinæ, quam isti, qui  
ercitum deseruisse dicuntur. Non enim deseruerunt,  
llo in speculis atque insidiis relictii, <sup>14</sup> in capite atque

*us isti ludorum, &c.* "That gratification which is derived from  
ows," &c.—*Comparaverunt.* "Prepared for them," i. e. insti-  
their gratification.

*candidatis, &c.* "Nor are candidates to be deprived of that  
friendly feelings which is a proof rather of their generosity  
wish to corrupt." More literally, "which indicates generosity  
n bribery."

*im te, &c.* The particles *at enim* are here, as elsewhere, ellip-  
but all else you will say is of comparatively trifling importance,  
terests of the republic lead you in fact to undertake this accu-  
e. a regard for the public welfare led you, &c.

*Cato, &c.* "I easily believe, Cato, that you came here with  
ings and with that intention. But you make a slip through  
eflection," i. e. you go wrong, you defeat your own purpose.  
*o atque testor.* "Loudly proclaim, and call you all to witness."  
*audite consulem.* "Hear, hear your consul."—*Usque eo.* "To  
gree." So far.

*is patet, &c.* Cicero now argues on the importance of having a  
energy and military experience in the consulship during the  
ear.

*is Trojanus.* A highly figurative allusion to the seeds of the  
y that were still lurking at Rome.

*is illius.* "Those troops of his." His secret partisans, with  
movements Cicero was in a great degree acquainted. It will be  
mind, that Lentulus and the other accomplices had not yet  
ected and punished.

*apite atque in cervicibus nostris.* Equivalent here to *in  
ue in cervices nostras*, with the idea of continuance, or last-  
, annexed. Similar examples occur in many of the ancient

in cervicibus nostris restiterunt. Hi et <sup>1</sup>integrum consulem, et bonum imperatorem, <sup>2</sup>et natura, et fortuna cum rei publicæ salute conjunctum, dejici de urbis præsidio, et de custodia civitatis <sup>3</sup>vestris sententiis deturbari volunt. Quorum ego ferrum et audaciam rejici <sup>4</sup>in campo, debilitavi in foro, compressi etiam domi meæ sæpe, judices, his vos si alterum consulem tradideritis, plus multo erunt vestris sententiis, quam suis gladiis consecuti. Magni interest, judices, id quod ego multis repugnantibus egi atque perfeci, esse <sup>5</sup>kalendis Januariis in re publica duo consules. (80.) Nolite arbitrari, mediocribus consiliis, aut usitatis viis, <sup>6</sup>aut \* \*. Non lex improba, non perniciosa largitio, non auditum aliquando aliquod malum <sup>7</sup>rei publicæ quæritur. Initia sunt in hac civitate cōsilia, judices, urbis delendæ, civium trucidandorum, nominis Romani extingendi. Atque hæc cives, cives, inquam, (si eos hoc nomine appellari fas est,) de patria sua et cogitant et cogitaverunt; horum ego quotidie consiliis occurro, audaciam debilito,

<sup>1</sup> *Integrum consulem.* “An upright consul,” i. e. an honest patriotic consul, and not one contaminated by any union of principle or action with Catiline. Compare MANUTIUS: “*Integrum consulem, h. e. malis consiliis non infectum.*”

<sup>2</sup> *Et natura, et fortuna.* “In both principles and fortune,” i. e. a man of correct principles and ample means. Such a person would, of course, be attached to the interests of the republic, and the existing state of things, and would have no wish for any revolution or change, because not a man of needy fortune.

<sup>3</sup> *Vestrīs sententiīs.* “By your sentence,” i. e. by your opinions as judges in the present case. For Murena is such a man as has just been described by me, and the partisans of Catiline would rejoice in having him driven from the consulship, by your sentence of condemnation.

<sup>4</sup> *In campo.* Compare chapter 26 of the present speech, and *Or. in Cat. 1, 5.—Domi mœ.* Alluding to the attempt to assassinate him at his own house. *Or. in Cat. 1, 4.*

<sup>5</sup> *Kalendis Januariis.* Compare note 13, page 389.

<sup>6</sup> *Aut.* A chasm occurs here in the MSS. Schütz proposes to fill it up, and re-model the whole sentence as follows: “*Nolite arbitrari. Catilinam ejusque socios mediocribus consiliis, aut usitatis riis, in rem publicam grassari.*”

<sup>7</sup> *Rei publica quæritur.* “Is sought for against the republic,” i. e. the republic is not sought to be injured by ordinary means, such as “a hurtful law,” or “the pernicious influence of bribery,” &c.

<sup>8</sup> *In exitu.* “Near its close.” This speech was delivered in the month of November, and the new consuls would be installed on the first of January coming.

<sup>9</sup> *Vicarium mœ diligentiæ.* “Who is to succeed me in my vigilance.”

deri resisto. Sed vos moneo, judices: <sup>8</sup> in exitu est jam us consulatus: nolite mihi subtrahere <sup>9</sup> vicarium meæ gentiæ: nolite adimere eum, cui rem publicam cupio tra- e incolumem, ab his tantis periculis defendendam.

**CXXVIII.** (81.) ATQUE ad hæc mala, judices, quid ac- st aliud, non videtis? Te, te appello, Cato: nonne pro- is <sup>10</sup> tempestatem anni tui? jam enim hesterna concione nuit vox perniciosa <sup>11</sup> designati tribuni, collegæ tui: ra quem multum <sup>12</sup> tua mens, multum omnes boni pro- runt, qui te ad tribunatus petitionem vocaverunt. nia, quæ per hoc triennium agitata sunt, jani ab eo pore, quo <sup>13</sup> a L. Catilina et Cn. Pisone initum consilium tus interficiendi scitis esse, in hos dies, in hos menses, ioc tempus erumpunt. (82.) Qui locus est, judices, l tempus, qui dies, quæ nox, cum ego non ex istorum liis ac mucronibus, non solum meo, sed multo etiam is divino consilio eripiar atque evoleam? Neque isti me eo nomine interfici, sed vigilantem consuleam de rei

*Tempestatem anni tui.* “The storms that impend over your own” i.e. over your magistracy as tribune.

*Designati tribuni.* The allusion here is, most probably, to Q. Me- s Nepos, the same who afterward prevented Cicero from making customary address to the people, at the close of his consulship. Ernesti thinks, that *designati* ought to be removed from the text, be- e, according to him, the new tribunes had already entered on office a this speech was delivered. He observes, that had they not red already on office, they could not have held an assembly the day ious. But the text only speaks of an assembly that had been held, out specifying by whom. The expression *vox perniciosa*, more- ; does not necessarily imply a speech on the part of the new magis- : it may denote a mere remark made by him, on being presented to people by the tribunes of the current year. The chief argument, ever, against Ernesti’s emendation, is in the dates. The new tribunes not enter upon office until the fourth day before the Ides of Decem- and every thing connected with this speech plainly shows, that it delivered before the Nones of the same month, for on that day the pirates arrested by Cicero were condemned.

*Tua mens.* “Your own foresight.”—*Qui te ad tribunatus, &c.* so requested you to stand candidate for the tribuneship,” i. e. in r that you might thwart the nefarious schemes of Metellus and ra.

*A L. Catilina et Cn. Pisone, &c.* At the close of the consulship of epidus and Volcatius Tullus. Compare *Or. in Cat.* 1, 6: “*Potestne s vita lux,*” &c.

*Meo nomine.* “On my own account.” Equivalent to *propter me*

publicæ præsidio demovere volunt: nec minus vellent, Cato, te quoque aliqua ratione, si possent, tollere: id quod, mihi crede, <sup>1</sup>et agunt, et moliuntur. Vident, quantum in te sit animi, quantum ingenii, quantum auctoritatis, quantum rei publicæ præsidii: sed cum <sup>2</sup>consulari auctoritate et auxilio spoliatam vim tribuniciam viderint, tum se facilius inermem et debilitatum te oppressuros arbitrantur. Nam <sup>3</sup>ne sufficiatur consul, non timent. <sup>4</sup>Vident te in tuorum potestate collegarum fore: sperant <sup>5</sup>sibi Silanum, clarum virum, sine collega, te sine consule, rem publicam sine præsidio objici posse. (83.) His tantis in rebus tantisque in periculis, est tuum, M. Cato, qui non mihi, non tibi, sed patriæ natus es, videre quid agatur, retinere adjutorem, defensorem, socium in re publica, consilium <sup>6</sup>non cupidum, consulem (quod maxime tempus hoc postulat) fortuna constitutum ad amplexandum otium: scientia, ad bellum gerendum: <sup>7</sup>animo et usu, ad quod vel negotium.

### XXXIX. QUAMQUAM <sup>8</sup>hujusce rei potestas omnis in

*ipsum.* Compare chapter 36, “*Africani patrui sui nomine.*” Cicero means, that they did not seek his destruction so much out of personal hatred, as in order to remove a faithful guardian of the public welfare.

<sup>1</sup> *Et agunt, et moliuntur.* “They are both attempting, aye, and striving earnestly to effect.”—*Quantum animi, quantum ingenii.* “How much courage, how much talent.”

<sup>2</sup> *Consulari auctoritate et auxilio spoliatam.* By the condemnation of Murena.

<sup>3</sup> *Ne sufficiatur consul.* “Lest a new consul be substituted,” i. e. in place of Murena, if condemned. Compare, as regards the force of *sufficere*, the explanation of ERNESTI: “*Sufficere, in locum alterius creare: de magistratibus, imprimis consulibus, qui in locum mortui consulis, aut de ambitu damnati, &c., creantur.*”

<sup>4</sup> *Vident te in tuorum, &c.* We have inserted *te* after *vident* on the conjecture of MATTHIAE, who thinks that it has been accidentally omitted by the copyists.

<sup>5</sup> *Sibi objici posse.* “May be exposed to them,” i. e. to their attacks.—*Silanum.* Plutarch says, that after Cato had declared his intention of prosecuting every one who should have recourse to bribery, he took very good care, that Silanus, who had married his sister Servilia, should be excepted. (*Vit. Cat. Min.* c. 21.) This would seem to imply that Silanus, in common with Murena, lay open to the charge of bribery, for which we find elsewhere no authority whatever.

<sup>6</sup> *Non cupidum.* “Not ambitious.” Manutius understands *rerum novarum*, “not desirous of a change.”—*Fortuna constitutum, &c.* According to his private wealth.

*S*bis sita est, judices : totam rem publicam vos in hac causa metis, vos gubernatis. Si L. Catilina cum suo consilio sacerdorum hominum, quos secum eduxit, hac de re posset dicare, condemnaret L. Murenam : si interficere posset, occideret. <sup>9</sup> Petunt enim rationes illius, ut orbetur auxilio publica : ut minuatur contra suum furorem imperatorum opia : ut major facultas tribunis plebis detur, <sup>10</sup> depulso adversario, seditionis ac discordiae concitanda. <sup>11</sup> Idemne igitur delecti amplissimis ex ordinibus honestissimi atque pientissimi viri judicabunt, quod ille importunitissimus gladiator, hostis rei publicae, judicaret ? (84.) Mihi credite, judices, in hac causa non solum de L. Murenæ, verum iam de vestra salute sententiam feretis. In discrimen tremum venimus : nihil est, jam, unde nos reficiamus, aut ibi lapsi resistamus. Non solum minuenda non sunt auxilia, ne habemus, sed etiam nova, si fieri possit, comparanda. Lostis est enim non <sup>12</sup> apud Anienem, quod bello Punico ravissimum visum est, sed in urbe, in foro : (dii immortales ! ne gemitu hoc dici non potest :) <sup>13</sup> non nemo etiam in illo

<sup>7</sup> *Animo et usu, &c.* “Of spirit and experience for executing whatever you may wish.”

<sup>8</sup> *Hujusc rei potestas, &c.* “The means of accomplishing this result are placed wholly in your hands. You hold, in the present case, the whole republic under your care. You are its pilots,” i. e. the helm is in your hands, and it is for you to guide us safely through the storm.

<sup>9</sup> *Petunt rationes illius.* “His plans demand.”—*Auxilio.* “Of her united aid.”—*Ut minuatur, &c.* “That the number of her leaders, capable of resisting his fury, be diminished.”

<sup>10</sup> *Depulso adversario.* Alluding to Murena, and to the stand he would take against the conspirators, in support of the government and law. Hence he is called the opponent of the turbulent tribunes, and since his condemnation (*depulso adversario*) would leave them more liberty to excite commotions in the state.

<sup>11</sup> *Idemne igitur delecti, &c.* “Will men distinguished for integrity and wisdom, men selected from the first orders of the state, come then to the same decision with that most audacious gladiator, that is to the republic ?” The address is to the *judices*, the gladiator is *Catiline*.

<sup>12</sup> *Apud Anienem.* “At the Anio.” Here, in the second Punic war, Hannibal pitched his camp, at three miles’ distance from Rome. Compare Livy, (26, 10) : “*Inter haec, Hannibal ad Anienem fluvium, tria illia passuum ab urbe, castra admovit.*”

<sup>13</sup> *Non nemo, &c.* “There are some, there are some foes even in that sanctuary of the republic, I say, in the very senate itself.” *Non nemo* here equivalent to *aliquis*, but our idiom requires the plural. It is

sacrario rei publicæ, in ipsa inquam, curia non nem est. Dii <sup>1</sup> faxint, ut <sup>2</sup> meus collega, vir fortissiu Catilinæ nefarium latrocinium armatus opprimat! gatus, vobis bonisque omnibus adjutoribus, hoc, q̄i ceptum res publica periculum parturit, consilio disc comprimam! (85.) Sed quid tandem fiet, si <sup>3</sup> hæc e manibus nostris, in eum annum, qui consequitur, i rint? Unus erit consul, et is non in administrando sed in sufficiendo collega occupatus. Hunc jam qu dituri sint, \* \* illa pestis immanis, <sup>5</sup> importuna, pr̄ qua poterit: et jam populo Romano minatur: i suburbanos repente advolabit: <sup>6</sup> versabitur in castr in curia timor, in foro conjuratio, in campo exercitum vastitas: omni autem in sede ac loco ferrum fl que metuemus. Quæ jamdiu comparantur, eadem nia, <sup>7</sup> si ornata suis præsidiis erit res publica, facile ex tratum consiliis et privatorum diligentia comprime

**XL. (86.) QUÆ cum ita sint, judices, primum rei**

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well known that several of the senators were implicated in conspiracy. Consult SALLUST, *B. C.* c. 17.

<sup>1</sup> *Faxint*. The old form for *fecerint*. The earlier mode gating this verb was *facio*, *facsi* (*faxi*), *factum*, *facere*. STEUVE, *über die Lat. Decl. und Conj.* p. 171, seqq. This *farint*, was retained, in common with *faxit* and other simil principally in solemn adjurations, &c.

<sup>2</sup> *Meus collega*. Antonius. — *Ego togatus*. Compare note 70.—*Hoc, quod conceptum*, &c. “Will dispel and crush that which, conceived in its bosom, the republic is now on the bringing forth.”

<sup>3</sup> *Hæc*. These same dangers.—*Unus erit consul*, &c. If I condemned, Silanus will be the only consul in office; and will be occupied, not by the affairs and dangers of the state, the election of a colleague; for the seditious tribunes will oppose in all his movements, and in this way much valuable time will be lost to the republic.

<sup>4</sup> *Impetituri sint*. There is here another chasm in the MS smaller than the one previously mentioned. Some editors *ridetis*, others *parati sunt*, on conjecture.

<sup>5</sup> *Importuna*. The common text has *Catilinæ* after *importu*; many editors regard it as a mere gloss, and we have therefore left it out.

<sup>6</sup> *Versabitur in castris furor*. “Wild fury will reign in your camps.”—*In campo exercitus*. “An armed force in the Campus Martius.” The allusion is to the partisans of Catiline, who will come armed to the comitia, when Silanus shall convene the people to vote for the consul in the place of Murena.

qua nulla res cuiquam <sup>8</sup> potior debet esse, vos, pro  
umma et vobis cognita in rem publicam diligentia,  
, pro auctoritate consulari hortor, pro magnitudine  
li, obtestor, ut otio, ut paci, ut saluti, ut vitæ vestræ  
erorum civium consulatis: deinde ego fidem vestram,  
isoris et amici officio, adductus, oro atque obsecro,  
, ut ne hominis miseri, et cum <sup>10</sup> corporis morbo, tum  
dolore confecti, L. Murenæ, recentem gratulationem  
amentatione obruatis. Modo maximo beneficio populi  
ni ornatus, fortunatus videbatur, quod primus in fami-  
sterem, primus in <sup>11</sup> municipium antiquissimum consu-  
attulisset; nunc idem <sup>12</sup> squalore sordidus, confectus  
, lacrymis ac mœrore perditus, vester est supplex,  
, vestram fidem obtestatur, misericordiam implorat,  
n potestatem ac vestras opes <sup>13</sup> intuetur. (87.) Nolite,  
os immortales! judices, <sup>14</sup> hac eum re, qua se hones-  
. fore putavit, etiam ceteris ante partis honestatibus  
omni dignitate fortunaque privare. <sup>15</sup> Atque ita vos

*mнату suis præsidiis, &c.* “If the republic shall be furnished  
her means of protection.”

*иор.* “Dearer,” i. e. to exercise a more powerful sway.”—*Pro  
i auctoritate, &c.* “I exhort you in consideration of my con-  
ithority,” i. e. by my consular office.

*ensoris.* The common text has *vel defensoris*, but we have  
. *vel*, with Ernesti and Schütz. Beck encloses it within brackets.  
is doubts whether it be correct Latinity to say *oro atque  
fidem*, and Grævius inclines the same way. But we have in  
s (*Amph.* 1, 1, 217), “*obsecro tuam fidem.*” Compare ERNESTI,

*poris morbo.* Murena was then labouring under severe indis-  
. — *Recentem gratulationem.* “His recent felicitations.” A  
iving had been decreed, in the name of Murena, for his suc-  
gainst Mithridates.

*nicipium antiquissimum.* Lanuvium, of which Murena was a  
Consult Geographical Index.

*alore sordidus.* “Of squalid appearance and in neglected  
It was customary at Rome for those accused of capital or  
ffences, to appear in public arrayed in such a manner as might  
calculated to excite compassion.—*Lacrymis ac mœrore perditus,*  
with tears and sorrow.”

*uetur.* “He looks with an earnest eye to.”

*re.* “On that very account,” i. e. the consulship to which he  
n elected. Orellius suggests *ac eum cum re.* Schütz proposes  
*na cum hac eum re*, or else *cum hac cum re.* No change, how-  
requisite.

*ne ita, &c.* “For thus does Murena,” &c. i. e. in terms such

L. Murena, judices, orat atque obsecrat, si iustitiae lenitatis  
hesit; si nullius aures voluntatemve violavit; si nemini,  
levissime dicam, odio, nec domi, nec militiae, fuit, sit ap-  
propos <sup>1</sup> modestiss locus, sit demissis hominibus perfugium,  
auxilium pudori. <sup>2</sup> Misericordiam spoliatio consulatus mi-  
nus habere debet, judices. <sup>3</sup> Una enim eripiuntur cum co-  
sulatu omnia. Invidiam vero his temporibus habere con-  
latus ipse nullam potest. <sup>4</sup> Objicitur enim concione  
seditiosorum, insidiis conjuratorum, talis Catilinae.  
omne denique periculum, atque ad omnem invidiam suam  
opponitur. (88.) Quare quid invidendum Murena,  
euiquam nostrum sit <sup>5</sup> in hoc praeclaro consulatu, non videt  
judices. Quae vero miseranda sunt, ea et mihi ante oculos  
versantur, et vos videre et perspicere potestis.

XLI. Si (quod Jupiter amen avertat!) <sup>6</sup> hunc vestrum  
sententia afflixeritis, <sup>7</sup> quo se miser vertet? domumne?  
eam imaginem clarissimi viri, parentis sui, quam paucis  
diebus <sup>8</sup> laureatam in sua gratulatione consperxit, eandem  
deformatam ignominia <sup>9</sup> lugentemque videat? an ad matrem  
que <sup>10</sup> misera, modo consulem osculata filium suum, nunc  
cruciatur et sollicita est, ne eundem paullo post spoliatum

at the following, —*Si nullius aures, &c.* “If he has wounded the feelings of no individual,” i. e. if moderation has always dictated his words, always regulated his conduct.

<sup>1</sup> *Modestiss locus.* “An asylum for moderation.”—*Demissis hominibus* “For the dejected.”

<sup>2</sup> *Misericordiam spoliatio consulatus, &c.* “To be stripped of the consulship ought, O judges, to carry with it a strong claim to compassion.” Literally, “the being despoiled of the consulship.”

<sup>3</sup> *Una enim eripiuntur, &c.* Cicero means to express the idea, that in losing the consulship the person referred to loses his all.—*Invenit nullam.* “No claims to envy,” i. e. nothing worth enjoying in the office.

<sup>4</sup> *Objicitur* “The holder of it is exposed.”—*Conciones seditionum.* Referring to the tribunes of the commons.

<sup>5</sup> *In hoc praeclaro consulatu.* “In this distinguished post of consul.” *Praeclaro* is said with a tinge of irony: in this distinguished post many call it, and take it to be.

<sup>6</sup> *Hunc vestris sententia afficeritis.* “You shall dash this man to the ground by your decision,” i. e. shall condemn him.

<sup>7</sup> *Quo se miser vertet!* The peroration here is extremely beautiful.—*Locus,* says Manutius, “ad commovendam misericordiam extitit”

<sup>8</sup> *Laureatam in sua gratulatione, &c.* “Decked with laurel amid his own felicitations.”

<sup>9</sup> *Lugentem.* “Plunged in mourning.” Cicero veryously uses this

mi dignitate conspiciat? (89.) Sed quid ego matrem, aut  
mum appello, quem<sup>11</sup> nova pœna legis et domo, et parente,  
mum suorum consuetudine conspectuque privat? Ibit  
tur in exsiliū miser? Quo? ad Orientisne partes, in  
ibus annos multos legatus fuit, et exercitus duxit, et res  
victimas gessit? <sup>12</sup> At habet magnum dolorem, unde cum  
nore decesseris, eodem cum ignominia reverti. An se in  
strariam partem terrarum abdet, ut Gallia Transalpina,  
en nuper<sup>13</sup> summo cum imperio libentissime viderit.  
ndem lugentem, moerentem, exsulem videat? In ea porro  
ovincia, quo animo<sup>14</sup> C. Murenam, fratrem suum, adspicit?<sup>15</sup> qui hujus dolor? qui illius mœror erit? quæ utri-  
que lamentatio? <sup>16</sup> quanta autem perturbatio fortunæ atque  
monis, quod, quibus in locis paucis ante diebus factuni  
e consulem Murenam, nuntii literæque celebrassent, et  
de hospites atque amici gratulatum Romam concurrerint,  
ente eo accedat ipse nuntius suæ calamitatis? (90.) Quæ  
acerba, si misera, si luctuosa sunt, si alienissima a man-  
itudine et misericordia vestra, judices,<sup>17</sup> conservate populi  
mani beneficium: reddite rei publicæ consulem: date hoc  
hus pudori, date patri mortuo, date generi et familiae, date

m of expression, instead of *lugenti similem*, for the sake of greater  
strength.

<sup>10</sup> *Misera.* "Wretched parent."

<sup>11</sup> *Nova pœna legis.* The Tullian law (*lex Tullia*) had only recently  
passed, which added ten years' exile to the penalties before im-  
posed by the laws upon the crime of *ambitus*.

<sup>12</sup> *At habet magnum dolorem, &c.* "Ah! but it brings with it a deep  
ing of sorrow," &c.

<sup>13</sup> *Summo cum imperio.* "When invested with supreme command."

<sup>14</sup> *C. Murenam, fratrem suum.* C. Licinius Murena. He was governor  
Transalpine Gaul, and is the same individual of whom Sallust  
wrote, *B. C.* 42.

<sup>15</sup> *Qui hujus dolor?* Qui for quis. Compare ZUMPT, *L. G.* p. 249.  
also, *qui illius mœror erit?* The student will note the distinction  
between *hujus* and *illius*. "What anguish on the part of the  
mer? What deep affliction on that of the latter?" The same  
mark applies here, that was made in a previous note respecting an  
parent violation of the rule concerning *hic* and *ille*. *Hujus* refers to  
rena, Cicero's client, and *illius* to his distant brother.

<sup>16</sup> *Quanta autem perturbatio, &c.* "What a reverse of fortune, what  
change of language," i. e. how changed the condition of the one, how  
tered the language of both.

<sup>17</sup> *Conservate populi Romani beneficium.* "Preserve unto him the  
our which the Roman people have conferred" i. e. establish by your  
ision his claims to the consulship.

etiam Lanuvio, municipio honestissimo, quod in hac tota causa frequens mœstumque vidistis. Nolite a sacris patriis<sup>1</sup> Junonis Sospitæ, cui omnes consules<sup>2</sup> facere necesse est, domesticum et suum consulem potissimum avellere. Quem ego vobis, si quid habet momenti commendatio, aut auctoritatis confirmatio mea, consul consulem, judices, ita commendabo, ut cupidissimum otii, studiosissimum bonorum, acerrimum contra seditionem, fortissimum in bello, inimicissimum huic coniurationi, quæ nunc rem publicam labe factat, futurum esse promittam et spondeam.

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<sup>1</sup> *Junonis Sospitæ.* There was at Lanuvium, whence the family of Murena came, a temple sacred to Juno Sospita. The Romans had a joint right of sacrificing to this goddess, and an annual offering was made by the Roman consuls. According to LIVY (8, 14), the people of Lanuvium were allowed by the Romans to continue the worship of this goddess, on condition that the latter people shared in it along with them. Compare, as regards this same deity, LIV. 40, 19.—Ov. Met. 6, 60.—SIL. ITAL. 13, 364, and CIC. N. D. 1, 29. The last-mentioned writer describes the effigy of the goddess, as arrayed in a goat's skin bearing a small shield and a spear, and having on little slippers turned up at the toes. “*Cum pelle caprina, cum hasta, cum scutulo, cum calceolis repandis.*” Consult also MONTFAUCON, *Antiq. Explic.* lib. ii. c. 5, fig. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Facere.* Supply *rem divinam*, or, what is much simpler, *sacra* from the previous *sacris patriis*. The analogy between this usage of *facere*, and that of the Greek *πέζειν* or *ἔρδειν* is worth noting.

## EXCURSUS TO PHILIPP. II. 33, 82.

(From ORELLI, Edit. Min.)

In the examination of the above passage, we should set out with the words of Messala, quoted by Aulius Gellius *N. A.* 13, 15 : “*Minoribus undis magistratibus, tributis comitiis magistratus, sed justius curiata tur lege; maiores* (i. e. the consuls, praetors, and censors) *centuriatis nitis fuerint.*” From other authorities also, we ascertain that consuls were elected at the *comitia centuriata*, not at the *comitia tributa*; indeed, no one of late years denies that: this point only is maintained by many moderns, that in the time of Cicero the *tribes* exercised a powerful influence even in the *comitia centuriata*, what that influence was, however, is by no means agreed on. I think the opposite, and believe that Boner<sup>1</sup> has approached nearest the truth: for with this Bolar and Herman<sup>2</sup> I now agree, so far as to lay down that the reading from a correction in a very disputed passage, *Cic. de Repub. 22*, is correct, and that therein is described the form of the *comitia centuriata* which existed in the time of Scipio, and even before him (probably from A.U.C. 533), and which was observed until the destruction of the republic. The following are the words of Cicero:—

“*Quæ descriptio (comitiorum) si esset ignota vobis, explicaretur a me. Nunc rationem videtis esse talem, ut equitum centuriæ cum x suffragiis et prima classis addita centuria, quæ ad summum usum tribis fabris tignariis est data lxxxviii. centurias habeat; quibus ex totum quatuor centuriis (tot enim reliquæ sunt) octæ solæ si accessunt, confecta est vis populi universa; reliquaque multo major multitudo sex et nonaginta centuriarum neque excluderetur suffragiis, superbum esset; nec valeret nimis, ne esset periculosum.*” Accordingly in Cicero no mention is made of tribes in the *comitia centuriata*. But an objector may say, three most important proofs exist in Livy, the occurrence of *tribes* in the *comitia centuriata*.

*Lib. xxiv. 7 (A.U.C. 540, Varr.) Cum sors prærogativæ Aniensium iorum exisset eaque T. Oticilium, M. Emilius Regillum consulesiceret, tum Q. Fabius silentio facto tali oratione est usus. His objectas to dissuade the people from electing Oticilius as consul; the concluding words of his speech are: præco, Aniensem juniores in suffragium revoca.*

*Lib. xxvi. 22 (A.U.C. 544.) When the Prærogativa Veturia juniorum ad declared as consuls T. Manlius Torquatus and T. Oticilius, and when Manlius had spoken in opposition to this, that same body, the Veturia juniorum, having deliberated with the Veturia seniorum, nominated M. Marcellus, and M. Valerius consuls, and then, “auctoritatem prærogativæ omnes centuriæ secutæ sunt.”*

*Lib. xxvii. 6, (A.U.C. 545.) Galeria juniorum, quæ sorte prærogativa erit, Q. Fulvium et Q. Fabium consules dixerat, eodemque jure vocatae*

<sup>1</sup> In Comment. de comitiis Romanorum centuriatis, Monasterii, 1833,

<sup>2</sup> Epist. ad Steinackerum.

(from the preceding passage, 26, 22, understand *centuriae jure vocatae*, not *tribus*) *inclinassent, ni tribuni, pl. C. et L. Aremni se interposuerint, &c.* How these passages of Livy are to be harmonized with our theory, we shall see below. Meanwhile, one other passage remains, cited by Hullman,<sup>1</sup> e. g.

Lib. v. 18, (A.U.C. 358.) *Haud invitis patribus P. Licinius Calvus prærogativa tribunum militum (with consular authority) creant,—omnesque deinceps ex collegio ejusdem anni refici apparebat,—qui prius quam renuntiarentur, jure vocatis tribubus permisso interregis P. Licinius Calvus ita verba fecit.* However, Niebuhr has correctly decided that this passage refers to the *comitia tributa*, not to the *comitia centuriata*.

As to the passage in Cic. *de Leg. Agrar.* 11, 2, “*Me non extrema tribus suffragiorum, sed primi illi vestri concursus, neque singulae voces præconum, sed una voce univerous populus Romanus consulē declaravit:* the difficulty has already been fully explained by Siganus, Turnebus, and Ferratius.

Some other passages are brought forward by those who attribute important influence to the tribes in the *comitia centuriata*; yet these passages explain the difficulty of the matter no otherwise than by supposing, contrary to the testimony of all antiquity, that the centuries were at one time 70, then 322, then again 350 in number, while we know they always amounted to 193; or the passages refer to the *comitia tributa*, as that in the *Orat. pro Plancio*, c. 20; or to the *canvass* for the consulship (which was conducted *tributim* not *centuriatim*) not to the actual *comitia* as Q. Cic. *Petit. Cons.* 8, “*Qui apud TRIBULES suis plurimum gratia possunt, tui studiosos in centuriis habebis.*” In the statement given by the Pseudo-Asconius, *ad Verr.* Act. 1, 9: “*prærogative tribus sunt, quæ prime suffragium ferunt, ante jure vocatas,*” &c. a grammarian of the third or fourth century after Christ has plainly confounded the *prærogative* centuries with the tribes.

We think the whole matter should be thus explained. At some period unknown to us; perhaps after A.U.C. 533, from which time the tribes always numbered 35—certainly before 540, to which year the passage above cited from Livy refers (24, 7,)—the ancient form of the *comitia centuriata* was wholly changed, the *classes* only being nominally preserved, and the number (193) of the centuries, as established by Servius Tullius.

Now as Boner has fully shown, the first class contained 70 centuries, i. e. two centuries in every tribe, one of *juniiores*, the other of *seniores*. These 70 centuries, with the addition of 12 centuries of knights, and of the *sex suffragia*,<sup>2</sup> and one century of carpenters (which was merely added lest the lower class should suppose they had no share in the election whatever), made up the whole strength and vital essence of the *comitia*. For if to these 89 centuries were added only 8 centuries of the second class, an absolute majority, numbering 97 centuries, was made up against 96. Of the arrangement of the other classes nothing is certainly known, but we may conjecture they were arranged in either of the following ways:—

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *de Rep.* ii. § 22, Donys. Hal. iv. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Sex suffragia appellantur in equitum centuriis, quæ sunt adjectæ ei numero centuriarum, quas Priscus Tarquinius rex constituit.—FESTUS.

## I.

i. is.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 12 \text{ centuriæ equitum.} \\ 35 \text{ centuriæ juniorum.} \\ 35 \text{ centuriæ seniorum.} \\ 6 \text{ suffragia.} \end{array} \right.$
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Merely for form's sake, to these was added the century of carpenters, taken from some lower class, either third or fourth.

ida ix.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 35 \text{ centuriæ juniorum.} \\ 35 \text{ centuriæ seniorum.} \\ (\text{two in each of the } 35 \text{ tribes.}) \end{array} \right.$
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is.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 35 \text{ centuriæ, no deduction being made between juniores and seniores; (one century in each of the tribes.)} \end{array} \right.$
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## II.

12 centuriæ equitum. 35 centuriæ juniorum. 35 centuriæ seniorum. 6 suffragia.
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35 centuries, without any distinction being made between *seniores* and *juniores*, (i. e. one century from each of the tribes.)

35 centuries, as above.

Quarta Classis. } 35 centuries, as above.

193 centuriæ.

193 centuriæ.

this arrangement the fourth and fifth classes had no share.

In this arrangement the fifth class had no share.

I must particularly remember, that seeing no tribute was paid to public treasury by Roman citizens after the year 587, and the tactics of war were changed, the classification of the last three was of comparatively little importance, since they never were bound to give their votes at the election of the three more important magistracies. They had their proper influence, however, in *comitia tributa*, in which the lower magistrates were elected.

See that in this place, the greatest difficulty will arise from the uncertainty, whether there were two centuries of the first class in the *city tribes*; yet it is probable that in later times, not only *hantes*, workmen, and *libertini* were enrolled in these tribes, but among them men who were worth an estate of 100,000lbs of brass. By testimony of Livy, we know that in the year A.U.C. 577, a very considerable number of *allies*, *Latini nominis*, counted in the census at 8, removed thither and became Roman citizens (*cives*). These have been enrolled among the city tribes. These eight centuries, however, had little weight in opposition to the number of centuries of first class from all the other tribes.

On this classification, however, it will appear that there is an ordinary agreement between the passages of Cicero, *Phil.* ii. 2, and *Rep.* ii. 22. First of all, the century called *prærogativa* was selected by lot, from all the 70 centuries of the first class. This allot-

82 centuries . The votes of all these being examined, aga proclaims who had the majority (*renuntiatur*). Then for more than anything else, the *sex suffragia* were usually su The *sex suffragia*, held a middle place between the first and and were summoned separately into the ovile. He th named consul had 89 votes, (i. e. one from the *prærogati* tories of first class, and six from the *sex suffragia*). Eig wanting to form an absolute majority of the whole popul 97 centuries against 76. And so the second class was the ovile. The votes of this class being examined, the announced, nor was there any occasion to proceed further

In interpreting the words, *deinde ita, ut aselet suffr* followed Niebuhr. In the vulgar explanation, " *suffragia feruntur, diribuntur*, the words *ut aselet* are useless, and *renuntiatur* after *vocantur* must be erased.

The reading *deinde, ut aselet, suffragatum secunda clas* sufficiently refuted in my larger edition.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Some suppose that first an allotment was held to should be the *prærogative tribe*, and that then out of th selected by lot a *prærogative century*.

<sup>2</sup> For brevity Cicero omits the word *sex* before *suffr* does not supply *renuntiatur*, at the third or fourth stage ceedings. He was speaking of matters familiar to all.

<sup>3</sup> I here repeat Orelli's note. " Sed *suffragari aliud et suffragia ferre*; est 'gratis adjuvare et commendare,' etiam quem pro contraria sententia afferunt, pro Murena, § 71, et ibi observat Mathiae. Nec magno opere placere potest latum, quum facillima sit ellipsis: *suffragia*, scil. ferm

## HISTORICAL INDEX.

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### A.

**Absyrtus** (Apsyrtus, Ἀψυρτος), son of Æetes, king of Colchis, and brother of Medea. His sister, when accompanying Jason, who was bearing off the golden fleece, is fabled by the poets to have put to death the young prince, and to have scattered his limbs along the route which her father would take in pursuing her. The stratagem succeeded, and Æetes stopped to collect the mangled remains of his son, thus enabling his daughter and Jason to make their escape. OVID, *Trist.* 3, 9.—SENEC. *Med.* 963.—LUCAN, *Phars.* 3, 190. The scene of this act was Tomi, (from τέμνω.)

**Amilius, Paullus.** *Vid.* Paullus.

**Amilius, Scaurus.** *Vid.* Scaurus.

**Afranius**, a celebrated Roman consul, A.U.C. 694, B.C. 60, and one of Pompey's lieutenants, in the war against Sertorius and Mithridates. After the defeat at Pharsalia, he crossed into Africa, and fought at the battle of Thapsus. Being taken prisoner along with Faustus Sylla, in the rout that ensued of the Pompeian army, he was put to death along with that individual by order of Cæsar. SUET. *Vit. Jul.* 75.—CÆS. *B. Afric.* 95.—DIO CASS. 43, 12.—OROS. 6, 16.

**Ahala, Caius Servilius**, master of the horse to the dictator Cincinnatus. Spurius Melius, when accused of aspiring to regal power, having refused to appear before the dictator Ahala, who bore the summons to him, slew him in the very midst of the assembled people whom he was endeavouring to excite in his behalf. The dictator commended the act. Ahala was afterwards impeached, and escaped condemnation only by voluntary exile. There is a great variation, as regards the prænomen of this individual in the MSS. and the editions of Cicero. In the first oration against Catiline, c. 1, he is called, in the common text, *Quintus*, where Muretus and Pighius give the true reading *Caius*, which Ernesti adopts. In the oration *Pro Domo*, c. 32, he is styled, on the other hand, *Marcus Servilius Ahala*.

**Antiochus**, surnamed the Great, king of Syria, and the third of the name. He came in collision with the Romans, on attempting to reduce under his sway the cities of the Thracian Chersonese. These cities implored the protection of the Romans, who sent deputies to Antiochus, commanding him to give up the conquests he had made in this quarter. Antiochus, urged on by Hannibal, to whom he had given an asylum in his dominions in 195, B.C., paid no regard to these orders, and became, in consequence, involved in war with the republic. Neglecting, however, to follow the plan of operations marked out for him by Hannibal, who urged him to carry the war into Italy, he soon experienced the

fatal effects of his error. Acilius Glabrio defeated him at Thermopylae, B.C. 191, and compelled him to flee into Asia; and Scipio Asiaticus gained a decisive victory over him at Magnesia in the latter country, B.C. 190. Compelled to sue for peace, he only obtained it on very hard conditions, B.C. 188. The Romans made the range of Mount Taurus the limit of his power on the side of Lower Asia, and reduced to the form of provinces all the countries which he had possessed on this side of the mountains just mentioned. They obliged him also to stipulate for the payment of a tribute of fifteen thousand Euboic talents in twelve years. As his treasury could not support this heavy tax, he resolved, in order to replenish his resources, to pillage the temple of Belus, in Elymaïs, but the inhabitants of this country, irritated at the sacrilegious attempt, slew him with his followers, B.C. 187. He had reigned thirty-six years. JUSTIN, 31, 32.—FLORUS, 2, 1.—LIV. 34, 59.

*Antōnīus, Caius*, son of M. Antonius the orator, and brother of M. Antonius Creticus, the father of the triumvir. He was originally in habits of very great intimacy with Catiline, and the arrangement was, that these two should stand for the consulship, and, if they succeeded, commence, while in this high office, their plans of revolution. Cicero defeated this scheme, and being elected consul, with Antonius for his colleague, succeeded in detaching the other from the conspiracy, and from every other design formed against the state. He effected this desirable object by yielding to Antonius the rich province of Macedonia, which had fallen to his own lot. After the conspiracy was crushed, Antonius went to his province of Macedonia, where he continued for two years; but, on his return to Rome, he was brought to trial, and banished, B.C. 59, for having been guilty of extortion, and having made war beyond the limits of his province. He was a man of very dissolute habits, and, before he obtained the consulship, had been expelled by the censors from the senate for immoral conduct, B.C. 70. SALLUST, B.C. 26.—LIV. Epit. 103.—CIC. in Vat. 11.—Id. pro Cael. 31.

*Antōnīus, Marcus*, a celebrated Roman orator, grandfather of the triumvir. Born B.C. 143. After having been praetor, and having, during his praetorship, obtained a victory over the pirates of Cilicia, he was raised to the consulship. A.U.C. 655, B.C. 99. He is more eminent, however, in Roman history, as an orator than a statesman. He was the most employed patron of his time; and, of all his contemporaries, was chiefly courted by clients, as he was ever willing to undertake any cause which was proposed to him. He possessed a ready memory, and a remarkable talent of introducing every thing where it could be placed with most effect. He had a frankness of manner, which precluded any suspicion of artifice, and gave to all his orations an appearance of being the unpremeditated effusions of an honest heart. But though there was no apparent preparation in his speeches, he always spoke so well, that the judges were never sufficiently prepared against the effects of his eloquence. His language was not perfectly pure, nor of a constantly sustained elegance, but it was of a solid and judicious character, well adapted to his purpose. His gesture, too, was appropriate; his voice strong and durable, though naturally hoarse; but even this defect he turned to advantage, by frequently and easily adopting a mournful and querulous tone, which, in criminal cases, excited compassion, and more readily gained the belief of his judges. He left, however, as we are in-

ned by Cicero, hardly any orations behind him, having resolved never to publish any of his pleadings, lest he should be convicted of containing in one cause something that was inconsistent with what he had alleged in another. During the civil wars of Marius and Sylla, Antonius declared for the latter, and was in consequence proscribed by Marius. His place of concealment having been discovered through the indiscretion of a friend, a party of soldiers were sent to put him to death. The eloquent appeal of the orator, however, checked their murderous purpose, and drew tears from their eyes, when Annus, their leader, who had remained without, impatient at their delay, was compelled to enter the place himself, and despatch Antonius with his own hand. DUNLOP's *Hist. Rom. Lit.* vol. ii. p. 211. He is made one of the speakers in Cicero's Treatise de Oratore.—CIC. *de Orat.* 2, 2.—*Id. Brut.*—*Id. de Orat.* 3, 3.—VAL. MAX. 7, 3.

**Lettonius**, Marcus, surnamed *Creticus*, son of Antonius the orator, and member of the triumvir. Having obtained the praetorship, A.U.C. 678, through the interest of the consul Cotta, and the faction of Cethegus, was charged with the war against the pirates. He pillaged, however, the provinces which had been entrusted to his defence, and having advanced towards Crete, was defeated in an engagement off that island. The appellation of Creticus was given him from this circumstance, as a mark of derision. He is said to have died of chagrin at his defeat. DOMUS, 3, 7.—LIV. *Epit.* 99.—CIC. *in Verr.* 2, 3.—*Id. in Verr.* 3, 91.

**Archias**, Aulus Licinius, a Greek poet, born at Antioch in Syria about 120, and better known by the discourse which Cicero pronounced in his favour, than by any productions of his own. He came to Rome in an early age, and passed the greater part of his life there, teaching Greek language and literature, and giving instruction particularly in the department of poetical composition. Among his pupils was Cicero, who has returned the favour by transmitting the name of his teacher to posterity. Archias lived on terms of great intimacy with several distinguished Roman families, and accompanied the celebrated Sulla in his expedition against Mithridates, and also in his travels through Asia, Greece, and Sicily. It was during his visit to Magna Graecia, in company with this illustrious patron, that he obtained the rights of citizenship at Heraclea in Lucania, which led subsequently to his procuring the same privilege at Rome. This latter point, however, having been contested by a certain individual named Gratius, led to the delivery of the celebrated oration in his favour, by his old pupil, Cicero. The works of Archias are lost, except some epigrams in the Anthology. While still quite young, he composed a poem on the Cimbric war, which gained for him the favour of Marius, who was in general but little alive to the charms of poetic composition. At a later period of his life the Mithridatic war became a theme for his Muse. In a third poem he gave a prophetic interpretation to a circumstance which had opened to the infant Roscius; and Cicero speaks also of a poem which he had commenced on the subject of his consulship. The Anthology contains thirty-five epigrams under the name of Archias, but some of them are attributed by the commentators to a certain Archias of Cenedonia, or another of the same name, a native of Byzantium; others again ascribe them to Archias the grammarian, or the younger. Hence it is probable that very few, if any, of them are by Archias of Antioch.

*Cic. pro Arch.*—*Id. de Divin.* c. 36.—*JACOBS, ad Anthol. Græc.* vol. ii. p. 92.—*SCHOELL, Hist. Lit. Gr.* vol. iv. p. 43.

*Ariobarzānes*, king of Cappadocia, and the first of the name, styled Philo-Romæus. He ascended the throne under the protection of the Romans, about B.C. 91, after the expulsion of the false Ariarathes Mithridates and Tigranes united against him, and drove him twice from his kingdom; but he was as often restored, once by Sylla, again by Pompey, the latter of whom added to his dominions Sophene, a province of Armenia. Ariobarzanes abdicated in favour of his son, the second of the name. *JUSTIN*, 38, 2.—*APPIAN, R. S.* 48.—*Id. B. M.* 10, *seqq.*

*Aristōtēles*, a celebrated philosopher, born at Stagyra, B.C. 384. Cicero alludes to him in the oration for Murena, as being one of those philosophers from whose writings he had imbibed principles of an opposite nature to those which influenced the conduct of the rigid and stoical Cato. Cicero, though particularly attached to the new Academy, was free from the exclusive spirit of sectarism, and inclined to select whatever he found valuable in the doctrines of the different schools. *KUHNER, Cic. in Phil. Merita*, p. 74, *seqq.*

*Attius*, less correctly written *Accius*, an early Latin tragic poet, born A.U.C. 584. He pursued the career opened by Livius, Ennius, and Pacuvius, and the ancients give the titles of a large number of tragedies which he had composed, among which was a national piece entitled *Brutus*. Velleius Paterculus says, that Attius deserved to be ranked among the Grecian poets, in point of talent. Horace also ascribes to him elevation of manner, by which is probably meant sublimity both of sentiment and expression. Attius was held in high estimation by his countrymen. The few fragments, however, that we have of this poet, do not enable us to form any decisive opinion on his merits. *BAEHR, Gesh. Rom. Lit.* p. 79.—*VELL. Paterc.* 1, 17.—*Id. 2, 9.*—*HORAT. Epist.* 2, 1, 55.

*Aurēlia Orestilla*, a female of great beauty, but of very corrupt principles. Catiline offered her his hand in marriage, which she refused to accept, because he had a son by a former marriage, arrived at man's estate. To remove this obstacle Catiline put his son to death by administering poison. *VAL. MAX.* 9, 1, 9.—*SALLUST, B. C.* 15.

## B.

*Brūtus, Dēcimus Jūnīus*, the colleague of Africanus Minor in the consulship, A.U.C. 615. He distinguished himself in Spain, and obtained a triumph for his successes over the Gallæci. Cicero speaks of his adorning the monuments and temples erected by him, with the verses of the poet Attius. Velleius Paterculus (2, 5) calls him Aulus, in place of Decimus, but the true reading appears in later editions. *CIC. pro Balb.* 17.—*SIGON. Fast. Cons.* p. 339, ed. Oxon.—*CIC. pro Arch.* 9.

## C.

*Cœsar, Caius Julius*, son of Caius Cœsar and of Aurelia, the daughter of Cotta. He was born in the sixth consulship of Marius, B.C. 99. When only in his seventeenth year he obtained the office of Flamen

**M**ialis, or High Priest of Jupiter. His marriage with Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, excited against him the hatred of Sylla, whose suspicion he had previously incurred from his aunt Julia's being the wife of Marius. He with difficulty escaped being put to death, among the number of the proscribed, and it was only at the intercession of the vestal virgins, and in consequence of the entreaties of his relations, that Sylla spared his life. The latter, however, had the discernment to behold in him, even when a mere youth, the germs of future talent and ambition; and when he was asked by his friends why he was so anxious to put a mere boy to death, his answer was, "In that boy I see many Mariuses." Of the eventful life of this eminent Roman our limits forbid even any thing like a rapid sketch. His various successes are touched upon by Cicero in the oration for Marcellus, but a full account of his numerous conflicts, and of the remarkable events which have rendered his name so conspicuous in history, will be found in the pages of Plutarch. It will only be necessary here to speak of Cæsar's supposed to be connected with the conspiracy of Catiline. His principal aim, in the accomplishment of his ambitious schemes, was to gain the favour of the populace, and weaken the power of the nobility. This brought him at once in contact with Catiline, and, in favouring the views of that daring conspirator, his object was thought to be to destroy by their means the liberty of his country, and then to crush the conspirators themselves, and make himself master of Rome. The opinion which he gave in the senate, with respect to the punishment of Lentulus, Cethegus, and the other accomplices of Catiline; the threatening conduct of the Roman equites, who guarded the temple where the senate met; and his being arraigned as an associate in the conspiracy before the senate itself, all tended to show the opinion of the public respecting his secret movements. But see Introduction to *Cat.* 1. *ALLUST.*, B. C. 49, *seqq.*—*PLUT.* *Vit. Cic.* 20.—*Id. Vit. Cæs.* 7, *seqq.*

**Cæsar, Lucius Julius**, enjoyed the consulship with C. Figulus, A.U.C. 89. His sister was married to Lentulus the accomplice of Catiline, notwithstanding which relationship he gave his opinion in the senate, in favour of that individual's being put to death. He was uncle also to Mark Antony the triumvir, the latter being his sister's son by a former marriage, previous to her union with Lentulus. *CIC. Or. in Cat.* 4. 6.—*Pro Muren.* 34.—*Ep. ad Fam.* 10, 28.

**Cæsar, Lucius**, a young Roman, who, though related to Julius Cæsar, attached himself nevertheless to the party of Pompey. He was the son of Lucius Cæsar, who had been one of Cæsar's lieutenants in the Gallic war. Cicero calls him in one of his letters to Atticus, "not a man, but an untied broom," intending by this proverbial form of expression to indicate a person of no value whatever. When Cæsar was marching toward Utica after the battle of Thapsus, he surrendered himself to that commander, and, according to the author of the Commentaries on the African war, obtained his life by his own earnest entreaties. According to Dio Cassius, however, he was put to death. *CÆS. Bell. Civ.* 1, 8.—*Bell. Afric.* 89.—*DIO CASS.* 43, 12.—*SUETON. Vit. Jul.* 75, and *CRUSIUS, ad loc.*

**Cæpito, Publius Gabinius**, a Roman of equestrian rank, whom Cicero calls Cimber. He appears to have been one of the most worthless of

the accomplices of Catiline. He suffered capital punishment along with Lentulus and the rest. SALLUST, *B. C.* 55.

*Căpito, Publius Gabinius*, a Roman praetor, A.U.C. 664, the year when Archias the poet was registered. After returning from his government of Achaea, he was accused of extortion by Lucius Piso, and condemned; and hence his disgraceful fall destroyed the credit of his register, which his previous corruption had greatly impaired. Cic. *pro Arch.* 5.—*In Cæcil.* 20.

*Carbo, Caius Papirius*, an eminent Roman orator, contemporary with the Gracchi, and the friend of Tiberius, the elder of the two. He was concerned in some seditious movements the year that Tiberius was slain [i. e. after the death of C. Gracchus], but seems to have changed his sentiments at a subsequent period, [he was one of three commissioners appointed to carry the Agrarian law of Tib. Gracchus into effect,] for we find him, when consul, defending L. Opimius [B.C. 120] before the people, who had slain Caius Gracchus, the brother of his former friend. He is thought to have been concerned in the death of Publius Africanus. Being accused at length by L. Crassus, consul elect, on account of the part he had taken in the sedition of Tiberius Gracchus, he destroyed himself, by swallowing cantharides, in order to escape from the impending trial.—He is spoken of by Cicero, in the oration for Archias, as having proposed in conjunction with Silvanus, a new law respecting the rights of citizenship. Cic. *Brut.* 27, 43.—*Orat.* 1, 34.—*In Verr.* 3, 1.—*Ep. ad Fam.* 9, 21.

*Cassius, Caius*, was consul with M. Terentius Varro Lucullus, and not with Gellius, as Manutius maintains, (*ad Or. pro Rab.* c. 7.) His consulship is to be assigned to A.U.C. 680, the first year of Verres's Sicilian praetorship. He is mentioned by Cicero as having advocated the passing of the Manilian law. *Or. pro L. Manil.* 23.—*Pro Cluent.* 49.—*In Verr.* 1, 23.—*In Verr.* 3, 41.

*Cassius, Lucius*, one of the accomplices of Catiline, and a competitor of Cicero's in suing for the consulship. It is uncertain whether he be the same with the one mentioned in the oration for Cluentius, c. 38.—*Or. in Cat.* 3, 4.

*Cătilina, Lucius Sergius*, a Roman of patrician rank, and the last of the gens *Sergia*. Of his father and grandfather little is known. The former would seem to have been in indigent circumstances, from the language of Quintus Cicero, (*De Pet. Cons.* c. 2,) who speaks of Catiline as having been born amid the poverty of his father. The great grandfather, M. Sergius Silus, or Silo, distinguished himself highly in the second Punic war, and was present in the battles of Ticinus, Trebia, Trasymenus, and Cannæ. Pliny speaks of his exploits in a very animated strain. The cruelty of Catiline's disposition, his undaunted resolution, and the depravity of his morals, fitted him for acting a prominent part in the turbulent and bloody scenes of the period in which he lived. He embraced the interests of Sylla, in whose army he held the office of quæstor. That monster, in his victory, had in Catiline an able coadjutor, whose heart knew no sympathy, and his lewdness no bounds. He rejoiced in the carnage and plunder of the proscribed, gratifying at one time his own private resentments, by bringing his enemies to punishment, and executing at another the bloody mandates of the dictator himself. Many citizens of noble

, said to have fallen by his hands, and, according to Plutarch, assassinated his own brother, during the civil war, and now, to himself from prosecution, persuaded Sylla to put him down he proscribed, as a person still alive. He murdered, too, with hands, his sister's husband, a Roman knight of a mild and character. One of the most horrid actions, however, of was guilty, would seem to have been the killing of M. Marius, a near relation of the celebrated Marius. Sylla had put of this individual on the list of the proscribed ; whereupon entered the dwelling of the unfortunate man, exhausted upon all the refinements of cruelty and insult, and having at last an end to his existence, carried his bloody head in triumph the streets of Rome, and brought it to Sylla, as he sat on his in the forum. When this was done, the murderer washed his the lustral water at the door of Apollo's temple, which stood immediate vicinity. Catiline was peculiarly dangerous and formidable as his power of dissimulation enabled him to throw a veil vices. Such was his art, that while he was poisoning the the Roman youth, he gained the friendship and esteem of Catulus. The close of his career is detailed in the pages of

Being driven from the city by the eloquence of Cicero, he himself with a body of followers to the camp of Manlius in and in the action which ensued with the forces of the republic, movements had cut him off from all communication with lower ile another army prevented his passage into Cisalpine Gaul, he ely fighting near the Etrurian town of Pistoria. PLIN. *H. N.* LUT. *Vit. Syll.* c. 32.—*Id. Vit. Cic.* c. 10,—SALLUST, *B. C.* 7.

*Marcus Porcius*, surnamed, for distinction's sake, "the Elder," "the Censor," was born B.C. 234, at Tusculum, of a family in st remarkable. After having passed his earlier years in the he came to Rome, through the persuasions of Valerius a nobleman who had an estate contiguous to Cato's. Valerius d of Cato through his domestics. They told him that he o early in the morning to the little towns in the neighbourl defend the causes of such as applied to him ; that thence return to his farm, where, in a coarse frock if it was winter, d if it was summer, he would labour along with his domestics, wards sit down with them, and partake of their bread and at Rome, Cato's pleadings soon procured him friends and ; and the interest of Valerius likewise greatly assisted him, e was at first appointed tribune of the soldiers, and after- cted quæstor. Among all the more aged senators he attached hiefly to Fabius Maximus. He was at first quæstor in Africa, pio Africanus, and afterward prætor in the island of Sardinia, brought under the Roman sway. Being elected to the con- long with his early friend and patron Valerius Flaccus, he for his province the government of Hispania Citerior, where y signalized himself, and for his successes in which country moured with a triumph. He was chosen censor, with Vale- 1 for his colleague, B.C. 184, and discharged the duties of office with such inflexible severity, as to obtain from it one

of the titles usually appended to his name. Cato occupies a conspicuous place in Roman history for his obstinate perseverance in insisting on the destruction of Carthage, and is said to have ended every speech, no matter what the subject was, or with what business the senate might be engaged, by repeating the well known phrase, "*Censeo quoque Carthaginem esse delendum*," or, as it is more commonly given, "*Delenda est Carthago*." His advice was at last followed, but the tide of corruption that flowed in upon Rome, when the fear of her great rival was at an end, shows plainly how feeble, in this respect, were Cato's claims to political sagacity. This distinguished man ended his days, B.C. 149, at the age of 85, and at the very period when the third Punic war had broken out, which ended in the fulfilment of his long-cherished wish concerning Carthage. As a magistrate, a general, a lawyer, and a public speaker, Cato the censor merits a high degree of reputation. His rigour and austerity, brought to bear with no less strictness on his own life than on that of others, obtained for him from his countrymen a degree of consideration fully equal to that which he had acquired by the exercise of his talents. He was the inveterate and sworn foe of luxury, and so keenly did he pursue it under all the various shapes which it assumed, as even to cut off the pipes by which private individuals conveyed water from the public fountains into their houses and gardens, and to demolish all the buildings that projected into the streets. He is well known also for his strenuous opposition to the introduction of the fine arts and the sciences into the capital of Italy, through fear lest the refinements of Greece and Asia might corrupt the principles of his countrymen. He pressed also the departure of the Greek philosophers who had come to Rome as ambassadors from Athens, for he dreaded lest the habit of speaking on both sides of a question, on which Carneades, one of the number, particularly prided himself, might convert the Roman youth into mere sophists, and render them indifferent to glory and virtue. And yet he himself took up the study of the Greek language at an advanced period of life. Cato, by the universal consent of his contemporaries, passed for the best farmer of his age, and was held unrivalled for the skill and success of his agricultural operations. He is the author of a work on husbandry, entitled, "*De Re Rustica*," which has come down to our times, though in a somewhat imperfect state, since Pliny and other writers allude to subjects as treated of by Cato, and to opinions as delivered by him in this book, which are nowhere to be found in any part of the work as we now have it. In its present state, it resembles merely the loose and unconnected journal of a plain farmer, expressed with rude, sometimes with almost oracular, brevity. It consists solely of the driest rules of agriculture, and some receipts for making various kinds of cakes and wines. The most remarkable feature in the work, however, is its total want of arrangement. Cato left also one hundred and fifty orations, which were existing in Cicero's time, though much neglected. They are now lost. Cicero admits that, if number and cadence, and an easier turn of expression were given to his sentences, there would be few who could claim the preference to Cato. He wrote also a book on Military Discipline, a good deal of which has been incorporated into the work of Vegetius. His principal production, however, was an historical

treatise in seven books, entitled. "*De Originibus.*" Its object was to discuss and settle the history and antiquities of the Roman people, with a view to counteract the influence of the Greek taste, introduced by the Scipios. Only fragments of it remain. He wrote also on Orators and on the Medical Art. The former of these productions was a treatise addressed to his son, and entitled, "*De Oratore ad Filium.*" The work on medicine would appear to have been a singular affair; and his great object was to decry the compound drugs of the Greek physicians, whom he accuses of having formed a league to poison all the barbarians, among whom they classed the Romans. Cato finding that their patients lived, notwithstanding this detestable conspiracy, began to regard the Greek practitioners as impious sorcerers, who counteracted the course of nature, and restored dying men to life by means of unholy charms; and he therefore advised his countrymen to remain stedfast, not only by their old Roman principles and manners, but also by the venerable unguents and salubrious balsams, which had come down to them from the wisdom of their grandmothers. Such as they were, Cato's old medical saws continued long in repute at Rome. Aulus Gellius mentions Cato's "*Libri Questionum Epistolicarum,*" and Cicero his "*Apophthegmata,*" (*De Off.* 1, 29,) which was probably the first example of that class of works which, under the appellation of *Ana*, became so fashionable and prevalent in France.—Cato wrote also a work, entitled, "*Carmen de Moribus.*" This, however, was not written in verse, as might be supposed from the title. Precepts, imprecations, and prayers, or any set formula whatever, were called *Carmina*. DUNLOP'S *Roman Lit.* vol. ii. p. 12, seqq.

*Cato, Marcus Porcius*, afterwards surnamed in history, *Uticensis*, on account of his having destroyed himself at Utica, was the great grandson of Cato the censor. His parents died when he was very young, and he was educated under the roof of his mother's brother, Livius Drusus. He was austere in his morals, a strict follower of the tenets of the Stoic sect, and so great a lover of what was virtuous and right, as to pursue every object of such a nature with undeviating steadiness, regardless of the difficulties which he might have to encounter, or of the dangers to which he might be exposed. Cato exerted himself, though in vain, to stem the torrent of Roman luxury and corruption, and in his own person he copied the simplicity of earlier days. He often appeared barefooted in public, and never travelled but on foot. In whatever office he was employed, he always reformed its abuses, and restored the ancient regulations. To the qualities of a virtuous man, and the rectitude of a stern patriot, Cato added the intrepidity of a brave soldier and the talents of an able general. In the affair of the conspiracy of Catiline, he gave Cicero his constant and vigorous support, and it was chiefly through his efforts, in opposition to those of Cæsar, that the accomplices of Catiline were capitally punished. This virtuous Roman put an end to his existence at Utica, after the defeat of Juba and Scipio by Cæsar in the battle of Thapsus. PLUT. *Vit. Cat. Mir.*

*Cætulus, Quintus Lutatius*, a noble Roman, conspicuous for both his love of country and private virtues. He was the colleague of Marius, in the consulship, when the Cimbri and Teutones came down upon the south of Europe, and he was engaged with that commander in the

sanguinary conflict at the Raudii Campi, where the Cimbri were so signally defeated by the Romans. We afterwards find him censor with Crassus : and, subsequently to this, opposing the attempt of Crassus to make Egypt tributary. Catulus was in politics on the aristocratic side, and was of course a warm opponent of Julius Cæsar. He was competitor also with the latter for the office of pontifex, but was unsuccessful in his application. The character of Catulus stood deservedly high. A stranger to flattery and adulation, he reproved, with equal openness, the levity of the multitude, and the misconduct of the senate. After a long life of honourable usefulness, Catulus was compelled to put an end to his days, by order of the sanguinary Marius. In order to effect this, he shut himself up in a narrow chamber, newly plastered, and suffocated himself by the vapour produced by a large fire.

*Catulus, Quintus Lutatius*, son of the preceding. He obtained the consulship along with Lepidus, B.C. 78, and opposed the views of his colleague, who was in favour of rescinding the acts of Sylla. He dedicated the new capitol, the old one having been destroyed by fire. Catulus was the first that pronounced Cicero "the father of his country," and it was he who accused Cæsar of participation in the conspiracy of Catiline. This is also the Catulus that opposed the passing of the Manilian law, and of whom Plutarch relates the anecdote which we have mentioned under note 9, page 265. His character for patriotism and integrity stood as high as his father's had.

*Cethagus, Caius Cornelius*, a Roman of corrupt morals and turbulent character. He filled at one time the office of tribune, and was also a warm partisan of Sylla, after having originally sided with Marius. Subsequently, however, losing the influence which he had possessed, he joined in the conspiracy of Catiline. Cicero informs us, that in rashness and daring he surpassed Catiline himself, and almost equalled him in strength of body, love of arms, and dignity of birth. In arranging the details of the plot, the conspirators assigned to Cethagus the task of posting himself at the door of Cicero's house, and, after he had forced an entrance, of murdering that illustrious Roman. The vigilance of Cicero frustrated this design. Cethagus was apprehended along with Lentulus and the rest, and strangled in prison.

*Cicero, Quintus Tullius*, brother of the orator. He attained to the dignity of prætor, A.U.C. 693, and afterwards held a government in Asia, as pro-prætor, for four years. Quintus returned to Rome at the moment when his brother was driven into exile ; and for some time after was chiefly employed in exerting himself to obtain his recall. Subsequently to this, we find him serving as one of Cæsar's lieutenants in Gaul, and displaying much courage and ability on many trying and important occasions. During the civil war, however, he abandoned the side of Cæsar, and espoused the party of Pompey. But, after the battle of Pharsalia, he followed Cæsar into Asia, in order to obtain a pardon ; and that he might the more easily accomplish this, he threw all the blame of his defection upon his brother the orator. For this purpose, he made it a point in all his letters and remarks to Cæsar's friends, to rail at the orator in a most unfeeling and disgraceful manner. At a subsequent period he was proscribed by the triumvirate, and concealed himself at Rome, but was discovered and put to death

ogether with his son. We have remaining, at the present day, the correspondence of Cicero, the orator, with his brother Quintus. The first letter in the collection is one of the noblest productions of the kind that has ever been penned. It is addressed to Quintus on occasion of his government in Asia being prolonged for a third year. Availing himself of the right, of an elder brother, as well as of the authority derived from his superior dignity and talents, Cicero counsels and exhorts his brother concerning the due administration of his province, particularly with regard to the choice of his subordinate officers, and the degree of trust to be reposed in them. He earnestly reproves him, but with much fraternal tenderness and affection, for his proneness to resentment; and he concludes with a beautiful exhortation, to strive in all respects to merit the praise of his contemporaries, and to bequeath to posterity an untainted name. Along with Cicero's letters to Quintus there is usually printed an epistle or memoir, which the latter addressed to his brother when he stood candidate for the consulship, and which is entitled "*De Petitione Consulatus.*" It gives advice with regard to the measures he should pursue to attain his object, particularly inculcating the best means to gain private friends and acquire general popularity. But though professedly drawn up merely for the use of his brother Marcus, it appears to have been intended by the author as a guide or manual, for all who might be placed in similar circumstances. It is written with considerable elegance, and great purity of style, and forms an important document for the history of the Roman republic, as it affords us a clearer insight than we can derive from any other work now extant, into the intrigues resorted to by the heads of parties to gain the suffrages of the people. We have also remaining a small poem by Quintus Cicero, in twenty-one verses, on the signs of the zodiac, and two epigrams preserved in Burmann's anthology. He is said to have composed tragedies, which are now lost.

*Cinna, Lucius Cornelius*, a Roman nobleman of considerable influence and personal bravery. He was consul with Cn. Octavius, B.C. 91, but was deprived by his colleague of his consular authority, and driven by him out of the city, because he had by force procured the enactment of several injurious laws. Obtaining possession of the army of Appius Claudius, he declared war on the government, and called to his assistance Marius and other exiles from Africa. Cinna and Marius eventually triumphed, Rome opened her gates, and the most cruel excesses were committed by the victors. All the leading men of the party of Sylla were put to death, and their property confiscated. Cinna and Marius then declared themselves consuls, and the latter died on the very first day of his entering upon office. L. Valerius Laetus succeeded him. In his third and fourth consulships, Cinna and Cn. Papirius Carbo for his colleague, with whom he made preparations for a war against Sylla, who was then engaged in the operations against Mithridates. During the fourth consulship of Cinna, Julius Caesar married his daughter Cornelia. Cinna eventually, after raising powerful armament against Sylla, was slain by a centurion of his own army, a rumour having been spread among his soldiers that he had put Pompey, then quite a young man, to death. Haughty, violent, always eager for vengeance, addicted to debauchery, precipitate in his designs, but nevertheless pursuing them with courage, Cinna had

passions that caused him to aspire to tyranny, and but few of those talents that would otherwise have led to it.

*Claudius, Appius*, called for distinction's sake "Minor," or "the younger," having a brother of the same name, who was called, for a similar reason, "Major," or, "the elder." He was praetor in the year when Archias was registered, and afterwards consul with P. Servilius Isauricus. Cic. *pro Arch.* 5.

*Clodius, Publius*, a Roman of noble birth, but infamous for the corruption of his morals. Among other offences, he is said to have violated the mysteries of the *Bona Dea*, by penetrating into the house of Cæsar, during their celebration, disguised in female attire. He was led to the commission of this act by a guilty attachment for Pompeia, Cæsar's wife. Being tried for this impiety, he managed to escape by corrupting the judges. Clodius caused himself to be adopted into a plebeian family, for the purpose of being elected tribune of the commons, and while holding this office had a number of laws passed, favourable to the people, but contrary to the principles of the Roman constitution. He caused the command of an expedition against Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, to be given to Cato, whom he detested, in the hope that he might fail in this enterprise, and lose in consequence the credit and influence which he enjoyed at Rome. He cherished also a bitter hatred against Cicero, and procured his banishment from Italy, on the ground that he had violated the laws in the punishment inflicted upon the accomplices of Catiline. He even caused his house to be demolished, and put up his effects at auction, but no one would purchase them. Clodius was eventually assassinated by the retinue of Milo, on an accidental (?) rencontre having taken place between the two, as Milo was journeying towards Lanuvium, his native place, and Clodius was on his way to Rome. Cic. *pro Milone*.

*Caprius, Quintus*, a native of Terracina, and accomplice in the conspiracy of Catiline. He was preparing to set out for Apulia, to rouse and arm the slaves against the state, at the time the conspiracy was discovered. Having learned that the plot was detected, he fled from Rome, before the officers, sent by the consuls to apprehend him, arrived at his house, but was afterward taken and strangled in prison SALLUST, *B.C.* 46.

*Cotta, Lucius*, the colleague of Lucius Torquatus in the consulship During his magistracy the capitol was struck with lightning, A.U.C. 658. Cic. *Or. in Cat.* 3, 8.

*Crassus, Lucius Licinius*, a celebrated Roman orator, highly commended by Cicero, who has made him one of the principal interlocutors, in his dialogue *De Oratore*. He commenced his oratorical career at the early age of nineteen, when he acquired much reputation by his accusation of Caius Carbo; and he not long afterward greatly heightened his fame, by his defence of the virgin Licinia. Another of the best speeches of Crassus, was that addressed to the people in favour of the law of Servilius Caepio, restoring in part the judicial power to the senate, of which they had recently been deprived, in order to vest it solely in the equites. But the most splendid of all the appearances of Crassus was the immediate cause of his death, which happened A.U.C. 662, a short time before the commencement of the civil wars of Marius and Sylla; and a few days after the period in which he is supposed to

we bore a part in the dialogue *De Oratore*. The consul Philippus had declared, in one of the assemblies of the people, that some other device must be resorted to, since, with such a senate as then existed, he could no longer direct the affairs of the government. A full senate-house being immediately summoned, Crassus arraigned, in terms of the most glowing eloquence, the conduct of the consul, who, instead of acting as the political parent and guardian of the senate, sought to deprive its members of their ancient inheritance of respect and dignity. Being farther irritated by an attempt on the part of Philippus to force him into compliance with his designs, he exerted on this occasion the utmost effort of his genius and strength; but he turned home with a pleuritic fever, of which he died seven days later. This oration of Crassus, followed as it was by his almost immediate death, made a deep impression on his countrymen; who, long afterward, were wont to repair to the senate-house, for the purpose of viewing the spot where he had last stood, and where he fell, as it may be said, in defence of the privileges of his order. Crassus left hardly any orations behind him, and he died while Cicero was still in his youth; yet that author, having collected the opinions of those who had heard him, speaks with a minute, and apparently perfect, intelligence of his mode of oratory. He was what may be called the most演说家 speaker that had hitherto appeared in the Forum. He is master of the most pure and accurate language, and of perfect sequence of expression, without any affectation, or unpleasant appearance of previous study. Great clearness of exposition distinguished his harangues, and while descanting on topics of law or equity, he possessed an inexhaustible fund of argument and illustration. In speaking he showed an uncommon modesty, which went even the length of bashfulness. This diffidence never entirely forsook him; and, after the practice of a long life at the bar, he was frequently so much intimidated in the exordium of his discourse, that he was observed to grow pale, and to tremble in every part of his frame. Some persons considered Crassus as only equal to Antonius; others preferred him as the more perfect and accomplished orator. Crassus possessed a greater acquaintance with literature, and showed off his formation to the most advantage. His language was indisputably preferable to that of Antony; but the action and gesture of Antony were as uncontestedly superior to those of Crassus. DUNLOP'S *Roman literature*, vol. ii. p. 215.

*Crassus, M. Licinius*, a celebrated Roman, surnamed "the Rich," on account of his great opulence. At first he was very circumscribed in circumstances, but by educating slaves, and selling them for a high price, he soon enriched himself. Crassus distinguished himself in the war against Spartacus, after which he was chosen consul with Pompey, and on laying down the consulship obtained after a short interval the office of censor. His supposed participation in the conspiracy of Catiline was probably without any foundation in truth. What purpose could Crassus, in fact, propose to himself, by entering into a plot to burn a city, in which his own property was so considerable? The animosity which arose between Cicero and Crassus, in consequence of the alleged guilt of the latter, was so bitter, that, according to Plutarch, it could have shown itself by some act of violence on the part of Crassus,

had not his son Publius, who was very intimate with Cicero, prevented him. He even prevailed on his father, eventually, to become reconciled to the orator. Crassus became afterward a member of the first triumvirate; and, obtaining Syria for his province, marched against the Parthians, by whom he was defeated and slain. PLUT. *Vit. Crass.*

*Crassus, P. Licinius*, held the consulship with Cn. Lentulus Clodianus, A.U.C. 656. He was afterwards censor, A.U.C. 664, along with L. Julius Caesar, and during his censorship no part of the people were rated. This Crassus was father of the preceding. In an ancient inscription his prænomen is given as Marcus. ERNESTI, *Ind. Hist.* s. v.

*Curius, Quintus*, a Roman of good family, whose disgraceful and immoral conduct had caused his expulsion from the senate by the censors. He was connected with the conspiracy of Catiline, but divulged the secret to Fulvia, a female of high rank but corrupt principles, with whom he was intimate. Fulvia communicated the danger which threatened the state and the lives of the citizens; and the alarm which this occasioned caused the election of Cicero to the consulship. Cicero subsequently prevailed upon Curius, through the means of Fulvia, to discover to him all the movements of Catiline, and was thus enabled to baffle the schemes of that daring conspirator. In return for these services, rewards were voted him from the public treasury; but Caesar, whom Curius had named among the conspirators, exerted himself against the fulfilment of the public promise, and the rewards were not given. PLUT. *Vit. Cic.* 11.

## D.

*Didius, Titus*, a Roman, who, although of lowly origin, rose notwithstanding to the highest offices in the state. In his prætorship he triumphed over the Scordisci. He was afterward consul, along with Q. Metellus, A.U.C. 655. CIC. *Or. pro Planc.* 25.

*Diogenes*, a celebrated philosopher of the Cynic sect, born in the third year of the ninety-first Olympiad, at Sinope, a city of Pontus. He was a pupil of Antisthenes, and perfectly adopted the principles and character of his master. Renouncing every other object of ambition, he determined to distinguish himself by his contempt of riches and honours, and by his indignation against luxury. He wore a coarse cloak; carried a wallet and a staff; made the porticoes and other public places his habitation, and depended upon casual contributions for his daily bread. He practised the most rigid self-control, and the strictest abstinence, exposing himself to the utmost extremes of heat and cold, and living upon the simplest diet. He died in the 90th year of his age. Diogenes left behind him no system of philosophy. After the example of his master, he was more attentive to practical than theoretical wisdom. ENFIELD'S *Hist. Phil.* vol. i. p. 305, seqq.

*Drusus, Marcus Lirius*, a Roman tribune of the commons, A.U.C. 66<sup>2</sup>, who, among other ordinances, proposed a law that the allied states of Italy should be admitted to the freedom of the city. Drusus was a man of great eloquence, and of the most upright intentions; but endeavouring to reconcile those whose interests were diametrically opposite, he was crushed in the attempt, being assassinated at his own house, by Quintus Varius, as was thought, and as Cicero expressly states, although

ers omit the name. The states of Italy considered his death as a revolt, and endeavoured to extort by force what they obtain voluntarily. In other words, the Social war arose. ERC. 2, 13, *seqq.*

## E.

a native of Rudiae, in Calabria, who lived from A.U.C. 515 to 588, and has generally received the glorious appellation of the Father of Latin song. In his early youth he went to Sardinia; and, if Silius Italicus may be believed, he served in the Calabrian levies, which, in 538, followed Titus Manlius to the war which he waged in that year against the Carthaginian cause. After the termination of the campaign, he continued to live for twelve years in Sardinia, was at length brought to Rome by Cato the censor, who, in 561, sent him to Sardinia, on returning as quæstor from Africa. At Rome, he studied the patrician youth in Greek, and acquired the friendship of the most illustrious men in the state. Being distinguished not only as in letters, he followed M. Fulvius Nobilior, during his mission to Ætolia in 564; and in 569 he obtained the freedom of the city through the favour of Quintus Fulvius Nobilior, the son of his patron, Marcus. He was also protected by the elder Afranius, who is said to have been intemperate in drinking, which brought him to a disease called *Morbus Articularis*, a disorder resembling the gout, and he died at the age of seventy. A bust of the poet was placed in the tomb of the Scipios. (?) To judge by the fragments of his remains, Ennius greatly surpassed his predecessors, not only in his genius, but in the art of versification. By this time, indeed, models of Greek composition had begun to be studied at Rome. Accordingly, in the works of Ennius, innumerable imitations of the Iliad and Odyssey. It is, however, the Greek tragic writers whom he chiefly imitated; and indeed it appears from the fragments that remain, that all his plays were rather translations from the Sophocles, on the same subjects which he has chosen, than new tragedies. Ennius was also a satirical writer, and the first who introduced this species of composition into Rome. His satires, however, do not appear to have been merely a kind of *cento*, made up from passages of Greek poems, which by slight alterations, were humorously or tragically applied, and chiefly to the delineation of character. It is to be regretted, that we possess such scanty fragments of these satires, which would have been curious as the first attempts at a species of composition, which was carried to such perfection by succeeding writers, and which has been regarded as almost peculiar to the Romans. But the great work of Ennius, and of which we have still some remains, was his Annals, or metrical chronicles, devoted to the narration of Roman exploits, from the earliest periods to the end of the Istrian war. These annals were written by him in his 67th year. At least Aulus Gellius informs us, on the authority of Varro, that the book was finished by him in his 67th year. We have also some fragments of some other works of his. On the whole, the productions of Ennius are rather pleasing and interesting, as the early blossoms of Latin poetry, which afterward opened to such perfection, than

estimable from their intrinsic beauty. DUNLOP'S *Rom. Lit.* vol. i. p. 84, seqq.

## F.

*Falcidius, Caius*, a tribune of the commons, who is mentioned in the oration for the Manilian law, as having been appointed to a lieutenancy the year after he had filled the tribuneship. *Or. pro M. L.* 19.

*Flaccus, Lucius*, was one of the praetors during the consulship of Cicero, and arrested, by order of the latter, in conjunction with Caius Pomptinus, the retinue of the Allobroges, at the Mulvian bridge. He was also military tribune, under P. Servilius, in Cilicia, and quæstor with M. Piso in Spain. We have an oration remaining, which Cicero delivered in his behalf, when he was accused of extortion in his government of Asia, by D. Lælius. He had obtained this government after going through the quæstorship at home. *Or. pro Flacc.* 1, &c.

*Flaccus, Marcus Fulvius*, a man of consular rank, who was charged with the execution of the Agrarian law, proposed by the Gracchi, and who seconded the efforts of Tiberius Gracchus, to procure for all the Italians the rights of Roman citizenship. Having been sent against the Gauls, he defeated them and obtained the honours of a triumph. Four years after this, he was cited by the consul Opimius, along with Tiberius Gracchus, to render an account of his conduct. Flaccus refused to answer the summons, but seized on mount Aventine. Opimius attacked him here, and having put to flight his followers, forced him to take refuge in an old and neglected public bath, where he was slain with his eldest son. VELL. PATERC. 2, 7.—PLUT. *Vit. C. Gracch.*

*Flamininus, Titus Quintius*, a celebrated Roman commander, who obtained the consulship A.U.C. 556, before he was thirty years old. Macedonia and the war with Philip fell to his lot. He defeated the enemy on the banks of the Aous, detached the Achæan league from the party of Philip, and crowned his successes by the victory at Cynoscephalæ, after which the king of Macedon found himself compelled to give freedom to the Greek cities in Europe and Asia. Flamininus announced this intelligence, kept secret till then, to the multitude assembled at the Isthmian games, and it was received with the loudest acclamations. Flamininus respected the laws, and adopted the usages and manners, of the Greeks, and by this wise course of conduct merited the name of their father and liberator. He was afterwards sent as ambassador to the court of Prusias, king of Bithynia, where Hannibal had taken refuge, with a demand that the latter should be put to death, and his prudence and address contributed not a little to remove from existence a man who had so long been a terror to the Romans. After having held the consular office a second time, Flamininus was found dead in his bed. PLUT. *Vit. Flam.*

*Flavius, Cneius*, the son of a freedman, but an artful and eloquent man. Livy calls him Caius Flavius, and makes his father's name to have been Cneius, but Cneius is given as the true prænomen by Drakenborch (*ad Liv.* 9, 46). He was scribe to Appius Cæcus, the ædile, and published for the use of the people, an account of the *dies fasti*, or days on which legal proceedings could be had, which was called from him *Jus Flavianum*. The people in return made him

rule ædile. The mode which he adopted of making the days in question known to all, was to hang up to public view, round the rum, the calendar on white tablets. His elevation was, of course, tremely unpalatable to the patricians, nor did his own behaviour wards them at all tend to diminish this feeling. To the great dis-easure of the nobles, he performed the dedication of the temple of discord, and the Pontifex Maximus was compelled to dictate to him e form of words, although he affirmed, that, consistently with the actice of antiquity, no other than a consul, or commander-in-chief, uld dedicate a temple. Livy says, that Flavius owed his appoint-ent to the ædileship to a faction composed of the lowest of the ople, which had gathered strength during the censorship of Appius audius : for Appius was the first who degraded the senate, by elect-<sup>g</sup> into it the sons of freedmen ; and when he found that no one owed that election to be valid, and that his conduct in the senate-<sup>use</sup> had not procured him the influence in the city, which it had en his principal object to attain, he distributed men of the meanest der among the different tribes, and thus corrupted the assemblies th of the forum and Campus Martius. To these men Flavius owed s preferment. LIV. 9, 46.

*Fulvia*, a Roman female of high rank, but corrupt principles, who ve Cicero secret information of all the movements of Catiline's party. er informant was Curius. SALLUST, B. C. 23.

*Fulvius, Marcus.* Vide *Nobilior*.

*Furius, Lucius*, was consul A.U.C. 617, along with Sextus Atilius rranus. He was distinguished in some degree by a taste for litera-re, and Cicero remarks of him, “*perbene Latine locutus est, et litera-is quam ceteri.*” Brut. 28.

*Furius, Publius*, one of the accomplices of Catiline, remarkable for active and daring spirit. He is supposed to be the one to whom llust alludes under the epithet *Fesulanus*. He fell fighting among foremost, at the battle of Pistoria, where Catiline was defeated by forces of the republic. SALLUST, B. C. 60.

## G.

*Gabinius, Aulus*, a tribune of the commons, who proposed the law which Pompey was invested with supreme command in the war inst the pirates. He appears to have been a man of very corrupt d profligate character. For an account of the provisions of this r, consult note 12, page 243 ; and for some remarks respecting the vate character of Gabinius, note 13, p. 261. Cicero states, that binius was the only one to whom a “*supplicatio*” had not been owed. Philipp. 14, 8.

*Gabinius, Publius*, a Roman of equestrian rank, whom Cicero calls mber. This individual appears to have been one of the most worth-s among the accomplices of Catiline. He suffered capital punish-<sup>m</sup>nt with Lentulus and the rest. Or. in Cat. 3, 3.

*Gabinius.* Vide *Capito*.

*Galba, Publius Sulpicius*, a Roman senator, who held also at one ne the office of Pontifex Maximus. He was a competitor of Cicero's r the consulship, but did not succeed. Or. in Verr. 7.

*Galba, Servius Sulpicius*, was consul along with Marcus ~~Emilium~~ Scaurus. Cicero speaks highly of his power, as an orator, in arousing and swaying the feelings of his auditors. He was accused by L. Libo, a tribune of the commons, of having cruelly slain a large number of the Lusitani, in his government of Spain, contrary to his own plighted word, and was only acquitted by exciting in his behalf the commiseration of the people. (Consult note 2, p. 454.) He was an ancestor of the emperor Galba. CIC. *de Or.* 2, 65.

*Gallus, Caius Acilius*, an eminent lawyer, highly praised by Cicero. BRUT. 23.

*Gellius, Lucius*, held the censorship A.U.C. 683, along with Cn. Lentulus, who had also been his colleague in the consulship, 681. It was he who declared that a civic crown ought to be voted to Cicero, for his preservation of the republic. CIC. *pro Cluent.* 42.

*Glabrio, Manius Acilius*, held the consulship A.U.C. 684. He was named as the successor of Lucullus, in the government of Bithynia and Pontus, and in the management of the Mithridatic war, but was soon after superseded by Pompey. He appears to have been a person of very little military talent, and not very upright in the discharge of his duties as commander. OR. *pro Man.* LEG. 9.

*Glaucia, Caius*, a seditious and profligate individual, put to death while holding the praetorship, when Marius and Valerius were consuls. The senate had passed the usual decree, directing the consuls to see that the republic sustained no injury. Saturninus and Glaucia, who were acting in concert, fled into the capitol, with a number of their followers. Here they were besieged, and at last forced to yield for want of water, the pipes being cut off. When they could hold out no longer, they called for Marius, and surrendered themselves to him upon the public faith. Marius tried every art to save them, but nothing would avail. They no sooner came down into the forum, than they were all put to the sword. Such, at least, is the account of Plutarch. Florus, however, says that the people despatched them with clubs and stones. Cicero indulges in some degree of oratorical exaggeration, when he makes Glaucia to have been put to death by the immediate act of Marius. PLUT. *Vit. Mar.* 30.

*Gracchus, Tiberius Sempronius*, father of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus. He was twice consul, and once censor, and was distinguished as well for his integrity, as his prudence and superior ability, either in the senate or at the head of armies. He carried on military operations in Gaul and Spain, and met with much success in the latter country. He married Cornelia, daughter of the elder Africanus, by whom he had the Gracchi. PLUT. *Vit. Gracchorum.*

*Gracchi*. There were two brothers of this name, Tiberius Gracchus and Caius Gracchus, sons of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, and of Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio Africanus Major. Tiberius, the elder, was of a mild and unruffled temper, but Caius, violent and irascible. The object of the two brothers, in succession, was to have the public lands divided among the citizens. Appian says that the nobles and rich men, partly by getting possession of the public lands, partly by buying up the shares of indigent owners, had made themselves masters of all the lands in Italy, and had thus, by degrees, accomplished the removal of the common people from their possessions. This abuse

Tiberius Gracchus to revive the Licinian law, by which no one could hold more than 500 *jugera*, or about 350 acres of land. The *lives*, however, were to be indemnified for the land they had thus lost. The attempts of the Gracchi cost them their lives. Tiberius was in a collision between his adherents and the party of the *consul* Scipio Nasica. Caius was slain some years after he had been consul Opimius and his party. PLUT. *Vit. Gracch.* The accuser of Archias, probably some obscure individual, reading was *Gracchus*, which induced Ilgen to think that Quintius Gracchus was meant, who was tribune of the A.U.C. 697, but consult note 10, page 147.

## H.

*Marcus*, *Marcus*, a public speaker of only moderate ability, who triumphed over L. Philippus in a contest for the consulship in 660.—*Brut.* 45.—*Pro Muren.* 17.

*Quintus*, *Quintus*, an orator and statesman, whose name has been unknown to us by Cicero, with great commendation. He filled in the offices of *praetor* and *consul*, and died B.C. 50, in the prime of his age. His first appearance at the bar was at the early age of twenty, and his excellence, says Cicero, was immediately acknowledged. The imminent perils of the Social war, which broke out in 652, about four years after his first appearance, interrupted, in consequence, the business of the forum, and hence we find Hortensius in this alarming contest for one year as a volunteer, and during the following season as military tribune. When, on the re-establishment of peace in Italy, in 666, he returned to Rome, and resumed the useful avocations to which he had been destined from his youth, he found himself without a rival. Crassus died in 662, before the return of Marius and Sylla; Antonius, with other orators of note, perished in 666, during the temporary and last ascension of Marius, in the absence of Sylla. Sulpicius was put to death in 668, and Cotta driven into banishment, from which he was released until the return of Sylla to Rome, and his elevation to the consulship in 670. Hortensius was thus left, for some years, his competitor; and after 670, with none of eminence but Pompey also he soon outshone. His splendid, warm, and animated manner, was preferred to the calm and easy elegance of his contemporary, Cotta, who, though his senior, was employed to open the case, while the important parts were left to the management of Hortensius. He remained the undisputed sovereign of the forum, till Cicero returned from his quaestorship in Sicily, in 679, when the talents of that great orator displayed themselves in full perfection and maturity. It was thus, from 666 till 679, a space of thirteen years, at the head of the Roman bar; and being in consequence engaged, during that period, on one side or other, in every cause of importance, he amassed a prodigious fortune. He lived, too, with a magnificence corresponding to his wealth. His house at Rome, which was well furnished, formed the centre of the chief imperial palace, from the time of Augustus to that of Nero, till it

nearly covered the whole Palatine mount, and branched over other hills. Besides his mansion in the capital, he possessed sumptuous villas at Tusculum, Bauli, and Laurentum, where he was accustomed to give the most elegant and expensive entertainments. Hortensius was praetor in 682, and consul two years afterward. The wealth and dignities he had obtained, and the want of competition, made him gradually relax from that assiduity by which they had been acquired, till the increasing fame of Cicero, and particularly the glory of his consulship, stimulated him to renew his exertions. But his habit of labour had been in some degree lost, and he never again recovered his former reputation. Cicero partly accounts for his decline from the peculiar nature and genius of his eloquence. It was of that showy species called Asiatic, which flourished in the Greek colonies of Asia Minor, and was infinitely more florid and ornamental than the oratory of Athens, or even Rhodes, being full of brilliant thoughts and sparkling expressions. This glowing style of rhetoric, though deficient in solidity and weight, was not unsuitable in a young man; and being farther recommended by a beautiful cadence of periods, met with the utmost applause. But Hortensius, as he advanced in life, did not correct this exuberance, nor adopt a chaster eloquence; and this luxury and glitter of phraseology, being totally inconsistent with his advanced age and consular dignity, caused his reputation to diminish with the increase of years. His elocution, too, became eventually much impaired by a constant toothache, and swellings in his jaws, and this complaint became at length so severe as to accelerate his end. The speeches of Hortensius suffered greatly by being transferred to writing, his chief excellence consisting in action and delivery. None of his speeches have come down to us. DUNLOP, *Rom. Lit.* vol. ii. p. 222.

## J.

*Jūlius. Vide L. Julius Cæsar.*

*Jūlia*, a Roman female, of the house of the Cæsars, but of a different branch from that whence sprang Julia, the aunt of Julius Cæsar, and wife of Marius. She was first married to M. Antonius Creticus, by whom she had Antony the triumvir; and, after the death of Creticus, she was united to Lentulus, the accomplice of Catiline. The punishment of her second husband was the origin, according to Plutarch, of the enmity that prevailed between Mark Antony and Cicero. PLUT. *Vit. Anton.* c. 2.

## L.

*Læca, Marcus Porcius*, an accomplice of Catiline's, who, in the dead of night, convened the leading members of the conspiracy at his own house, just before the discovery of the plot. He was a descendant of M. Porcius Læca, tribune of the commons, who had a law passed prohibiting magistrates from punishing a Roman citizen with death, and substituting for capital punishment, banishment and confiscation of property. SALLUST, *B. C.* 27.

*Lælius, Caius*, a Roman, celebrated for his intimate friendship with the elder Africanus, and which commenced in early life. He followed

that eminent commander in all his campaigns, and was the confidant of all his secrets. Lælius commanded the Roman fleet which blockaded the port of Carthage, while Scipio pressed the siege by land; and after the capture of the place he was presented by Scipio with a golden crown and thirty oxen, besides receiving the highest encomiums for his signal services. He was afterward elected ædile, and finally attained to the consulship, B.C. 190. *Liv.* 26, 42.

*Lælius, Caius*, surnamed *Sapiens*, or "the Wise," was the son, or according to some, the grandson of the preceding, and equally celebrated for his friendship with the younger Africanus. While prætor, he successfully prosecuted the war against Viriathus, B.C. 146, and subsequently, B.C. 140, was chosen to the consulship. Lælius was more eminent, however, for private virtues and intellectual endowments than military abilities; and it is to him that Cicero assigns the eulogium on friendship, in his dialogues "*De Amicitia*." Scipio and Lælius were reported, though without any truth, to have aided Terence in the composition of his dramatic pieces. *Tusc. Disp.* 5, 19.

*Lentulus, Cneius Cornelius*, was consul with L. Gellius, A.U.C. 681, and afterward censor with the same. He is described by Cicero as producing considerable effect, in public speaking, by the management of his tones and look, but by no means a solid or fluent speaker. *Or. pro Man. L.* 23.

*Lentulus, Cneius*, was tribune of the commons, and the next year enjoyed a lieutenancy. *Or. pro Man. L.* 19.

*Lentulus, Lucius*, was prætor, when P. Gabinius was condemned for extortion. *Or. pro Arch.* 5.

*Lentulus, Publius Cornelius*, was consul A.U.C. 591, and subsequently *rinceps senatus*. He was the grandfather of Lentulus, the accomplice of Catiline, and is highly commended by Cicero for his patriotism. *In Cat.* 3, 5.

*Lentulus, Publius Cornelius*, surnamed *Sura*, a Roman nobleman, possessed of some share of talent, but extremely corrupt in his private character. The interest of his family, and the affability of his manners, proceeding from a love of popularity, raised him through the usual gradations of public honours to the office of consul, which he obtained c. 73, in conjunction with Cn. Aufidius Orestis. Expelled from the senate on account of his immoral conduct, he had procured the prætorship, the usual step for being again restored to that body, when Catiline formed his design for subverting the government. Poverty, the natural consequence of excessive dissipation, added to immoderate vanity and extravagant ambition, induced him to join in the conspiracy. The soothsayers easily persuaded him that he was the third one of the *gens Cornelii* destined by the fates to enjoy the supreme power of Rome. L. Cornelius Sylla, and L. Cornelius Cinna, had both attained to that elevation. His schemes, however, all proved abortive, and he was hanged in prison with the other conspirators who had been arrested. M. utarch informs us, that he received the name of *Sura*, in consequence of his having wasted a large sum of public money, in his quæstorship, under Sylla, who, enraged at his conduct, demanded a statement of his accounts in the senate; when Lentulus, with the utmost indifference, declared he had no accounts to produce, and contemptuously presented him the *calf of his leg (sura)*. Among the Romans, particularly

among the boys, the player at tennis, who missed his stroke, presented the calf of his leg to receive as a punishment a certain number of blows upon it. Lentulus, in allusion to that game, acted in the manner just described, which accounts for the surname, or rather nickname, of *Sura*. Such is the account of Plutarch; but it may be doubted whether the explanation be correct as regards the conspirator Lentulus; the name, as appears from LIVY (22, 31), being one of earlier date. PLUT. *Vit. Cic.* c. 17.—SALLUST, *B. C.* c. 55.

*Lepidus, Manius*, was consul with L. Volcatius Tullus, A.U.C. 687. Consult note 2, page 22.

*Lepidus, Marcus*, was consul with Catulus, A.U.C. 675. Consult note 3, page 98.

*Lucullus, Lucius Licinius*, a Roman noble, celebrated both for his munificence and military talents. He distinguished himself at first by his rapid progress in literary pursuits, and particularly in eloquence and philosophy. His first campaigns were made in the war with the Marsi, where he acquired considerable reputation by his valour. He conciliated the favour of Sylla by his agreeable disposition, and by his constancy in friendship. This new connexion procured for him in succession the offices of quæstor in Asia, and prætor in Africa. In this latter province he won two naval victories over Hamilcar, and gained the affections of all by his justice, moderation, and humanity. Raised to the consulship, B.C. 74, and charged with the prosecution of the war against Mithridates, he commenced by delivering his colleague Cotta, who was besieged in Chalcedon. This success was followed by a great victory gained over the forces of Mithridates, on the banks of the Granicus, and by the reduction of Bithynia. Similar success attended the Roman arms by sea: and Mithridates, stripped of his former power, was compelled to flee for refuge to his son-in-law, Tigranes, king of Armenia. Lucullus, on ascertaining his flight, hastened to cross the Euphrates, gave battle to a numerous army of the Armenian monarch, and gained a signal victory, although his own forces were far inferior in point of number to those of the foe. The capture of Tigranocerta, and the seizure of the royal treasures contained in it, were the fruits of this brilliant success. The following year was marked by the capture of Nisibis. The pride and severity of Lucullus, however, alienated from him the affections of his soldiers, and proved injurious to his interests at home. The defeat of Triarius, his lieutenant, furnished a pretext for the attacks of the malevolent, and Pompey was appointed to succeed him in the command, and to continue the war against Mithridates. Their common friends brought Lucullus and Pompey to an interview. They met at first upon polite terms, but soon broke out into open variance, and parted greater enemies than ever. Lucullus upon this set out for Rome, with but 1600 men, which were all that Pompey allowed him to take home with him in order to attend his triumph, and even the triumph itself he obtained with difficulty, such was the coldness with which he was received in the capital. The days of his glory terminated with this ceremony; and he lived after this in complete retirement, without taking any part in those civil disorders which soon after took their rise at Rome, and in which, if he had been possessed of a little more ambition, he might have taken a very prominent place. He devoted

under of his days to literary pursuits, and to the society of late friends, and had a large and valuable library, to which he was in admitting the wise and learned of the day. He himself with equal excellence in both Greek and Latin, and composed history of the Marsic war, in which he had served. Lucullus was remarkable for his lavish and expensive style of living, the means of procuring which he had obtained in abundance from his Asiatic conquests. He died at the age of 67 or 68 years. The people rendered justice to his merits, insisted on burying him in the Campus Martius, and it was with great difficulty his brother obtained leave to inter him, in accordance with his own wish, on his estate at Tusculum. *Vit. Lucull.*

## M.

*Mælius, Spurius*, a Roman of Equestrian rank, A.U.C. 315, who was one of extraordinary wealth for the times in which he lived, and sought to make it the means of attaining to sovereign power. Having, by his connexions and dependants, bought up a large quantity of land in Etruria, which very step, most probably, obstructed the endeavours of the magistrates to lower the price of provisions, he began to practise of bestowing largesses of corn; and having gained the support of the commons by this munificence, he became the object of general attention. Assuming thence a degree of consequence, before he belonged to a private citizen, he drew the people after him wherever he went; and they, by the attachment which they bore towards him, encouraged him to look up to the consulship as a certain prospect of success. He was disappointed, however, in his application for this office, and T. Quintius Cincinnatus and L. Aemilius were elected. The designs of Mælius becoming gradually known, he was denounced to the senate, by Minucius, president of the tribe, who stated that arms were getting collected in the dwelling of Mælius, and that he held assemblies in his house, and that there remained no doubt of his having formed a design to possess himself of absolute power. On this information being received, Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus was appointed dictator, and the latter named Caius Servilius as his master of the horse. The next day, after fixing proper quarters for the dictator, he went down to the forum, and despatched Ahala, the master of the public weal, to summon Mælius to appear before him. Mælius declined the mandate, and endeavoured to excite the bystanders in his favour to rescue him from a lictor sent by the master of the public weal to seize him. Betaking himself thereupon to flight, he was overtaken and slain by Ahala in person; and the deed was highly approved by the dictator, who declared to Ahala, that he had preserved the public weal. *Liv. 4, 13, seqq.*

*Manlius, Caius*, one of the accomplices of Catiline, whom the latter sent to Etruria to levy troops, and adopt whatever measures he deemed necessary for the success of the plot. He commanded the wing of Catiline's army in the final encounter, and fell fighting with most desperate valour. Manlius had held a commission in the army of Sylla, under whom he had acquired considerable experience as an officer, and had accumulated great wealth, which,

however, he soon squandered away. He engaged in the conspiracy to retrieve his ruined fortunes. *SALLUST, B. C. 27.*

*Manlius, Cneius*, a man of humble origin, who is alluded to by Cicero as having triumphed over Catulus in an application for office. The orator describes him, as not only a person of ignoble birth, but also without merit, without talents, and sordid and contemptible in private life. He was defeated by the Cimbri, along with his colleague Cæpio, and was defended by Antonius when accused on this account by Sulpicius.

*Marcellus, Caius*, the brother of Marcus Marcellus whom Cæsar pardoned. He was consul with Cn. Lentulus, at the beginning of the civil war, and is not to be confounded with the Marcellus who held the consulship along with Lucius Paullus.

*Marcellus, Marcus*, an accomplice and intimate friend of Catiline. *Or. in Cat. 1, 8.*

*Marcellus, Marcus Claudius*, held the consulship with Servius Sulpicius, b.c. 51. He was remarkable for his attachment to republican principles, and his uncompromising hostility towards Cæsar; and it was he who proposed to the senate to recall that commander from his province in Gaul. After the battle of Pharsalia, Marcellus went into voluntary exile, and was not pardoned by Cæsar until some considerable interval had elapsed, and then only at the earnest intercession of the senate. It was on this occasion that Cicero delivered his speech of thanks to Cæsar. Marcellus, however, did not long survive to enjoy the pardon thus obtained, having been assassinated by an adherent of his, P. Magius Cilo. Consult the concluding note to the oration for Marcellus, page 205. *CIC. pro Marcel.*

*Marcellus, Marcus Claudius*, the celebrated opponent of Hannibal, mentioned incidentally in the oration for the Manilian law, c. 16. He is famous for the check which he gave Hannibal at Nola, for the capture of Syracuse, and for his subsequent successes against the Carthaginians in Southern Italy. He lost his life, by being entrapped into an ambuscade, at the age of 70, and in his fifth consulship. Marcellus was no less celebrated for his private than his public virtues. *LIV. 22, 35.*

*Marius, Caius*, a native of Arpinum, remarkable for his military talents, but still more for his cruel and vindictive disposition. Having preserved the state by his bravery, he afterwards brought it to the brink of ruin by his reckless and uncompromising violence. In early life he was a ploughman, and wrought for hire. Quitting that employment, he entered the ranks of the army, and distinguished himself under Scipio at the siege and capture of Numantia. From the condition of a common soldier, he gradually rose to the command of the Roman forces, and the office of consul. After bringing the war with Jugurtha to a close, he defeated, in two terrible encounters, the Teutones and Cimbri, slaying an immense number, and taking a vast multitude of prisoners. After these signal victories, his ambitious feelings brought him into collision with Sylla, and a desolating civil war was the consequence. To crush the power of his rival, Sylla marched the troops, which he had raised to carry on the war against Mithridates, to the Roman capital, and Marius was obliged to flee. In his banishment he underwent uncommon hardships; from which he

end released by Cinna's embracing his interests. He then to Rome to satiate his inhuman resentment, and butchered thousands of the citizens. Tired at last with murder and ion, he and Cinna appointed themselves consuls. But Marius, by infirmities, age, and excessive intoxication, to which he had recourse in order to blunt the stings of a guilty con-ied on the first day of his being invested with the consulship venth time. PLUT. *Vit. Mar.*

*us, Quintus Fabius*, an illustrious Roman, the well-known op-Hannibal, and styled *Cunctator*, from his having saved his y his wise delay and cautious operations. He is incidentally by Cicero in the oration for the Manilian law, c. 16. PLUT. *Max.*

*s, Quintus Cæcilius*, surnamed *Numidicus*, enjoyed the con-ith M. Junius Silanus, B.C. 111. He obtained Numidia as ice, and had nearly brought the war against Jugurtha to a his military talents and incorruptible integrity, when he was from the command by the intrigues of Marius. For defeating and desolating Numidia, Metellus received the surname of is, and, according to EUTROPIUS (4, 27), a triumph. Some time was summoned to trial by Saturninus, a tribune, for having swear to observe the Agrarian law, which this individual had y force; and, although the good citizens supported him, he order to prevent any commotion, into voluntary exile at Marius pronounced sentence of banishment against him, B.C. years after which, however, he was honourably recalled. B. J. 30.

*s, Quintus*, surnamed *Pius*, was the son of Metellus Numidicus. l under his father in Numidia, and is alluded to by Sallust story of the Jugurthine war. He obtained the consulship, id was sent against Sertorius into Spain. The latter, how-ever far superior to him in talents and activity, though Me-asionally gained some advantages over him. The surname was given him on account of the sorrow he testified at the is father, and his eager efforts to have him recalled. PLUT. 22.

*s, Quintus*, surnamed *Creticus*, was consul, B.C. 70, along with sius. On the expiration of his consulship, he obtained, as , the island of Crete for his province, and reduced it beneath an sway, for which he obtained the surname above men-He was honoured besides this with a triumph, notwithstanding-position of Pompey. Consult note 7, page 245.—SALLUSR,

*lātes*, a celebrated king of Pontus, in Asia Minor, surnamed and the seventh in succession. He was distinguished for his bravery and military talents, and for the long resistance which to the armies of Rome. At last, however, being deserted by betrayed by his son Pharnaces, and frequently defeated by ns, he was, at his own request, slain by a Gaul, that he might nto the hands of his enemies. The constitution of this was so fortified by antidotes, of many of which he is said to the inventor, that the strongest and most active poisons had

no effect upon him. The true form of the name appears to be *Mithrdates*, the root being the appellation of the solar deity among the Persians, i. e. *Mithras* or *Mithra*. Custom, however, has sanctioned the other form. APPIAN, *Bell. Mithrid.*

*Mummius, Lucius*, surnamed *Achaicus*, from his overthrow of the Achæan league, and reduction of Southern Greece, was consul, B.C. 146. He was sent into the Peloponnesus, against the Achæans, defeated their general Diaeus, put an end to the famous league which bore their name, took and burnt Corinth, and reduced the whole of Southern Greece to a Roman province under the name of Achaia. He received the honours of a triumph, and the surname above mentioned. Mummius is celebrated for his disinterestedness, and his ignorance of the fine arts. He would not enrich himself with the spoils of Corinth; while so little acquainted was he with the value of paintings and statues and other masterpieces of art obtained from the captured city, as to enjoin upon those who were to convey them to Rome, that they should supply their places by others at their own expense, in case these were lost. FLOR. 2, 6.

*Munatius, Titus*, one of the associates of Catiline, described by Cicero as of dissolute habits, and deeply involved in debt. OR. IN CAT. 2, 2.

*Mūrena, Lucius Licinius*, an eminent Roman general, who commanded one of the wings of the army of Sylla, in the battle with Archelaus, general of Mithridates, near Chæronea, B.C. 87. Sylla, shortly after this, having made an armistice with Mithridates, returned to Rome, leaving Murena in command of the Asiatic forces. This officer pretending ignorance of the treaty, which had only been orally made between Sylla and Mithridates, invaded the territory of that monarch, and took and plundered Comana; but was subsequently defeated by Mithridates, and compelled to retire into Phrygia. These contests form in history what is termed the second Mithridatic war. Murena subsequently obtained a triumph at Rome, which, in the opinion of historians, was granted him by Sylla for no other reason than to match it against the trophies raised by Mithridates. His movements in Asia certainly do not appear to have entitled him to one. APPIAN, B. M. 63, seqq.

*Mūrena, Lucius Licinius*, son of the preceding, was one of the lieutenants of Lucullus in Asia, and distinguished himself in the war against Mithridates. Not long after he stood candidate for the consulship, and was successful in his application, but was accused of bribery. Cicero defended him, and succeeded in procuring his acquittal. OR. PRO MURENA.

*Mūrena, Caius Licinius*, brother of the Murena whom Cicero defended. He was governor of Transalpine Gaul when Catiline's conspiracy broke out, and secured a number of the malcontents, who were endeavouring to excite commotions in his province. SALLUST, B. C. 42.

## N.

*Natta, Lucius*, a member of the old Pinarian line, and step-son to Murena. He is praised by Cicero, in his oration for that individual; but far different language is used by the orator concerning him in one

of his letters to Atticus. Natta, it seems, subsequently to the period of Cicero's pleading for Murena, was Pontifex Maximus, and dictated the form of words, when Clodius consecrated, for the erection of a temple, the ground on which Cicero's house had stood. *Or. pro Muren.* 35.

*Nævius, Cnæus*, a native of Campania, and the first imitator of the regular dramatic works which had been produced by Livius Andronicus. He served in the first Punic war; and his earliest plays were represented at Rome, A.U.C. 519. The names of his tragedies are still preserved, and a few fragments of the pieces themselves. He was accounted, however, a better comic than tragic poet. Nævius, unfortunately indulged, in the course of his productions, in personal and offensive sarcasms against some of the most distinguished patricians of the day. The Metelli, in particular, were the objects of his satire, and retaliated upon the poet by having him thrown into prison. Here he wrote some comedies, which were intended, in some measure, as a recantation of his former invectives, and he was accordingly liberated. But relapsing soon after into his former courses, and continuing to persecute the nobility in his dramas and satires with implacable dislike, he was at length driven from Rome by their influence, and having retired to Utica, died there, according to Cicero, in the year 550; but Varro fixes his death somewhat later. Besides his comedies, Nævius was also author of the Cyprian Iliad, a translation from a Greek poem, called the Cyprian Epic. He likewise wrote a metrical chronicle, relating chiefly to the events of the first Punic war. DUNLOP, *Rom. Lit.* vol. i. p. 74, seqq.

*Nicomedes*, king of Bithynia, and the third of the name, succeeded his father, Nicomedes 2nd, B.C. 92. He was at first dethroned by Socrates, his brother, and then by Mithridates, who protected Socrates. The Romans, however, re-established him in his dominions. Having in his turn attacked the king of Pontus, he was defeated, and driven once more from his dominions, but was replaced upon the throne by Sylla. He governed for the space of ten years after this, and then died without issue, leaving the Roman people his heirs.

*Nobilior, Marcus Fulvius*, was prætor in Spain, A.U.C. 558, and carried his arms as far as the Tagus, making himself master of Toletum, until then regarded as impregnable. Being appointed to the consulship in the year 565, he was entrusted with the war in Greece. Having with the aid of the Epirots taken the city of Ambracia, considered as the key of the neighbouring country of Ætolia, he compelled the Ætolians to sue for peace, which was only granted them on condition of their giving up to the Romans all the cities and territories which they had conquered since the consulship of Flamininus; of paying the expenses of the war; of sending forty hostages, and of engaging to have no other friends and enemies than those of Rome. Two years after this he was accused before the senate of having inflicted injuries on the allies of the Roman people, but his only reply to the charge was to demand a *supplicatio* and triumph, which were actually awarded him. He was appointed censor, A.U.C. 575, with Æmilius Lepidus, his mortal enemy, and consented for the good of the state to become reconciled to him. LIV. 33, 42.

## O.

*Octavius, Cneius*, a partisan of Sylla's, who held the consulship, A.U.C. 667, and drove out his colleague Cinna from the city. Consult note 10, page 97.

*Opimius, Lucius*, a Roman nobleman, who held the consulship with C. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus, and who, while in that office, over-powered Caius Gracchus, the advocate of the Agrarian law. No fewer than three thousand persons were slain on this occasion, according to Plutarch, and along with Gracchus perished M. Fulvius Flaccus, a man of consular dignity. Opimius subsequently allowed himself to be bribed by Jugurtha; and being brought to trial for this offence, was condemned, and went into banishment at Dyrrhachium, where he died in great poverty. The name of this individual has also descended to later times in another way. The wine made during his consulship was remarkable for having attained to a very great age, and was called *Vinum Opimanum*. There appears to have been an uncommon vintage during the year in which he was consul. Cicero states that he tasted some Opimian wine seventy-five years after; and Pliny informs us, that it was still to be found when he wrote, at the distance of two hundred years, and that it had the appearance of candied honey. HENDERSON's *Hist. Anc. and Mod. Wines*, p. 69, seqq.

*Otho, Lucius Roscius*, was tribune of the commons during the consulship of Cicero, and had a law passed by which seats were set apart for the equites at the public spectacles. On his appearance in the theatre, after this ordinance had been made, a serious disturbance ensued, the knights applauding, and the people hissing him: Cicero, on being informed of the tumult, hastened to the spot, and, calling out the people to the temple of Bellona, he so calmed them by the magic of his eloquence, that, returning immediately to the theatre, they clapped their hands in honour of Otho, and vied with the knights in giving him demonstrations of respect. DUNLOP, *Rom. Lit.* vol. ii. p. 332.

## P.

*Paullus, Lucius Æmilius*, more commonly called Paullus Æmilius, a celebrated Roman commander, was the son of L. Æmilius Paullus, who was slain at Cannæ. He rendered himself famous by his victories, and was surnamed *Macedonicus*, from his conquest of Macedonia. He distinguished himself, from early youth, by his zeal for military discipline, and it was to his valour and skill that the Romans owed the great success which attended their arms in Spain, during his prætorship, B.C. 190, when he was employed in reducing some of the revolted tribes of that country. Being elected consul, B.C. 182, he reduced the Ligurians, and obtained a triumph. Having failed, however, in a second application for the consulship, he for a long time renounced public affairs entirely, and turned his attention to the education of his children. But in the year 168, B.C., he was, almost in spite of himself, elected consul a second time, and was sent against Perseus, king of Macedonia. Although now sixty years of age, he nevertheless prosecuted the war with the greatest vigour, and, at the decisive battle of Pydna, destroyed the power of Perseus, and overthrew the empire of Macedon. His triumph at Rome was a most brilliant one, and not the least remarkable object

Perses himself, led along as a prisoner, and accompanied by members of his family. The conquest of Macedonia enriched the treasury to such a degree, that the people were exempted from it and continued so until the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa. Emilius alone remained poor in the midst of so much wealth, having entirely appropriated to his own use the library of the fallen king.

Elevated some time after to the dignity of censor, he conducted himself in that office with the greatest moderation. His death, which happened B.C. 158, was the signal for general mourning, not only among the Romans, but the inhabitants also of the countries which he had conquered. Paullus Æmilius had by his first wife Papiria, subsequently repudiated, two sons, one of whom was adopted into the Fabian family, and the other by the son of Africanus Major. By his second wife he had two other sons, the sudden death of whom gave the Romans a strong proof of the firmness of his character. The elder one expired five days before his triumph, and the younger soon after.

*Lucius*, mentioned in the oration for Murena, c. 14, the same preceding.

*Marcus*, a Roman proscribed by Sylla. He passed, upon his banishment, into Spain, and became one of the lieutenants of Sertorius, but became jealous of the glory of that commander, and irritated at playing a secondary part himself, he conspired against him and assassinated him at a banquet. Being taken prisoner after this, he was put to death by Pompey. PLUT. *Vit. Sert.*

king of Macedonia. He was the son of Philip V., by a concubine, and therefore inferior to Demetrius, the legitimate son of that monarch.

By a false accusation, however, he induced the monarch to cause Demetrius to death. Philip, on being informed of the truth, resolved to disinherit Perses, and secure the crown to his younger son; but his own death, which happened soon after, frustrated his purpose. One of the first acts of Perses, on coming to the throne, was to cause Antigonus to death, both because he had been intended as successor to Philip, and because it was through him that the innocence of Demetrius was made known. Becoming involved, however, in war with the Romans, he was conquered, and stripped of his kingdom by Æmilius, who led him in triumph through the streets of Rome. He was afterwards sent as prisoner to Alba, where he ended his days. The Romans treated him with more kindness than he deserved, allowing him to retain his attendants, money, &c. With Perses fell the Macedonian empire. He was the twentieth monarch, reckoning in descent from Caranus, the first king of the country.

*Lucius*, a distinguished Roman orator, considered the best orator in Rome, next to Crassus and Antonius. In applying for the consulship he was defeated by M. Herennius, a man of low origin and inferior eloquence. He afterward, however, obtained the consulate in company with Sextus Julius Cæsar. In his consulship, he opposed the proceedings of the tribune Drusus, and sided with the equites. A speech has already been made, under the article *Crassus*, of his speech in which he inveighed against the senate, and been replied to with great eloquence by that orator.

*Perses*, the 5th of the name, king of Macedonia, became emperor of Egypt.

broiled in a war with the Romans, by allying himself to Hannibal, who was then in Italy. The consul Lævinus was charged with the war against him, and, having surprised him near Apollonia, caused him to flee, and destroyed his fleet by fire. This defeat was followed by a peace of but short continuance. The Romans, having learned that Philip had furnished succours to Hannibal, declared war anew against him; a contest which is known in history as the second Macedonian war, the previous one having been the first. Philip lost successively the battles of Astacus, Aous, and Cynoscephalæ, the last of which was decisive in its nature, and compelled him to sue for peace. This was only granted him on the most humiliating conditions. Domestic sorrows came to increase the chagrin occasioned by these disasters. The merits of Demetrius, one of his sons, excited the jealousy of Perses, his eldest offspring, but illegitimate in origin. Perses accused the young prince to his father of having designs upon the crown. Philippus lent a credulous ear to the charge, and destroyed Demetrius by poison. But he soon became convinced of the treachery of Perses, and, to punish him, resolved to bestow the crown on Antigonus, his younger son, when a sudden death carried him off, and frustrated his well-meant intention. He ended his days, B.C. 179, in the 42nd year of his reign, and was succeeded by Perses.

*Philus, Lucius Furius*, a Roman, distinguished for the advances he had made in learning and philosophy. Consult note 9, page 462, and compare *Cic. de Am.* 4, 7, 19.

*Piso, Caius Calpurnius*, Cicero's son-in-law. He neglected the quæstorship of Pontus and Bithynia, in order to have more time to devote to the interests and safety of his father-in-law. He is praised as a good speaker, in the *Brutus*. Compare *Or. ad Quir. post Red.* 3.

*Piso, Cneius*, a Roman of good family, but profligate and needy. The urgency of his wants, uniting with the depravity of his disposition, instigated him to any measures which had for their object the convulsion of the state, as the only remedy which could free him from his difficulties and embarrassments. He readily entered into the conspiracy of Catiline, and, in the execution of the plot, he was to be at the head of an army to hold the Spaniards in subjection. The design transpired, and necessarily prevented its execution. Soon after, although only quæstor, he obtained the government of Hither Spain, with the authority of pro-prætor, by the interest of Crassus, who wished to set him up in opposition to Pompey. The senate assented, in order to have so dangerous a citizen at a distance from the seat of government. Some of the Spanish cavalry, however, who formed part of his train, assassinated him soon after his arrival in that country. *SALLUST, B. C.* 18, seqq.

*Plotius, Lucius*, a Roman poet, contemporary with Marius, whose praises he sang. He is supposed by some to be the same with the Plotius, who was born at Lugdunum, and who was the first that taught rhetoric at Rome in the Latin language. In this he was very successful, and had Cicero among his hearers. *Or. pro Arch.* 9.

*Pompeius, Cneius*, son of Cn. Pompeius Strabo, and the well-known opponent of Cæsar. His earlier movements, down to the period of the Mithridatic war, have been so fully detailed in the notes to the oration on the Manilian law, as not to need recapitulation here. A sketch of

is character will be found in the dialogue on the life and writings of Cicero.

*Pompeius, Quintus*, surnamed *Nepos*, an individual of humble origin, the son, according to Plutarch, of a flute-player. He attained, however, to the highest honours of the state, and was consul A.U.C. 612, and afterwards censor with Metellus Macedonicus.

*Pomptinus, Caius*, a prætor during Cicero's consulship. He was one of the officers appointed by the latter to arrest the Allobrogian ambassadors and their retinue. On the expiration of his prætorship, Pomptinus obtained the government of Gallia Narbonensis, defeated the Allobroges, who had revolted, and reduced their country to tranquillity, for which he was honoured with a triumph. Cicero employed him as one of his lieutenants in the government of Cilicia, where he distinguished himself by his bravery.

*Postumius, Cneius*, one of the assistant accusers (*subscriptores*) against Murena, and an unsuccessful applicant for the prætorship in the consulate of Cicero. *Or. pro Muren.* 27.

*Publicius*, one of the dissolute companions of Catiline. *Or. in Cat.* 2.

## R.

*Roscius. Vid. Otho.*

*Roscius, Quintus*, a celebrated Roman actor; from his surname Gallus, supposed to have been a native of Gaul, north of the Po, although situated in the vicinity of Lanuvium and Aricia. His acting is highly commended by Cicero, who, according to Plutarch, studied the art of gesticulation under him. Valerius Maximus informs us that Roscius practised with the utmost care the most trifling gesture which he was to make in public, and Cicero relates, that, though the house of his actor was a kind of school where good performers were trained, yet Roscius declared that he never had a pupil with whom he was completely satisfied. Roscius died about 62, B.C. *Cic. pro Q. Rosc.* 7.

## S.

*Saturninus, Lucius*, a tribune of the commons, and violent partisan of Marius, who abetted him in his numerous misdeeds. It was Saturninus who proposed the Agrarian law, for refusing to take the oath prescribed, by which Metellus was sentenced to banishment. He it was also that hired assassins to take away the life of Caius Memmius, when the latter was seeking the consulship, B.C. 102. Memmius fell under repeated strokes by the bludgeons of these miscreants, in open assembly; and the motive of Saturninus in causing the deed to be perpetrated was an apprehension lest Memmius would oppose him in his evil career. At last, however, strong measures were taken against him. He was driven into the capital with his adherents (*vid. Glaucia*), where he was compelled to surrender. On coming down into the forum he was put to death. *PLUT. Vit. Mar.* 30.

*Scaurus, Marcus Æmilius*, a Roman nobleman, of great ability, who held the consulship with M. Cæcilius Metellus, B.C. 116. He triumphed over the Carni; and made the road from Placentia to Parma,

hence called the *Æmilian Way*. He had the honour of being appointed *Princeps Senatus*, and would have ranked in history with the very first characters of the Roman state, had not his splendid talents been tarnished by cupidity. Pliny agrees with Sallust in giving the unfavourable side of the picture. On the other hand, Cicero highly extols his virtues, abilities, and achievements. It is more than probable that Sallust endeavours to depreciate the merits of Scaurus, because the latter was a member, and strong advocate for the power, of the nobility; while Cicero, on the other hand, strives for this same reason to exalt his character. The truth undoubtedly lies between either extreme. Scaurus afterward held the office of censor, and the consulship a second time. His name often occurs in the writings of Cicero, who speaks in great praise of a work of his, in three books, recording the principal occurrences and transactions of his life. The orator considers it equal to Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*. **SALLUST, B. J. 15.**

*Scipio, Publius Cornelius*, surnamed *Africanus Major*, the celebrated conqueror of Hannibal, in the battle of Zama. He is only alluded to incidentally by Cicero, in the course of this volume.

*Scipio, Publius Cornelius*, surnamed *Æmilianus*, from having been the son of Paullus *Æmilius*, adopted into the Scipio line. He is also known by the additional agnomen of *Africanus Minor*, from his having destroyed the city of Carthage, which ended the third Punic war. He was likewise the conqueror of Numantia.

*Scipio Nasica, Publius Cornelius*, son of Scipio Nasica, surnamed *Corculum*, and grandson of the Nasica who was pronounced the most virtuous man in Rome. He held the consulship with D. Brutus, A.U.C. 615, and had a very stormy period, having come into collision with the tribunes of the commons, and been imprisoned by them along with his colleague. His private character stood so high in the estimation of the people that he was the first, and probably the only Roman ever chosen Pontifex Maximus without being present at the time of election. While holding this latter dignity, he took an active part against the operations of the Gracchi, and headed the body of the nobility by whom Tiberius was slain. Some even ascribed the death of the latter to Nasica's own hand. The partisans of the aristocracy exalted the deed, while their opponents regarded it as nothing else but an act of open murder. So highly was the fury of the multitude excited, that Nasica could no longer appear in public without being exposed to their invectives and even menaces. A public prosecution was threatened, and as sovereign pontiff also he was regarded by his enemies as having been guilty of sacrilege. The senate, justly alarmed for a man whom they considered a benefactor to the state, found themselves obliged to remove him from Italy. This again was a violation of the pontifical duties, since no *pontifex maximus* could ever leave Italy. Nasica was sent, however, into Asia, under the pretext of appeasing some troubles which had been excited in Pergamus by Aristonicus. He did not live long in this honourable exile, but died of chagrin. A.U.C. 622. Cicero bestows on him the highest eulogiums, and declares that the best citizens regarded him as the deliverer of his country. Velleius Paternius also praises him for having preferred the interests of his country to the ties of consanguinity, Tiberius having been his own cousin. **CIC. BRUT. 22.**

*Scipio, Lucius Cornelius, surnamed Asiaticus*, elder brother of Africanus Major, enjoyed during life a degree of glory, which appears to have been in reality but little more than a reflection from the brilliant character of the conqueror of Hannibal. According to Polybius, Lucius Scipio was not a favourite with the people, but the historian is silent respecting the cause. He served under his brother in Spain, and the tender union which existed between them does more honour perhaps even to the elder than the younger brother, since it shows how little susceptible the heart of Lucius was of any feeling of jealousy toward one so far his superior, although younger in years. After distinguishing himself in Spain, he obtained the praetorship A.U.C. 561, (B.C. 194,) and the consulate A.U.C. 564. In this latter magistracy he was sent against Antiochus, the senate having given him the charge of this war, on his brother Africanus promising to go with him as his lieutenant. Africanus, however, soon after his arrival in Asia, was taken ill; or more probably, being desirous not to rob his brother of any share in the glory which he perceived was to be easily won against the present enemy, he affected indisposition, and remained at a distance from the camp. Lucius, thus left alone to command the Roman army, advanced against the king, attacked him in the post he had chosen, and, in a decisive victory, dispersed his numerous forces. This battle ended the war, and Lucius on his return was honoured with a triumph and the surname of *Asiaticus*. After the death of Africanus, he was violently assailed by some of the tribunes of the commons, particularly Cato and Petilius, and charged with having extorted, or else received, for his own private benefit, large sums of money from Antiochus and his subjects. In vain he protested his innocence; he was fined four millions of sesterces, ordered to be led to prison, and was now in the act of being conducted thither, when Sempronius Gracchus, the father of the Gracchi, who was then tribune, interposed his authority, and obtained his release. His effects, however, were sold, but the comparatively small sum obtained from them was a triumphant answer to the charge made against him. After this, the conqueror of Antiochus passed into the obscurity of private life, until at last he was sent as arbitrator to settle a difference which had arisen between Eumenes and Seleucus. On his return, the people, ashamed of their former severity, bestowed such recompences upon him, that he was enabled, at his own expense, to celebrate games in honour of his victory over Antiochus. The year of his death is unknown.

*Sertorius, Quintus*, a celebrated Roman commander. He distinguished himself at first at the bar, but soon quitted this profession to follow the career of arms. Sertorius made his first campaign under Cæpio, against the Cimbri and Teutones, and acted against the same enemy, under Marius. Entering Rome, at a subsequent period, with this latter commander, he could not but condemn his conduct, when he saw him fill the city with carnage and desolation. The acts of Sylla, in like manner, met with his severest censure. Proscribed by this latter individual, he fled to Spain, about 78 B.C., and maintained his authority for a long time in that country by his valour and address. Here he soon found himself surrounded by a numerous body of Romans, whom the cruelty of Sylla had driven from home. In imitation of the government established at Rome, he formed a senate out of these illustrious

exiles, and presided over it in capacity of consul. Every effort was also made by him to civilize the native tribes, public schools were established, and the young Spaniards of the higher class of families were instructed in all the arts of Greece and Rome. In order to strengthen his ascendancy over the lower orders, he called in the aid of superstition, and pretended to have, in a white fawn, which he said had been given him by Diana, a sure means of communication with the gods, and the organ of their will. The Romans, alarmed at the progress made by Sertorius, exerted their utmost endeavours to overthrow his power. Four armies, however, sent in succession against him, were defeated, and even Pompey himself had but little of which to boast. Metellus also, who had been despatched to co-operate with Pompey, found himself foiled and baffled; and though, after uniting their forces, they succeeded in defeating Sertorius at Saguntum, yet, a short time after, he was as powerful and active an opponent as ever. Mithridates, of Pontus, now formed a league with Sertorius, by which he engaged to supply him with 3000 talents and forty galleys, and to cede to him Bithynia and Cappadocia. Their plan was to attack the empire simultaneously on the east and west. This treaty inspired the Romans with fresh alarm, and the most vigorous efforts were made to crush the enemy in Spain. Private treachery, however, was more successful than their arms, and the assassination of Sertorius by the hand of Perpenna, one of his own officers, delivered Rome from one of her most formidable foes. Sertorius merits the greatest praises for his disinterestedness and love of justice, and in military talents deserves to be ranked above all his contemporaries. VELL. PATERC. 2, 29, seq.

*Servilius, Caius. Vid. Ahala.*

*Servilius, Publius.* surnamed *Isauricus*, from his conquest of Isauria, held the consulship B.C. 79. He was one of the advocates of the Manilian law. *Or. pro Manil. I. 23.*

*Sextius, Publius*, was quæstor to the consul Antonius in Macedonia. Sextius also filled the office of tribune, and while acting in this capacity, was very instrumental in procuring Cicero's recall from banishment. An accusation was afterward brought against him, which was in fact a consequence of his interposition in favour of the illustrious exile; for, when about to propose his recall to the people, he was violently attacked by the Clodian faction, and left for dead in the street. His enemies, however, though obviously the aggressors, accused him of violence and of exciting a tumult. Against this charge he was defended by Cicero in one of the longest and most elaborate of his harangues; which has moreover come down to our times. *Or. in Cat. 1, 8.*

*Silanus, Decimus Junius*, held the office of consul with Licinius Murrena, B.C. 64. They succeeded Cicero and Antonius. Being consuls elect, when the case of Catiline and his associates came before the senate, Silanus was asked his opinion first, respecting the punishment of those who had been arrested, and was in favour of their being put to death. Subsequently, however, he embraced the opinion of Tiberius Nero, who was for strengthening the guards and adjourning over the debate till another day. SALLUST, *B. C. 50.*

*Silvanus*, the author of the Plautian law. *Vid. Legal Index.*

*Statilius, Lucius*, one of the accomplices of Catiline. *Or. in Cat. 3, 3.*

*ius, Caius*, held the praetorship while Cicero was consul. *Or. 3.*

*ius, Servius*, an eminent Roman lawyer, the accuser of Murena, competitor in suing for the consulship. He was afterwards with M. Marcellus, and on laying down this office obtained the cent of Achaia. In the civil contest he sided with Cæsar. We elegant epistle of his remaining, in which he seeks to console for the loss of his daughter Tullia. *Or. pro Muren. 3.*

*ius, Servius*, son of the preceding, and one of the assistants of Murena. He was tribune of the commons, A.U.C. 706. *Muren.*

*Lucius Cornelius*, a Roman nobleman, who served at first under Marius. His activity and address contributed greatly to bring the war to a successful termination. Marius became, at last, Sylla's merit, and hence originated that quarrel between them productive of the most enormous cruelties, and contributed to the extinction of Roman liberty. Being sent to Asia, to restrain Mithridates, though under a different pretext, he proved both a brave soldier and an able general. On his return, he applied his military talents to great advantage in the social war. So were his soldiers attached to him, that when two tribunes were in command of his army, and give it to Marius, they stoned death. Marius, in revenge, put Sylla's friends in the city to death, upon which the latter marched to Rome, and compelled to flee. The horrid proscription now began. A price was set head of Marius, but he effected his escape. Sylla then set Mithridates, defeated his armies under different generals, concluded a peace with him on very advantageous terms. Marius having butchered many of Sylla's friends at Rome, he fled to Italy to avenge their deaths. On his arrival, his conduct was by clemency and moderation; but no sooner were his wholly within his power, than he committed the most enormous and barbarous acts of cruelty. To aggrandize himself, to exalt himself, and to glut his desire of revenge upon his enemies, Sylla to assume the reins of absolute government. He corrupted abuses introduced by popular and unprincipled demagogues, he ancient laws, and enacted many that were salutary and

Still, tyranny marked his whole conduct, and rendered his administration a scene of terror, by his personal enmities and insufferable obstinacy. Desire of revenge was a stronger passion in the mind than love of power. After glutting his vengeance with the thousands, and governing with despotic authority for three years, he resigned the reigns of power, and lived undisturbed as a private man. He died in great torment of the *morbus pedicularis*, in the year of his age, about 78, B.C. The perpetual intoxication to which he had recourse, to avoid the horrors of a guilty conscience, led to hasten his death. *PLUT. Vit. Syll.*

*Cornelius Faustus*, son of the preceding, followed the party of joined Cato in Africa after the battle of Pharsalia, and was put to death by Cæsar after the battle of Thapsus. *LIV. Epit. 114.*

## T.

*Theōphānes*, a Greek historian, a native of Mitylene, very intimate with Pompey, whose life he wrote, and who on his account granted great privileges to the Mityleneans. It was in accordance with the advice of Theophanes, that Pompey betook himself to Egypt, after the battle of Pharsalia. *Or. pro Auct. 10.*

*Tigrānēs*, king of Armenia, B.C. 95—60, of the family of Artaxia, and son-in-law of Mithridates the Great. He was defeated by Lucilius; and his capital taken. Tigranes subsequently obtained peace from Pompey on the most humiliating terms. *Or. pro Manil. L. 2.*

*Togīlliūs*, one of the dissolute accomplices of Catiline. *Or. in Oct. 2, 2.*

*Torquātūs, Lucius*, was consul with Cotta, A.U.C. 689. He obtained the province of Macedonia, through the aid of Cicero, and was honoured by the senate with the title of Imperator. *Or. in Oct. 3, 8.*

*Triāriūs*, one of the lieutenants of Lucullus, in the Mithridatic war. Being informed, on one occasion, of the approach of Lucullus, and being desirous of seizing the victory which he thought perfectly secure, he hazarded and lost a great battle. Above seven thousand Romans were killed, among whom were a hundred and fifty centurions and twenty-four tribunes. Mithridates likewise took his camp. *PLUT. Vit. Lucull. 35.*

*Tubērō, Quintus Aelius*, nephew on the half-sister side to Africanus the younger. He was attached to the doctrines of the Stoic sect, and displayed his firmness on one occasion, in deciding against Africanus, when a case in which that illustrious individual was a party, had come before him as a judge. He signalized himself also by his zeal against Caius Gracchus, and prepared some harangues against him. *Or. pro Muren. 36.*

## U.

*Umbrēnūs, Publius*, a freedman, who engaged in the conspiracy of Catiline, and endeavoured to prevail upon the ambassadors of the Allobroges to take part in that affair. He was committed to prison on the discovery of the plot, and most probably punished with death. *SALLUST, B. C. 40.*

## V.

*Vargunteius, Lucius*, one of the accomplices of Catiline, who undertook, along with C. Cornelius, to murder Cicero at his own house. The consul was apprised of his danger by Curius, through Fulvia, and they were refused admittance. Sallust calls Vargunteius a senator, whereas Cicero says they were both knights. Vargunteius, probably, though a senator, was of equestrian origin. *SALLUST, B. C. 28.*

## Z.

*Zēnō*, the famous founder of the Stoic sect, was born at Citium, in Cyprus. He came to Athens when about thirty years of age, and first

tended the lectures of Crates the Cynic. He afterward passed to the schools of Xenocrates and Diodorus Chronus, and finally to that of Clemo. Having made himself master of the tenets of others, Zeno determined to become the founder of a new sect. The place which he chose of for his school, was called the *Pœcile*, (*Ποικίλη*) or "Painted Porch," a public portico so called from the pictures of Polyictus and other eminent painters with which it was adorned. This portico, which was the most famous in Athens, was called by way of eminence, *Sτρόα*, or "the Porch," and hence the followers of Zeno were called *Stoicks*, i. e. "men of the Porch." Zeno lived to the extreme age of ninety-eight, and at last, in consequence of an accident, voluntarily put an end to his life. As he was walking out of his school, he fell down, and broke one of his fingers; upon which he was so much affected with a consciousness of infirmity, that, striking the earth, he said, "Why am I thus importuned? I obey the summons;" and immediately went home and strangled himself. He died B.C. 264.—The Stoic philosophy was, as it were, of heterogeneous origin, its founder having attended upon many eminent preceptors, and having compiled his system out of their various tenets. Cicero says, that Zeno was not much an inventor of new opinions, as of new terms. ENFIELD, *Hist. Philos.* vol. i. p. 315, *seqq.*

## GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

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### A.

*Achaia*, I. A country of the Peloponnesus, lying along the Sinus Corinthiacus, to the north of Elis and Arcadia. It gave name to the famous Achæan league, of later Grecian history.—II. A Roman province, embracing, besides Achaia Proper, all the rest of the Peloponnesus, together with all the country south of Thessaly. This province was formed after the fall of Corinth and the destruction of the Achæan league, B.C. 146.

*Ægæum Mare*, that part of the Mediterranean which lay between Greece and Asia Minor; now the *Archipelago*. The modern name appears to be formed from *Egio Pelago*, which is itself a corruption of *Αἴγαιον πέλαγος*.

*Ætolia*, a country of Greece, to the east of Acarnania. Ætolia first began to acquire a degree of importance among the other states of Greece, after having repelled the formidable Gallic irruption, when these barbarians had penetrated into its territories. It is rarely, however, that history has to record achievements, or acts of policy, honourable to the Ætolians. Unjust, rapacious, and without faith or religion, they attached themselves to whatever side the hope of gain and plunder allured them. The Ætolians are memorable in Grecian history for having afforded the Romans the first opportunity of interfering in the affairs of Greece, they having sided with Antiochus III. against the Romans, on the defeat of that monarch; in B.C. 189 they became subjects of Rome. They perceived their error when it was too late, and fell with the rest of their countrymen under the yoke of Rome.

*Allōbrōges*, a people of Gaul, between the Isara, or *Isere*, and the Rhodanus, or *Rhone*, in the country answering to *Dauphiné*, *Piedmont*, and *Savoy*. Their chief city was Vienna, now *Vienne*, on the left bank of the Rhodanus, thirteen miles below Lugdunum, or *Lyons*. They were reduced beneath the Roman sway by Fabius Maximus, who was hence honoured with the surname of *Allobrogicus*. Their name is said to mean "Highlanders," from *Al*, "high," and *Broga*, "land." (THIERRY, *Hist. des Gaulois*, vol. ii. p. 168 seqq.—ADELUNG, *Mithridates*, vol. ii. p. 50.)

*Amisus*, a city of Pontus, on the coast of the Euxine, north-west from the mouth of the river Iris. It was founded by a colony of Milesians, was the largest city in Pontus next to Sinope, and was made by Pharnaces the metropolis of his kingdom. It is now called *Samsoun*.

*Antiōchia*, a celebrated city of Syria, built by Seleucus Nicator, in memory of his father Antiochus, and deriving its name from him. It

as situated on the river Orontes, about twenty miles from its mouth, and was equidistant from Constantinople and Alexandria, being about 30 miles from each. It is now *Antakia*, and has suffered severely in modern times from earthquakes.

*Apennini*, from the Celtic "Pen," a hill, or height. A large chain of mountains, branching off from the maritime Alps, in the neighbourhood of Genoa, running diagonally from the Ligurian Gulf (*Gulf of Genoa*) to the Adriatic, in the vicinity of Ancona, thence continuing nearly parallel with the latter gulf, as far as the promontory of Garganus, and again inclining to the Mare Inferum, till it finally terminates at the promontory of Leucopetra at Rhegium. The Apennines may equal in length to 670 miles.

*Appii Forum. Vid. Forum Appii.*

*Appia Via*, the most celebrated of the Roman roads, both on account of its length, and the difficulties which it was necessary to overcome in construction. It was hence called the "Queen of the Roman Ways." *Vicina Viarum*, (*Stat. Sylv.* 2, 2.) According to *Livy*, (9, 29,) it was made by the censor Appius Cæcus, and at first was only laid down as far as Capua, a distance of about a hundred and twenty-five miles. From Capua it was subsequently carried on to Beneventum, and finally

Brundisium, when this port became the great place of resort for those who were desirous of crossing over into Greece and Asia Minor. This latter part of the Appian Way is supposed to have been constructed by the consul Appius Claudius Pulcher, grandson of Cæcus, B.C. 504, and to have been completed by another consul, of the same family, thirty-six years after. According to Eustace, such parts of the Appian Way as have escaped destruction show few traces of wear and decay after a duration of two thousand years and upward. The same writer states the average breadth of the road in question at from 10 to 22 feet. (EUSTACE, *Class. Tour.* vol. iii. p. 177.)

*Armēnia*, a large country of Asia, answering nearly to the modern Armenia; lying south-east of mount Caucasus, and comprehending the Turkish pachalics of *Erze Roum*, *Kars*, or *Van*, and also the Persian province of *Iran* or *Erivan*. It was a rough, mountainous country, having Caucasus in part for its northern boundary, and being traversed by branches of Mount Taurus. The climate was cold, the soil only moderately fertile, and better fitted for grazing than for agriculture.—Armenia Minor was on the other side of the Euphrates, and formed originally part of Cappadocia.

*Asia*, one of the divisions of the ancient world. The name was applied by Homer and Herodotus to a district of Lydia watered by the Meander. As their geographical knowledge of the continent increased, the Greeks extended the appellation to the whole of Asia Minor, and eventually to the other extensive countries of the east. When the Roman writers refer to Asia, specially, they mean the Roman province of Asia Minor, containing Mysia, Lydia, Caria, and Phrygia.

*Aurelia Via*, a Roman road, which followed the whole length of the Etrurian and Ligurian coasts, and led into Gaul by the Alpes Maritime. It was made by the consul Aurelius, about 605 A.U.C., and from him was called *Via Aurelia*. It seems to have been laid down in the first instance from Rome to Pisa, from which point it was subsequently continued under the name of the *Via Aemilia*, by the consul

Æmilius Scaurus, as far as Vada Sabata : here it left the coast, and led as far as Dertona, now *Tortona*. At a later period, however, it was carried along the coast to the Maritime Alps, and even beyond them into Gaul as far as Arelate, now *Arles* ; when the name of *Via Aurelia*, as we find from the Itinerary of Antoninus, was commonly used to designate the route between that city and Rome. CRAMER'S *Ancient Italy*, vol. i. p. 35, *seqq.*—Compare GELL'S *Rome and its Vicinity*, vol. ii. p. 68.

## B.

*Bithynia*, a country of Asia Minor, bounded on the north by the Euxine, on the south by Phrygia, on the east by Paphlagonia and part of Galatia, and on the west by the Propontis and Mysia. It was a well-watered and fruitful country. The earlier name was Bebrycia : the Bithyni, from Thrace, gave it the appellation of Bithynia.

*Bosporus*, (Ox-ford,) a name given in ancient geography to two straits, known as the Thracian Bosphorus, and Cimmerian Bosphorus. The former of these is now the *Straits of Constantinople* ; and the latter the *Straits of Jenicali*. The name is thought to indicate the passage of agricultural knowledge from east to west, ( $\betaοοδς πόρος$ , i. e. "the passage of the ox.")

*Brundisium*, a celebrated city on the coast of Apulia, in the territory of the Calabri. By the Greeks it was called *Rper̄t̄σιον*, a word which in the Messapian language signified a stag's head, from the resemblance which its different harbours and creeks bore to the antlers of that animal. The advantageous situation of its harbour, for communicating with the opposite coast of Greece, naturally rendered Brundisium a place of great resort, and it soon became a formidable rival to Tarentum. In Roman times it was the usual place of embarkation for Greece and Asia. Here the Appian Way ended. The modern name of the place is *Brindisi*. [The poet Pacuvius was born here, and Virgil died here on his return from Greece, B.C. 19.]

## C.

*Caiēta*, a town and harbour of Latium, south-east of the promontory of Circeii. The Roman poets fabled that Caieta, nurse of Æneas, was buried here, whence the name of the place. According to Strabo, however, it comes from a Laconian term, *καιάττα*, denoting a hollow or cavity, in allusion, perhaps, to a receding of the shore in this quarter. It is now *Gæta*. The harbour of Caieta was considered one of the finest and most commodious in Italy.

*Campus Martius*, a large plain without the city of Rome, where martial sports and exercises were performed, and assemblies of the people often held. At the present day it forms the principal situation of modern Rome, and, according to modern authorities, lies at the foot of the Pincian, Quirinal, and Capitoline hills. BURGESS, *Antiquities of Rome*, vol. i. p. 59.

*Cappadōcia*, a country of Asia Minor, bounded on the north by Galatia and Pontus, east by the Euphrates, south by Cilicia, and west by Phrygia. Its eastern part was called Armenia Minor. The Cappado-

ans were regarded as of a dull and submissive disposition, and their oral character did not rank very highly. -

*Carthago*, a celebrated commercial city of Africa, and the rival, for long period, of the Roman power. It was founded by a colony from Tyre, according to the common account, B.C. 878. The Greeks called it *Kαρχηδῶν*, and the inhabitants *Kαρχηδόνιοι*. The name of the city Punic was *Carthada*, or *Cartha Hadath*, i. e. "the new city," in contradistinction, perhaps, to the old or parent city of Tyre. Carthage was situate on a peninsula, in the recess of a spacious bay, formed by the promontory Hermæum, now Cape Bon, on the east, and that of Apollo, or Zibb, on the west. The river Bragadas flows into the bay, between the remains of Utica and the peninsula. The modern name of this river is the *Meierda*. Being an inundating stream, like the Nile, has caused many changes in the bay. The circuit of Carthage was 15 miles, and when it was set on fire by the Romans, at the close of the third Punic war, it burnt for seventeen days. Julius Cæsar planted a small colony on the ruins of Carthage. Augustus sent three thousand men thither, and built a city at a small distance from the spot on which the ancient place had stood, thus avoiding the ill effects of the impressions, which had been pronounced by the Romans, according to custom, at the time of its destruction, against those who should rebuild it. This later Carthage was taken by Genseric, A.D. 439, and it was for more than a century the seat of the Vandal power of Africa. It was at last destroyed by the Saracens, during the caliphate of Abdel Melek, toward the end of the seventh century, and but very few traces of it now remain.

*Chii*, the natives of the island of Chios, now Scio. It was situate in the Ægean sea between Lesbos and Samos, off the coast of Asia Minor, and was probably once connected with the main land, from which it is separated by a strait only three leagues wide. The wine of this island was held in high esteem by the ancients; its marble also was in much request. Modern Scio, until the late dreadful ravages of the Turks, contained 115,000 inhabitants, nearly all Greeks, and was the best cultivated and most flourishing island in the Archipelago.

*Cilicia*, a country of Asia Minor, on the sea-coast, south of Cappadocia and Lycaonia. It was surrounded inland by steep and rugged mountains, so that a few men might defend it against a whole army, there being but three narrow passes leading into it. The country was divided into rugged and level Cilicia, (*Trachea* and *Campestris*.) The former was subsequently considered as a termination of Isauria. The latter was one of the most fruitful provinces of Asia, excepting the eastern part, which however, though barren, was famed for its horses. Cilicia was the main seat of the formidable piratical power, which was finally crushed by Pompey, after having afforded so much trouble to the Romans, and been the occasion of so much disgrace to them.

*Cimbri*, a German nation, supposed to have been descended from the Asiatic Cimmerians, and occupying what was called Chersonesus Cimbrica, now Jutland. About 113 B.C., the Cimbri, leaving their territories, which were both narrow and barren, and being joined by the Eutones, or rather by several German nations, under this general name, moved through the intervening countries, entered and overran Gaul, and defeated four Roman armies in succession. Marius at last, in

his second consulship, was chosen to carry on the war. He met the Teutones at Aquæ Sextiæ, in Gaul, and after a bloody engagement, left 20,000 of the enemy dead on the field of battle, and took 90,000 prisoners. The Cimbri, who had formed another army, had already penetrated into Italy, where they were met at the river Athesis, by Marius and his colleague Catulus, a year after. An engagement ensued, and, if we believe ancient accounts, 140,000 were slain. Those who escaped the sword of Marius settled in that part of the Alps called *Sæte Commune*, where their descendants still retain the Teutonic language, and a traditional account of their origin. They keep themselves quite separate from the surrounding states, by which means they have preserved the language of their ancestors, in a great degree, uncorrupted. The late king of Denmark visited these Alpine Cimbrians, and readily conversed with them, when both parties, speaking their native language, understood each other.

*Colchis*, a country of Asia, along the eastern shore of the Mediterranean. It is now in part *Mingrelia*. According to Strabo, it was a productive country. Its linen manufacture was in high repute. Colchis was famous for the expedition of the Argonauts, and for having been the native country of Medea.

*Colophonii*, the inhabitants of Colophon, one of the twelve Ionian cities of Asia Minor, near the sea, north-west of Ephesus. The Colophonians were famed for their cavalry, and so excellent in fact were they, that they generally turned the scale on the side on which they fought, and hence the proverb, Κολοφῶνα ἐπιτίθεναι, "to add a Colophonian," i. e. to put the finishing hand to an affair. This was one of the places that claimed to have given birth to Homer.

*Comāna*, a town of Pontus, on the Iris, south-east of Amasa, now *Almons*. There was another place of the same name in Cappadocia, on the Sarus, now *El Bostan*. Both were famous for temples of Bellona, but especially the latter of the two. Strabo makes the goddess worshipped at these places to have been Venus; and Procopius, the Tauric Diana. The temple of the Cappadocian Comana, which was famed for its riches, was plundered by Mark Antony. Each place is said to have had 6000 ministers, of both sexes, and the high-priest was next in authority to the monarch of the land, and was generally a member of the royal family.

*Corinthus*, a celebrated city of Greece, situate on the isthmus of the same name. Commanding by its position the Ionian and Ægean seas, and holding as it were the keys of the Peloponnesus, Corinth, from the pre-eminent advantages of its situation, was already the seat of opulence and the arts, while the rest of Greece was sunk in comparative obscurity and barbarism. The arts of painting and sculpture attained to the highest perfection here, and rendered this city the ornament of Greece, until it was stripped by the rapacity of its Roman conquerors. After its overthrow by Mummius, Corinth remained for many years in ruins, until Julius Cæsar, not long before his death, sent a numerous colony thither, by which it was once more raised from its fallen state. It became subsequently once more a large and flourishing city. Corinth was famed for its harbours, of which it had three, Lechæum on the Corinthian gulf, and Cenchrea and Schœnæus on the Saronic. This city was celebrated for what was termed the "Corinthian brass," a metallic mixture nearly resembling aurichalcum. The common account is, that

when Corinth was destroyed by the Romans, all the metals that were in the city melted and mixed together during the conflagration, and formed the composition in question. Klaproth and others very properly reject the whole account as fabulous.

*Corduba*, now *Cordora*, a city of Hispania Bætica, on the river Bætis. It was the native place of both the Senecas and of Lucan.

*Crete*, now *Candia*, one of the largest islands of the Mediterranean, lying to the south of all the Cyclades. Crete was famous for its code of laws, the gift of Minos, from which the institutions of Lycurgus were closely copied. The private character of the Cretans, however, was anything but fair, and they were chargeable with the grossest immorality and the most hateful vices.

*Cyzicus*, a city of Mysia, situate on an island, or according to others the neck of a peninsula. It was a very flourishing commercial place, and is called by Florus the Rome of Asia. The coinage of this city was very famous, and the Κυζικηνοὶ στατῆρες were so beautifully executed that they were deemed a miracle of art. Cyzicus is famous for its siege by Mithridates, which Lucullus compelled him to raise. It continued a place of importance until a late period; now, however, it is only a heap of uninhabited ruins.

## D.

*Delos*, a celebrated island in the Aegean sea, nearly in the centre of the Cyclades, and the natal place of Apollo and Diana. It was fabled to have been originally a floating island, moving to and fro beneath the surface of the sea, until Neptune ordered it to appear above the waves, and remain firmly fixed, in order to receive the offspring of Latona, who was about to become a mother. Hence the name Delos, from δῆλος, "manifest." The fable evidently points to a volcanic origin for the island. After the Persian war, the Athenians established at Delos the treasury of the Greeks, and ordered that all meetings relative to the confederacy should be held there; an order, however, that was not long acted upon. In the tenth year of the Peloponnesian war, not being satisfied with the purifications which the island had previously undergone, in obedience to an oracle, in the earlier part of the contest, the same power removed the entire population to Adramyttium, where they obtained a settlement from the Persian satrap Pharnaces. They were restored to their homes, however, after the battle of Amphipolis, as the Athenians ascribed their ill success in the war to the anger of the god, on account of their treatment of the Delians. This island became a place of great commercial importance after the destruction of Corinth, as the merchants who had frequented that city then withdrew to this island, which afforded great facilities for carrying on trade, on account of the convenience of its port, its advantageous situation with respect to the coasts of Greece and Asia Minor, as well as from the great concourse of people who resorted thither during the period of the stated festivals. It fell in importance and prosperity, however, during the Mithridatic war, for, on the occupation of Athens by the generals of Mithridates, they sent troops to Delos, and committed the greatest devastations, in consequence of the inhabitants having gone over to the Romans. After this calamity it remained in an impoverished and deserted state. The town of Delos was situate in a plain, watered by the little river Inopus.

The island is now called *Delo* or *Sdille*, and is so covered with ruins as to admit of little or no culture.

## E.

*Ecbatāna*, the ancient capital of Media, now *Hammedan*. The editions of Cicero had (*pro Manil. L. 4*) *Ecbatanis*, until Matthiae, Orellius, and others substituted *ac literas*. Consult note 4, page 218.

*Etrūria*, a large country of Italy, lying north and west of the Tiber. The inhabitants were called by the Romans *Etrusci* or *Tusci*; by the Greeks *Tyrrheni* or *Tyrseni*, i. e. *Tara seni*, "tower builders." The origin of the Etrurian nation is unknown, although many erroneously suppose the basis of the population to have been Celtic. Their civilization came in with the *Tyrrheni*, who appear to have been a branch of the Pelasgic race, and to have migrated from the shores of Lydia, whence, according to Müller, they were driven out by the great Ionic migration. Many modern authorities think that the *Tyrrheni* were Pelasgian, and were overrun by the *Raseni*, an Alpine tribe; from their union arose the name *Tar, raseni*. The Etrurians appear to have been quite distinct from the Greeks in both language and religion. They excelled in the knowledge of augury and sacrificial rites and ceremonies, and the Romans, in these respects, did little more than borrow from them. Etruria was divided into twelve states, each independent of the other, though united in a common confederacy; but as this union was far from being a strong one, the want of a closer bond contributed very materially to their final subjugation by the Romans.

*Euripus*, a narrow strait dividing Eubœa from the mainland of Greece, and remarkable for the fluctuation of its waters. Several of the ancient writers have reported that the tide in this strait ebbed and flowed seven times in the day, and such too was the popular belief. From this rapid movement of the current, the *Euripus* derived its ancient name, (*εὐ, bene*, and *πίπτω, jacio.*) Livy's account, however, is the more rational. "A more dangerous station for a fleet," observes this writer, "can hardly be found; besides that the winds rush down suddenly and with great fury from the high mountains on either side, the strait itself of the *Euripus* does not ebb and flow seven times a day, at stated hours; but the current changing irregularly, like the wind, from one point to another, is hurried along like a torrent tumbling from a steep mountain, so that, night or day, ships can never lie quiet." (LIV. 28, 6.) This strait is now called, by a corruption of the ancient name, the straits of *Negroponti*, through the modern Greek mode of pronunciation, (*Erripo, Egripo, Negroponte*), at least such is the common opinion. The last change from *Egripo* to *Negroponte* appears to owe its origin to a nautical source, just as mariners sometimes call the Archipelago the "Arches," and Corunna in Spain, "the Groin."—Hobhouse, who visited the *Euripus*, compares it to a mill-race.

## F.

*Fesūla* or *Fesūlē*, now *Fiesoli*, a town of Italy, in Etruria, south-west of *Pistoria*. Here Catiline raised the standard of rebellion. The Goths, when they entered Italy, under the consulate of Stilico and

Aurelian, were destroyed in the vicinity of this place. In modern times it is rather a village than a town.

*Forum Appii*, a town of Latium, on the Appian Way, about 23 miles from Aricia, and 16 from Tres Tabernæ. It is mentioned by St. Paul in the account of his journey to Rome *Acts xxviii. 15,*) and is also well known as Horace's second resting place in his journey to Brundisium. D'Anville places the site at the modern *Borgo Lungo* near *Treponi*.

*Forum Aurēlii*, or *Aurēlium*, a town of Etruria, above Tarquinii, on the Aurelian Way, now *Montalto*.

### G.

*Gallia*, an extensive country of Europe, lying between the Rhine, the Alps, the Mediterranean, the Pyrenees, and the ocean. It was more extensive, therefore, to the north and east than modern France. The name Galli, given to the inhabitants by the Roman writers, is the Celtic term *Gael* Latinized. The Greeks called them *Κέλται*, and their country *Κέλτικη* and *Γαλατία*.

*Gallia Citerior*, called also *Gallia Cisalpina*, a name given by the Romans to that part of Italy which lay between the Alps and the rivers Rubicon and Macra. It was occupied by various Gallic tribes, which had poured over the Alps into this extensive tract of country. Livy assigns to these migrations the date of 600 B.C.; but in all probability they were much earlier.

*Gallia Transalpina*, Gaul beyond the Alps, or Gaul Proper.

*Gallicus Ager*, a name applied by Cicero to Cisalpine Gaul, especially that part of it from which the Galli Senones had been driven out.

### H.

*Heraclea*, a city of Lucania, in Lower Italy, situate between the Aciris and Siris. It was founded by a colony of Tarentines, after the destruction of the ancient city of Siris, which stood at the mouth of the latter river (B.C. 428). This city is rendered remarkable in history, as having been the seat of the general council of the Greek states. Antiquaries seem to agree in fixing its site at *Policoro*.

*Hispania*, an extensive country, forming a kind of peninsula, in the south-western part of Europe. It was divided into *Hispania Citerior* and *Ulterior*. *Hispania Citerior* was also called *Terraconensis*, from *Tarraco*, now *Tarragona*, its capital, and extended from the foot of the Pyrenees to the mouth of the Durius, (now *Douro*), on the Atlantic shore, comprehending all the north of Spain, together with the south, as far as a line drawn below Carthago Nova (now *Carthagena*) and continued in an oblique direction to the river Durius, passing by *Salamantica*, now *Salamanca*. *Hispania Ulterior* was divided into two provinces; *Bætica*, in the south of Spain, between the *Anas*, (now the *Guadiana*,) and *Citerior*; and above it *Lusitania*, corresponding in a great measure to modern *Portugal*. *Bætica* answers to modern *Andalusia*.

### I.

*Illyricum Mare*, that part of the Adriatic which washes the shores of Illyricum.

*Iassaria*, a country of Asia Minor, north of, and adjacent to Pisidia. The inhabitants were a rude mountainous race, remarkable for the violence and rapine which they exercised against their neighbours. P. Servilius derived, from his reduction of this people, the surname of Iauricua. A conformity in the aspect of the country, which was rough and mountainous, caused Cilicia Trachea, in a subsequent age, to have the name of Iauria extended to it, and it is thus denominated in the Notitia of the Eastern empire.

## L.

*Lanuvium*, a town of Latium, about 16 miles from Rome, situate, according to Strabo, to the right of the Appian Way, and on a hill commanding an extensive prospect towards Antium and the sea. Lanuvium seems to have been treated with more moderation than the other Latin towns, when it fell into the hands of the Romans; for, instead of being punished, the inhabitants were made Roman citizens, and their privileges and sacred rites were preserved, on condition that the temple and worship of Juno Sospita, which were held in great veneration in their city, should be common to the Romans also. Lanuvium then became a municipium, and it remained ever faithful to the Romans, particularly in the second Punic war. Murena was a native of this place, and so also was Milo, the antagonist of Clodius. The famous comedian Roscius was also born, or, according to others, educated near it. The ruins of Lanuvium still bear the name of *Città Larinia*, or *Città della Vigna*.

*Locri*, a city of Magna Græcia, or Southern Italy, near the Zephyrian promontory, at the lower extremity of Bruttium, and founded by a colony of Locrians from Greece. The city was mainly indebted for its prosperity and fame to the institutions of its great legislator Zaleucus. His laws, which, according to the assertion of Demosthenes, continued in full force for the space of 200 years, are said to have been a judicious selection from the Cretan, Lacedæmonian, and Areopagitic codes, to which, however, were added several original enactments. From its greater proximity to Sicily, Locri appears to have been involved in the politics of that country at a more early period than the other Italian cities, and at one time fell under the tyrannical sway of the younger Dionysius, who gave loose here to all the vicious propensities of his nature. It suffered severely also from Pyrrhus, whose cause it had deserted for that of the Romans; but the heaviest blow it received was in the time of the second Punic war. Having followed the example of the other Greek colonies in siding with Hannibal, it again fell into the hands of the Romans, who left in it a garrison under the command of Q. Pleminius. The conduct of this officer and his troops towards the inhabitants of Locri, seems to have far surpassed in licentiousness and wanton cruelty all that the rage of an enemy could have inflicted on a conquered city. He was at length recalled, and ended his days in prison.

## M.

*Massilia*, a celebrated colony of the Phœceans, on the Mediterranean coast of Gaul, now Marseilles. It became at an early period a power-

flourishing city, and was famed for its extensive commerce. Its prosperous period in its history would seem to have been the time from the fall of Carthage, with which city it had frequent wars, to the commencement of the contest between Cæsar and Pompey.

This city was always the firm ally of Rome. It suffered greatly in the civil wars from its attachment to the party of Pompey, who was compelled to sustain a severe siege, in which its fleet was destroyed, and, after surrendering, to pay a heavy exaction. Massilia was afterward, in the days of Augustus, famous as a seat of science, rival of Athens.

*Um*, a town and harbour of Campania, on the promontory of the same name. In the reign of Augustus it became one of the first fortifications of the Roman empire, being intended to guard the entrance to the Tuscan sea. Pliny the elder was stationed here, as commander of the fleet, at the time of the great eruption of Vesuvius, in which he perished.

*Sacer*, a low range of sandstone hills, extending along the right bank of the Anio, and about three miles distant from Rome. It is remarkable in history for the secession that was made to it by the people.

*is Pons*, now *Ponte Molle*, one of the bridges over the Tiber. It was built by M. Æmilius Scaurus, from a corruption of whose *nomen* (Scaurus), the appellation Mulvius is thought to have originated. At this place commenced the *Via Flaminia*, which led from Rome to Ariminum. Situated at a little distance from the city, surrounded by several places of public resort, it became the rendezvous of night-birds and debauchees in the licentious age of Nero. The battle between Constantine and Maxentius, which decided the fate of Rome and the empire, was also fought in this quarter. The *Ponte Molle* is reared of twelve arches of Travertine stone, and is about 350 feet in length. It was entirely rebuilt (A.D. 1450) by Pope Nicholas V., that it cannot be said any thing ancient now remains to be seen; indeed, the old foundations probably a few paces farther up the river, and some vestiges of them may be discovered when the waters are very low. *Topography and Antiquities of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 227.

## N.

*is*, a celebrated city of Campania, on the Sinus Crater, now called, in Italian, *Napoli*. Its earlier name is said to have been *Cuma*, from a Siren who was cast upon the shore in this quarter; but the appellation of Neapolis appears to have been given to it when the Cumæans settled here, and so changed the aspect of the city as to give rise to the name Neapolis, i. e. New City. Many, however, think that the Cumæans founded it in the first instance. Neapolis was remarkable for the beauty of its situation, and its inhabitants were noted for all the indolence and luxury of Grecian manners.

*Mila*, a town of Spain, near the sources of the river Durius, remarkable for the brave resistance which it made against the Romans for a space of fourteen years. It was built upon an eminence of no great height, between two branches of the Durius, and surrounded by thick wood on three sides. One path alone led down into the town.

plain, and this was defended by ditches and palisades. The great length of time it withstood the Romans may be easily accounted for by its difficult situation, and the circumstances of its circuit being large, that within it were even pastures for cattle. This place was last reduced by Scipio Africanus Minor, the conqueror of Carthage. The remains of Numantia may be still seen near *Puente de Garay*.

*Nomidia*, a country of Africa, east of Mauritania, and corresponding, in a great measure, to the modern *Algiers*.

## O.

*Ostia*, a celebrated town and harbour, at the mouth of the Tiber. It was the port of Rome, and its name even now remains unchanged, though few vestiges are left of its former importance. All historians agree in ascribing its foundation to Ancus Martius. When the Romans began to have ships of war, Ostia became a place of great importance, and a fleet was constantly stationed there to guard the mouth of the Tiber. The place, however, was taken by the pirates during their ascendancy in the Mediterranean, and Cicero alludes to the circumstances with great indignation in his oration for the Manilian law. Ostia is thirteen miles from Rome. Great changes, however, have taken place since ancient times, and the port of Ostia is now two miles, or nearly so, from the sea. The cause of this, in a great measure, seems to be that the extreme flatness of the land does not allow the Tiber to carry off the great quantities of earth and mud brought down by its turbulent waters, and the more that is deposited, the more sluggishly it flows, and thus the shore rises, the sea recedes, and the marshes extend.

## P.

*Palatinus Mons*, a celebrated hill, the largest of the seven on which Rome was built. It was upon this that Romulus laid the first foundation of the capital of Italy, in a quadrangular form, and here also in a later age dwelt Augustus and the succeeding emperors. On this same hill, too, stood the famous Palatine library. The Palatium was secured on account of its importance, by a nightly guard during the alarm attendant upon the first rumours of Catiline's conspiracy.

*Pamphylia*, a province of Asia Minor, lying along the sea from Lycaonia to Cilicia, and having Pisidia to the north. The inhabitants are said to have been an intermixture of the mountaineer races of the interior with Phoenicians and Greeks, and the latter are reported to have settled here after the overthrow of Troy, under the guidance of Anchises, Philocles and Calchas. Under the Syrian dynasty, this country made part of the kingdom of Syria; it then became a part of the kingdom of Pergamus; and was finally absorbed in the Roman empire. The pirates had several castles along the coast, which were all destroyed by Pompey.

*Picenus Ager*, another name for Picenum, a district of Italy, east and south-east of Umbria. The inhabitants were of Sabine origin. The country was considered one of the most fertile parts of Italy, and the produce of its fruit-trees was particularly esteemed.

*Pons Mulvius*. *Vid. Mulvius Pons*.

*Pontus*, a country of Asia Minor, bounded on the north by the Euxine, on the south by Cappadocia, on the west by Galatia and Paphlagonia, and on the east by Armenia. This country was originally a part of Cappadocia, and a satrapy of the Persian empire. A son of Darius Hystaspis, Artabazes, held this satrapy as a vassal, with the right to transmit it as an inheritance to posterity. Its rulers, however, eventually made themselves independent of any foreign control, and under Mithridates VI., surnamed Eupator, Pontus attained to a high degree of glory, and extended its arms far and wide over Lower Asia and Greece, until reduced by the Roman arms.

*Præneste*, now *Palestrina*, an ancient city of Latium, south-east of Rome. Strabo makes the intervening distance twenty-five miles (200 stadia); but the Itineraries give more correctly twenty-three miles. Its citadel is described by Strabo as remarkable for its strength of position, and Catiline therefore attempted to seize upon it, but was frustrated by Cicero. Præneste was famed for its temple of Fortune.

## R.

*Reate*, an old Sabine town, on the river Velinus, a branch of the Nar. Its modern name is *Rieti*. Reate was only a præfecture in Cicero's time. In the days of Suetonius, however, it held the rank of a municipium. It was famed for its breed of mules. The valley of the Velinus, in which this place was situated, was so delightful as to merit the appellation of Tempe, in imitation of the beautiful vale, of the same name, in Thessaly.

*Rhēgium*, one of the most celebrated and flourishing cities of Magna Græcia, at the extremity of the peninsula, and in the territory of the Brutii. It is supposed to have been founded nearly 700 B.C. by a party of Zancleans from Sicily, together with some Chalcideans from Eubœa, and Messenians from the Peloponnesus. Its name is supposed to allude to the great catastrophe by which Sicily was *broken off*, in early days, from Italy. (*Ρήγιον, a ρήγνυμι, frango.*) Some, however, consider the name of the place as of Oscan origin. The modern appellation is *Reggio*.

*Rhœtēum*, a promontory of Troas, on the shore of the Hellespont, in a north-east direction nearly from Sigæum. On the sloping side of it the body of Ajax was said to have been buried, and the tumulus that stands there was thought to mark the spot. Between this promontory and that of Sigæum was the position of the Greek camp. According to Leake, *Palæo Castro*, near the Turkish village of *It-gelmes*, marks the probable site of Rhœteum.

*Rudix*, a city of Italy, in the territory of the Calabri, and below Brundisium. It was rendered famous by being the birth-place of Ennius. The remains of this place are still known by the name of *Ruge*.

## S.

*Salaminii*, the inhabitants of the island of Salamis, who are mentioned by Cicero as among the number of those that claimed to have had Homer born among them. Salamis lay in the Sinus Saronicus, opposite Eleusis in Attica, and the intervening strait was famous for

the naval conflict between the Greeks and the Persians. It is now called *Colouri*, which is also the name of its principal town.

*Sāmōs*, an island in the Ægean sea, off the lower part of the coast of Ionia, and nearly opposite the Trogilian promontory. The intervening strait was about seven stadia. Samos was the most important and powerful island of the Ionians. It was the birth-place of Pythagoras, and claimed also to be the natal place of Homer.

*Sicilia*, a well-known island in the Mediterranean, separated from Italy by the Fretum Siculum, or Straits of Messina. Its triangular shape gave it the name of Trinacria and Triquetra, ( $\tauρεῖς ἄκραι$ , and  $\tauρεῖς ἔδραι$ .) The promontory nearest Italy was called Pelorum, now Cape *Faro*. The one to the south of this was Pachynum, now *Passaro*; and the remaining one, Lilybæum, now *Boeo*. This last, however, is, in truth, not a mountain-promontory, but a low, flat point of land, rendered dangerous to vessels by its sand-banks and concealed rocks. Sicilia derived its name from the ancient Siculi, who came into this island from Latium.

*Sigæum*, a celebrated promontory of Troas, near the mouth of the Scamander. The modern name is Cape *Jenischehr*, or, as it is more commonly pronounced, Cape *Janissary*. The promontories of Sigæum and Rhœteum formed the limits, on either side, of the station of the Grecian fleet. Achilles, Patroclus, and Antilochus, were buried on Sigæum, and three large tumuli, or mounds of earth, are supposed to mark their tombs; though from a passage of Homer (*Od. 24, 75, seqq.*) it would seem that one mound or tomb covered the ashes of all three.

*Sinōpe*, a city of Paphlagonia, on the eastern coast, and a little below its northern extremity. It was the most important city, in a commercial point of view, on the shores of the Euxine, and was founded by a Milesian colony at a very early period, even prior, it is said, to the rise of the Persian empire. The situation of Sinope was extremely well chosen. It was built on the neck of a peninsula; and as this peninsula was secured from any hostile landing along its outer shores by high cliffs, the city only needed defending on the narrow isthmus connecting it with the main land, while at the same time it had two convenient harbours on either side. Sinope soon increased in wealth and power, and became possessed of a dependent territory, which reached as far as the Halys. Its flourishing condition, of course, excited envy, and it was frequently besieged by the neighbouring satraps of Paphlagonia and Cappadocia. It was at last reduced by Pharnaces, and became the residence of the monarchs of Pontus, until Lucullus took it from the last Mithridates. It suffered severely on this occasion, and the Roman commander stripped it of many fine statues and valuable works of art. Sinope was the birth-place of the Cynic Diogenes. Its modern name is *Sinub*, and it is still one of the most important cities along this coast.

## T.

*Tarentum*, (in Greek *Táρας, -αντος*,) now *Taranto*, a celebrated city of Lower Italy, situate in the north-eastern angle of the Sinus Tarentinus, and in the territory of Messapia or Iapygia. Placed in the

centre, as it were, it obtained the whole commerce of the Adriatic, Ionian, and Tuscan seas. The adjacent country was fertile in grain and fruit, the pastures were excellent, and the flocks afforded a very fine wool. Its navy also was superior to that of any other Italian colony. Luxury, however, the sure concomitant of wealth, eventually undermined all this fabric of power and greatness, and Tarentum passed, after a long struggle, under the yoke of the Romans, although upheld for a time by the talents and energies of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus.

*Tenedos*, a small but fertile island of the Ægean, opposite the coast of Troas, at the distance of about 12 miles from Sigæum, and 56 miles north from Lesbos. It was here that the Grecian fleet were said to have concealed themselves, the more effectually to make the Trojans believe that they had returned home without finishing the war. Tenedos declined in power after the fall of Troy, and became subject to the city of Alexandria Troas, on the continent. The position of Tenedos, so near the mouth of the Hellespont, has always rendered it a place of importance in both ancient and modern times.

*Tigranocerta*, the capital of Armenia, built by Tigranes. It was situate to the east of the Tigris, on the river Nicephorius, and, according to Tacitus, stood on a hill surrounded by that river. Lucullus took it during the Mithridatic war, and found in it immense riches. The modern *Sered* on the *Chabur*, indicates the ancient site.

*Teutones. Vid. Cimbri.*

# LEGAL INDEX.

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## A.

*Lex AEBUTIA*, proposed by the tribune Aebutius, but at what time is uncertain. It prohibited the proposer of a law concerning any charge or power, from conferring that charge or power on himself, his colleagues, or relations. AGR. 2, 8. [Licina est lex atque altera Aebutia, quæ non modo eum, qui tulerit de aliqua curatione ac potestate, sed etiam collegas ejus, cognatos, affines exceptit, ne eis ea potestas curatione mandetur.]

*Leges AGRARIE. Vid. Lex. SEMPRONIA.*

*Leges ANNALES*, laws fixing the ages for enjoying different offices. A law was passed for this purpose, A.U.C. 573, which had been proposed by L. Villius, a tribune of the commons, whence he obtained the surname of *Annalis*, which descended to his family. (LIV. 40, 44.—MANUT. *de Leg. c. 6.*) There seems, indeed, to have been some regulation on the subject, even before the Villian law, (LIV. 25, 2,) but the particular ages for particular offices were not designated, as in this law; it was only settled how old a person must be before he could begin to be an applicant for office generally. (DUKER, *ad Liv. l. c.*) The years fixed by the Villian law were as follows: for the quæstorship, 31; for the ædileship, 37; for the prætorship, 40; and for the consulship, 43. This estimate is founded upon Cicero's movements, who obtained these offices at the periods just mentioned, and, as he himself informs us, each in its proper year, (*suo anno*), i. e. as soon as it could be obtained by law.—Another *Lex Annalis* was introduced by M. Pinarius Rusca, a tribune of the commons, (CIC. *de Orat. 2, 65,*) but nothing is known of its provisions.—These laws are also called *Leges Annarieæ* by Festus and Lampridius. *Vit. Comm. c. 2.*

*Lex AURELIA, (judiciaria)* by L. Aurelius Cotta, prætor, A.U.C. 683. It ordained that *judices*, or what we would call jurymen, should be chosen from the senators, equites, and tribuni ærarii. These last were officers chosen from the plebeians, who kept and gave out the money for defraying the expenses of the army.—The history of this law is as follows: The *judices* at first were chosen from the senators, until, on account of the corruption of that order, Caius Gracchus brought in a law (*vid. Lex SEMPRONIA*), by which the right of acting as *judices* was taken from the senators and given to the equites. The latter, however, indulged in great harshness and actual unfairness, towards the members of the senate who happened to be accused before them, especially if they had opposed, either in the senate, or during some provincial magistracy, any of the unreasonable demands of the *publicani*.

of the day. (*Cic. in Verr.* 1, 13.) In every other respect, however, they judged with great impartiality. The Livian and Plautian laws were therefore enacted, by which it was ordained that *judices* should be chosen in common from among both senators and equites. But these statutes were found ineffectual to remedy the evil, and Sylla, therefore, by one of the *Leges Corneliorum*, took away the right of judging from the equestrian order and restored it to the senate. Not even after this, however, was there complete fairness in judging. The lower orders complained of the existing state of things, and therefore, through fear lest some seditious tribune might make this matter a handle for exciting sedition, Cotta proposed the Aurelian law. Compare *Cic. Phil.* 1, 8.—*AGR.* 1, 2. [A very important change was made even in Cotta's law by Julius Caesar. He rendered the *tribuni aerarii* no longer eligible and confined the judicial power exclusively to the members of the senate, or equestrian order. Antony endeavoured to render the office of *judex* open even to the centurions.]

## C.

*Lex CALPURNIA*, by C. Calpurnius Piso, A.U.C. 686, when he and M. Acilius Glabrio were consuls. It was aimed against bribery in suing for office, which had become very marked and open. Some idea of its provisions may be obtained from the language of Cicero, in the oration for *Murena* (c. 32), “*Si mercede corrupti obviam candidatis issent,*” &c. The reference to be sure is to a *senatus-consultum*, but Cicero adds a little farther on, “*Si factum sit, (sc. hujusmodi quid,) quin contra legem sit, dubitare nemo potest.*”—This law is sometimes called *Lex Acilia-Calpurnia*, from the names of both consuls, but Cicero merely styles it *Lex Calpurnia*. It was subsequently abrogated by a *senatus-consultum* (*Pro Corn. Fragm.* 1, p. 631.—*ASCON. ad loc.*) It is alluded to by SALLUST, *B. C.* 18. Compare *Dio Cass.* 36, and *vid. Lex TULLIA*.

*Lex CARBONIS et SILVANI. Vid. Lex PLAUTIA.*

*Lex CORNELIA*, (*judiciaria*), by L. Cornelius Sylla. It took away from the equites the right of being *judices*, and restored it to the senate. Consult remarks under *Lex AURELIA*.

*Lex CORNELIA*, (*de beneficiis*), by the same. It was aimed, in the first instance, at those guilty of secret assassination, and then at those who took away the life of another by poison, false accusation, &c. The law ordained that these should be regarded as “*quaestiones capitales*,” and the punishment was to be banishment and confiscation of property. Consult *Cic. pro Cluent.* 56, and *SIGONIUS, de Judiciis*, 2, 31.

*Lex CORNELIA*, (*testamentaria*), by the same, against those who forged or altered wills. As it, however, contained other provisions against various kinds of false and dishonest conduct, it is sometimes called *Lex Cornelia de Falso*. For example, it was aimed also at those who debased or counterfeited the public coin. *J. PAULLI Recept. Sententiarum, L. V. Tit. 25.*

*Lex CORNELIA* (*de libertinorum suffragiis*), by Cornelius, a tribune of the commons. This law was the same with the Manilian. (*Vid. Lex. MANILIA de suffragiorum confusione.*) In other words, the accuser of

*Ciceron* alleged that the Manilian law had been passed by the joint operation and efforts of him and Manilius.

## F.

*Lex FAPA ad seniores adiutorium*, limiting the number of sedatives that a candidate could take when canvassing for any office. A large abundance was forbidden by the law, as coming under the head of "excess." It was never a popular statute, for the people could be deceived by no penalties from this mode of expressing their regard for a candidate.—The senators, who always attended candidates, were distinguished from the *adversarii* who only waited on them at their houses in the morning, and then went away; and from the *deductores*, who also were drawn with them to the *forum* and *Campus Martius*. [See *pro Murena* chap. 34 § 74. 71.]

## G.

*Lex GALLA* by which Gallius about conferring on Pompey the management of the war against the pirates. For an account of its provisions consult note 12 page 242.

## J.

*Lex IULIA ad maritandis ordinatio*, this was the famous law of Augustus for the encouragement of matrimony, offering rewards to those who should enter the married state, and imposing a penalty on those who should remain in a life of celibacy. It met with great opposition according to Suetonius (Or. 54), and Augustus was compelled to alter it to its most objectionable features, and then allow an exemption from its penalties for three years. At the expiration of this period a still further exemption of two years was granted, and at length the last was still suspended A.D. 175. It was re-modelled. In 186, 187 the *Lex PAPIA-POPPEIA* A.D. 176. Sueton. Or. 82.—L.L. Ep. 34.—B. 34. D. 17. Sec. 17. seqq.—P. 2, 6, 1.—Dio Cass. 51. 11. Does not resemble either *Lex PAPIA-POPPEIA*.

## L

*Lex LUTETIA ad seniores adiutorium*, against the debauching of minors passed A.D. 176. It claimed that no male under 25 years of age could make a legal bargain fixing therefore the limit of minority at that period of life. Hence it was also called *Lex Q. INVENTIVARIA* Plin. Nat. 11. 10. It was proposed by M. Lutetius Flaccinus tribune of the commons. Cic. de Off. 3. 15.

*Lex LUTETIA* by L. Lutetius Flaccinus the exact similar in its provisions to the *Lutetia law* A.D. 176.

*Lex LUTETIA ad omnes adiutorium*, passed in the consulship of Cn. Pompeius and M. Lutetius Flaccinus A.D. 176. It was enacted against bribery and the assembling of societies and companies for the purpose of obstructing the office. In a trial for this crime the accuser was allowed to draw the witness from the people in general. (Or. pro Planc. 13.—L.L. 17.—Sueton. de Iuliano 1. 11. p. 450. n. 255.)

## M.

*Lex MANILIA (de libertinorum suffragiis)*, proposed by C. Manilius, the tribune, who also introduced the law giving Pompey charge of the war against Mithridates. An account of the provisions of this statute respecting the votes of freedmen will be found under note 5, page 442.

*Lex MANILIA*, by the same Manilius, giving the charge of the Mithridatic war to Pompey. (*Or. pro Man. L. 29.*) The Manilian law, according to Plutarch, gave Pompey all the provinces and forces under Lucullus, and added likewise Bithynia, which was at that time governed by Glabrio. It directed him to carry on the war against Mithridates and Tigranes, for which purpose he was also able to retain his naval command. This was subjecting, at once, the whole Roman empire to one man. For the provinces which the Gabinian law did not give him, viz. Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, the upper Colchis, and Armenia, were granted by this; together with all the forces which, under Lucullus, had defeated Mithridates and Tigranes. *PLUT. Vit. Pomp. 30.*

*Lex PAPIA-POPPÆA (de maritandis ordinibus)*, proposed by the consuls Papius and Poppæus, at the desire of Augustus, A.U.C. 762. Its object was to enforce and enlarge the Julian law, and to promote population, and repair the desolation occasioned by the civil wars. This statute, like the Julian ordinance, proposed certain rewards for marriage, and penalties against celibacy. Whoever in the city had three children, in the other parts of Italy four, and in the provinces five, was entitled to certain privileges and immunities. Hence the famous *jus trium liberorum*, so often mentioned by Pliny, Martial, and other ancient writers. The privileges of having three children were, an exemption from the trouble of guardianship, a priority in bearing offices, and a treble proportion of corn. Those who lived in celibacy could not succeed to an inheritance, except of their nearest relations, unless they married within 100 days after the death of the testator; nor receive an entire legacy. And what they were thus deprived of fell as an escheat to the exchequer or prince's private purse. (*HEINECC. Antiq. Rom. 1, 25, 7, seqq.*)

*Lex PAPIA*, by C. Papius, tribune of the commons, A.U.C. 688. It ordained that all foreigners should be expelled from Rome, and that the allies of the Latin name should return to their respective cities. (*CIC. pro Arch. 5.—Pro Balb. 23.—EP. ad Att. 4, 14.—De Off. 3, 11.*)

*Lex PAPIRIA*, the same with the *Lex PLAUTIA*.

*Lex PLAUTIA*, or *PLOTIA (judiciaria)*, proposed by M. Plautius Silvanus, and C. Papirius Carbo, both tribunes of the commons at the time. The provisions of this law are given in the oration for Archias (c. 4). It was passed A.U.C. 664.

*Lex PORCIA*, by M. Porcius Læca, tribune of the commons, A.U.C. 556, that no one should bind, scourge, or kill a Roman citizen, but that the alternative of exile be allowed him. Manutius errs in assigning this law to M. Porcius Cato, the censor.

## Q.

**QUESTIONES.** The *praetor urbanus* and *praetor peregrinus* dispensed justice only in private or less important causes. But in public cases,

and those of any magnitude, the people either judged themselves, or appointed persons, one or more, to preside at the trial, who were called *quaestores* or *quaestors*, and whose authority lasted only till the trial was over. But A.U.C. 604, it was determined, that the *praetor urbicus* and *praetor peregrinus* should continue to exercise their usual jurisdictions; and that the four other praetors should, during their magistracy, also remain in the city, and preside at public trials; one at trials concerning extortion; another concerning bribery; a third concerning crimes committed against the state; and a fourth about defrauding the public treasury. These were called *Quæstiones Perpetuae*, because they were annually assigned to particular praetors, who always conducted them for the whole year, according to a certain form prescribed by law; so that there was no need, as formerly, of making a new law, or of appointing extraordinary inquisitors to preside at them, who should resign their authority when the trial was ended. But still, when anything unusual or atrocious happened, the people or senate judged about the matter themselves, or appointed inquisitors to preside at the trial; and then they were said *extra ordinem querere*; as in the case of Clodius, for violating the sacred rites of the *Bona Dea*; and of Milo, for the murder of Clodius. —Sylla increased the number of the *quæstiones perpetuae*, by adding those *de falso*, concerning forgers of wills, &c., and coiners of base money; *de sicariis et veneficiis*, about such as killed with a weapon or poison; and *de parricidio*; on which account he created two additional praetors. [The institution of these courts gave great impulse to the study of eloquence at Rome, as the appointment of the dicasts did in Greece.]

## R.

*Lex Roscia (theatralis)*, by L. Roscius Otho, determining the fortune of the equites, and appointing them certain seats in the theatra. By this law, fourteen rows of seats, immediately behind the senators, were appropriated to the knights. This ordinance excited a great tumult in the theatre on the first appearance of its proposer after the law had been passed. Consult Historical Index, s. v. Otho.

## S.

*Lex SEMPRONIA (agraria)*, by Tiberius Gracchus, A.U.C. 620, that no one should possess more than 500 acres (*jugera*) of land; and that three commissioners should be appointed to divide among the poorer people what any one had above that extent. This is the famous Agrarian law, which cost its proposer his life. It was in fact little more than a revival of the Licinian law of Stolo. This ordinance was passed, but never carried into effect. (PLUT. *Vit. Gracch.*—VELL. *PATERC.* 2, 2.—LIV. *EPIT.* 58.)

*Lex SEMPRONIA (judicaria)*, by Caius Gracchus, that the judges should be chosen from among the equites, and not from the senators, as formerly. Consult remarks under *Lex AURElia*.

*Lex SEMPRONIA (de libertate civium)*, by the same, that sentence should not be passed on the life of a Roman citizen, without the order

he people. This was merely declaratory of one of the laws of the  
Twelve tables. (*Pro Rab.* c. 4.—*In Verr.* 5, 63.—*In Cat.* 1, 11.)

## T.

*ex TITIA (de quæstoribus)*, by C. Titius, tribune of the commons, B.C. 448, about doubling the number of quæstors, and that they should determine their provinces by lot. (*Or. pro Muren.* 8.)

*ex TULLIA (de ambitu)*, by M. Tullius Cicero, A.U.C. 690, adding to former punishments against bribery. Previously to the passing of law, if persons were convicted on trial of having employed bribery in seeking for office, they were deprived of that office, in case they had obtained it, and their competitors who accused them were nominated in their place. They were also, besides being fined, deemed incapable of bearing any office for the time to come, or of appearing in the Senate, by the Calpurnian and other laws; and now by the Tullian law a punishment for ten years was added. It was also ordained by this statute that no one should exhibit shows of gladiators for two years before he stood candidate for any office, unless that task was imposed upon him by the testament of a friend. *Dio Cass.* 37, 29.—*in Vat.* 15.—*Pro Muren.* 32, seqq.)

THE END.



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